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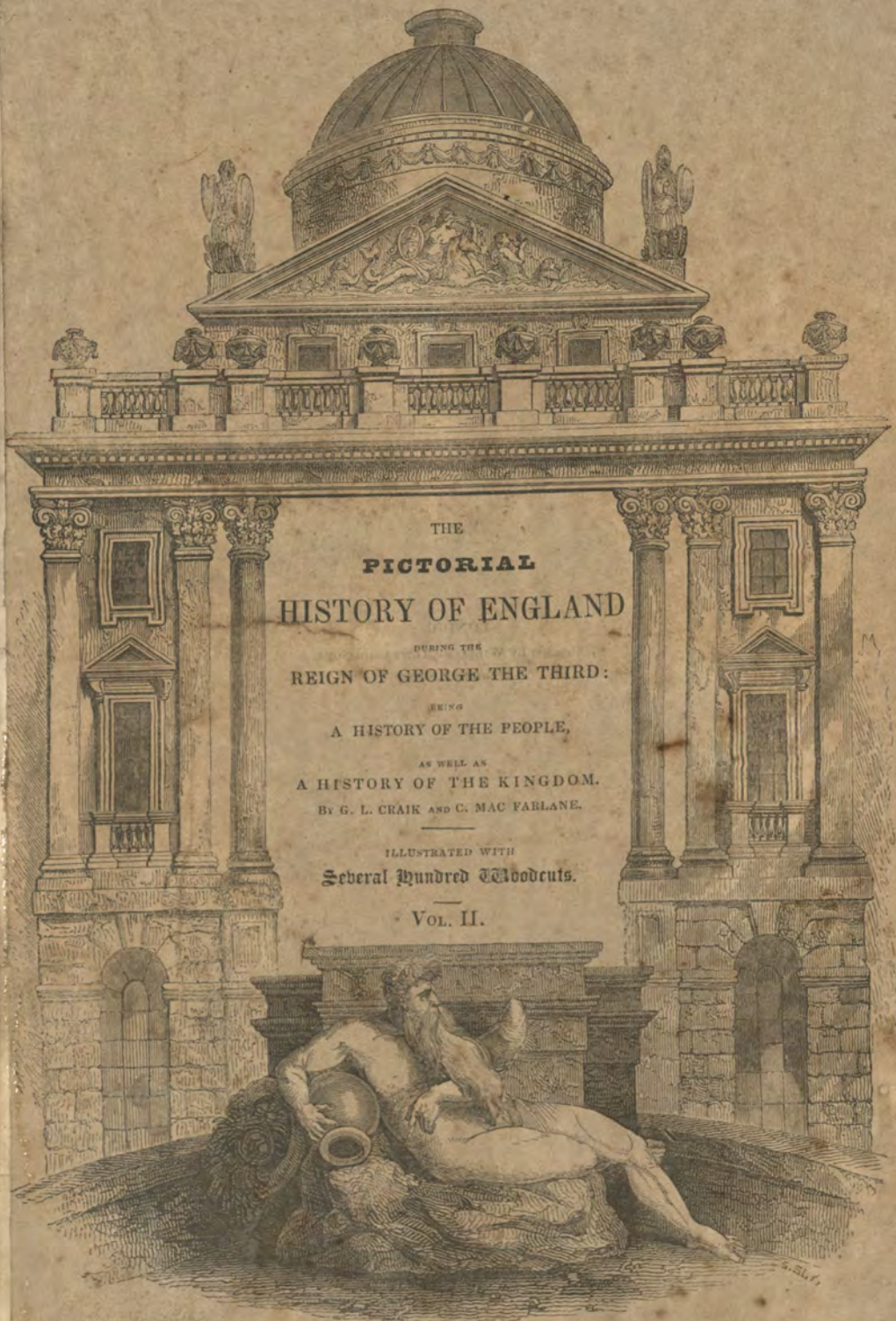

THE

PICTORIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE

REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD:

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE,

AS WELL AS

A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM.

By G. L. CRAIK and C. MAC FARLANE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Several Hundred Woodcuts.

VOL. II.

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ASSISTED BY OTHER CONTRIBUTORS.

VOLUME II.

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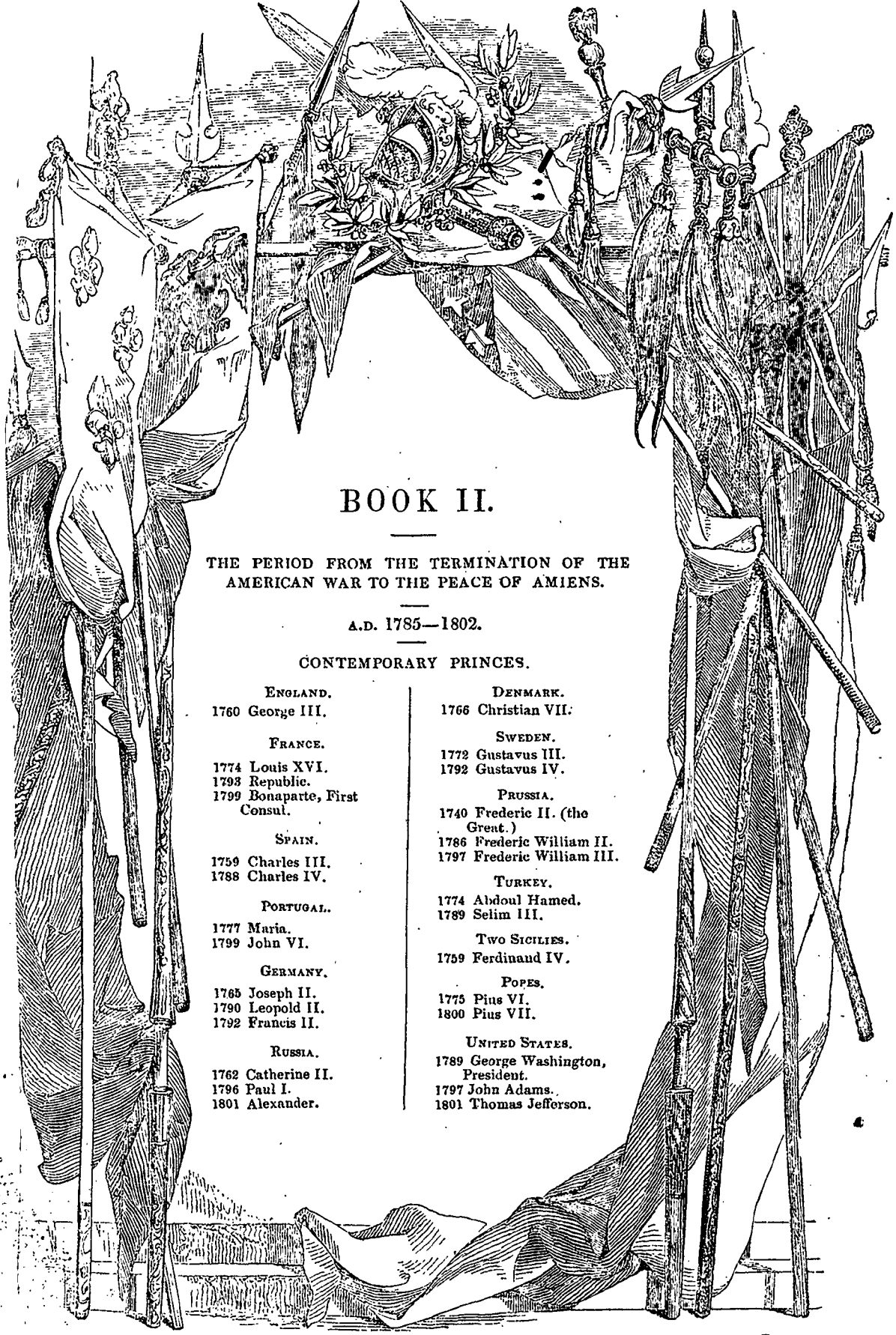


BOOK II.

THE PERIOD FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN WAR TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

A.D. 1785—1802.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.
1760 George III.

FRANCE.
1774 Louis XVI.
1793 Republic.
1799 Bonaparte, First Consul.

SPAIN.
1759 Charles III.
1788 Charles IV.

PORTUGAL.
1777 Maria.
1799 John VI.

GERMANY.
1765 Joseph II.
1790 Leopold II.
1792 Francis II.

RUSSIA.
1762 Catherine II.
1796 Paul I.
1801 Alexander.

DENMARK.
1766 Christian VII.

SWEDEN.
1772 Gustavus III.
1792 Gustavus IV.

PRUSSIA.
1740 Frederic II. (the Great.)
1786 Frederic William II.
1797 Frederic William III.

TURKEY.
1774 Abdoul Hamed.
1789 Selim III.

TWO SICILIES.
1759 Ferdinand IV.

POPES.
1775 Pius VI.
1800 Pius VII.

UNITED STATES.
1789 George Washington, President.
1797 John Adams.
1801 Thomas Jefferson.

CHAPTER I.

NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

A.D. 1785.

MR. PITT's first parliament, prorogued on the 20th of August, 1784, did not reassemble until the 25th of January. The young premier's great rival, Mr. Fox, had been again returned for Westminster at the last general election;* but Sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful Tory candidate, having demanded a scrutiny, Corbett, the high bailiff of the city of Westminster, and a warm Pittite, not without encouragement from the minister or from his triumphant party, took upon himself to make no return of representatives for that city; and Fox had been obliged to creep into parliament as member for a Scotch burgh — a circumstance which had given rise to many sarcastic jokes in the preceding session. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament the conduct of the high bailiff had been taken up warmly by the opposition, and had been as warmly defended by the minister and his friends. Counsel had been heard at the bar, petitions from Mr. Fox and petitions from the Westminster electors had been read; but ministerial majorities had justified the conduct of the bailiff, and had ordered him to proceed in the scrutiny "with all practicable dispatch." But Corbett too well knew what was expected from him by his party to make use of any dispatch, and at the opening of the present session, when the scrutiny had lasted some eight months, it was found that not quite two out of the seven parishes into which Westminster was divided were scrutinised. It was calculated that at this rate, one of the parishes examined was comparatively a small one, the scrutiny would be prolonged three years. On the 8th of February the subject was brought again before the House by a petition from the electors; and the high bailiff and his counsel underwent another long examination at the bar touching the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny with more dispatch. The bailiff gave in evidence that it would certainly take not less, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finish the scrutiny. On the very next day Mr. Welbore Ellis, now out of place and in opposition, moved that the high bailiff should obey the writ, and make a return of the precept—which meant, at least according to the doctrine of the mover and his friends, that he should declare elected those who had stood highest on the poll. A long and violent debate marked, on both sides, with gross personalities, followed; and the constitutional law or rule was absolutely buried under mountains of abuse and rhetoric. Fox, as his speech is reported by a friendly organ, was mild and even pathetic in accusing his

Fox. From a Portrait by Sir J. Reynolds.

rival, Pitt, of unfairness. "He had," he said, "always wished to stand well with the right honourable gentleman: he remembered the day he had first congratulated the House on the acquisition of his abilities: it had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day desert his principles, and lend himself to be the instru-

* The numbers on the poll-books were—

For Admiral Lord Hood . .	6694
For Fox	6233
For Sir C. Wray	5998

The contested election had lasted from the 1st of April till the 16th of May, and had been attended with the usual drunkenness, riot, and abuse! The Prince of Wales celebrated the triumph of his friend by publicly displaying from his carriage the "Fox favour and laurel," and by giving a grand fête at Carlton House to more than 600 Foxite Whigs, all wearing "blue and buff." In the speeches delivered on the occasion Fox expressed his pride and his gratitude for the countenance the prince had given to him and his cause: and the prince declared that his private regard for Mr. Fox was *boundless*; that he had entered into his interests from a conviction, not only that his talents were the brightest in the empire, but that his principles were the best, and his motives the purest. "And I assure him," added his royal highness, "that the prejudices of those who do not know him shall never alter my *personal* or *political* attachment!"—*Private letter from one who was up urgent in the election and present at the fete, as given in Wallace's Life and Reign of George IV.*

ment of that secret influence which they had both combated so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman—a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he never could have expected that he could have descended so low as to be the court persecutor of any man. He fancied he saw in him so much generosity of soul, so much elevation of mind, that so grovelling a passion as malice could not have found an asylum in his breast. . . . . He saw plainly that it was a pecuniary contest, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expense of it. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than 30,000*l.* a-year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might easily be got at, for he was poor; but, little as he had, he would spend it to the last shilling. If in the end he should lose his election, it would not be through want of a legal majority, but through want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the Treasury."* The young premier, more starch and stern than any veteran minister that had appeared in modern times, called these charges "mad and violent assertions,"—"as gross as they were unfounded,"—the products of one "mad with desperation and disappointment." He accused Fox of filling his speech for three hours at a time "with everything that was personal, inflammatory, and invidious."† And, with a scornful elevation of the nostril, he continued—"I say, nevertheless, I am not surprised if he should pretend to be the butt of ministerial persecution; and if, by striving to excite the public compassion, he should seek to reinstate *himself* in that popularity which he once enjoyed, but which he so unhappily has forfeited. For it is the best and most ordinary resource of these political apostates to court and to offer themselves to persecution for the sake of the popular predilection and pity which usually fall upon persecuted men; it becomes worth their while to suffer, for a time, political martyrdom, for the sake of the canonization that awaits the suffering martyr; and I make no doubt the right honourable gentleman has so much penetration, and at the same time so much passive virtue about him, that he would be glad not only to seem a poor, injured, persecuted man, but he would gladly seek an opportunity of even really suffering a little persecution, if it be possible to find such an opportunity."‡ At a late hour an amendment was moved by Lord Mulgrave to leave out of Welbore Ellis's original motion every word except *that*, and to insert the words following:—"the Speaker do acquaint the high bailiff—first, that he is not precluded by the resolution of this House, communicated to him on the 8th of June last,§ from making a return whenever he shall be satisfied in his own judgment that he can do so; and secondly, *that this House is not satisfied* that the scrutiny has been proceeded in as expeditiously as it might have been;—that it is his duty to adopt and enforce such just and reasonable regulations as shall appear to him most likely to prevent unnecessary delay in future; that he is not precluded from so doing by want of consent in either party; and that he may be assured of the support of this House in the discharge of his duty." Upon this the House divided, when there appeared for the amendment 174, and against it 135. This ministerial majority was far less than it had been on points of the same question during the preceding session. A few days later, on the 18th of February, Fox's bosom-friend, Colonel Fitzpatrick, presented another petition from the electors of Westminster, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar in defence of their rights and privileges, and in order that some *new facts* might be stated, of which they were not informed when they presented their former petition. Fitzpatrick moved that counsel should be called in, and then Lord Frederick Campbell moved, by way of amendment, that the said counsel should not be permitted to argue against the legality of the scrutiny. After much debate this ministerial amendment was carried by 203 against 145. The counsel refused to plead under the restrictions imposed by the amendment. Thereupon the House called the high bailiff to the bar, and examined him touching the *new facts* alleged in the petition—which were, that Mr. Fox's counsel had offered, whilst the scrutiny was proceeding in the parish of St. Ann, where Fox was said to be the strongest, to go next into the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, where he was stated to be the weakest; and that Sir Cecil Wray had, by his counsel, declined the proposal. The high bailiff gave in evidence that such an offer had really been made by the Foxites and not accepted by the other party; and shortly after this the bailiff was very conveniently taken ill and allowed to retire without further questioning or cross-questioning. As he walked out of the House Colonel Fitzpatrick moved (not in the best grammar)—"That, it appearing to this House that Thomas Corbett, Esquire, high bailiff, having received a precept from the Sheriff of Middlesex for electing two citizens to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster; and having taken and finally closed the poll on the 17th of May last, being the day next before the day of return of the said writ, he be now directed forthwith to make a return of his precept of members chosen in pursuance thereof." This motion was rejected, but by a majority of only *nine*, the numbers being 145 against 136. On the 3rd of March Alderman Sawbridge brought forward the same motion. Pitt moved the question of adjournment upon it, but had the mortification of being left in a minority of *thirty-eight*, the numbers being, for the adjournment

* Ann. Regist. † Id.

‡ Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt in the House of Commons. 3rd edit.

§ The resolution passed in the preceding session, on the motion of Lord Mulgrave, was "That the high bailiff of Westminster do proceed in the scrutiny for the said city with all practicable dispatch."

124, and against it 162. The main question was then put and carried without a division: and thus, after a protracted struggle of nearly ten months, was terminated the famed Westminster scrutiny, the high bailiff, on the very next day, making a return of Lord Hood and Mr. Fox, as duly elected members. Fox immediately brought an action against the high bailiff for not returning him at first when duly elected by a legal majority of votes. The trial came on on the 19th of June of the following year, 1786, before Lord Loughborough, in the Court of Common Pleas. Loughborough, whom we have formerly seen playing many political parts as Mr. Wedderburn, had at present settled down in a decided enmity to Mr. Pitt. Fox laid his damages at 100,000*l.*: the jury, after a few minutes' consultation, gave a verdict in his favour, but only for 2000*l.* Fox declared that the money should be distributed among the charities of Westminster.*

Gross personality, and other kinds of coarseness, continued to characterise the debates; and a practice, introduced some time before, to interrupt the very eloquent but *very* long speeches of Burke, was frequently resorted to, in order to stop or disturb the opposition orators. The method was to get up a loud combination of coughing, hemming, hawking, and other noises on the ministerial benches, the leader and principal performer being Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire, the hero of the satirical poem called the 'Rolliad,' and afterwards Lord Rolle, by grace of these and other services rendered to Pitt. The warm temper of Burke and of other members of the opposition did not permit them to bear these insults with philosophy or with contempt; and in resenting them they were occasionally guilty of almost equal improprieties. It was observed and admitted by one of his closest adherents, that, though he had established his political preponderance and gained over partisans, Pitt was not succeeding in making friends.† But the proud, cold nature of the young premier made him as indifferent as he was unattaching: he rather wanted or sought for tools than friends. Of the hearty, thorough support of the king he was well assured: this gave him a degree of strength which no minister had possessed for a long time.

The king's speech at the opening of this session particularly recommended to consideration the state and trade of Ireland. The concessions which had been made from time to time were far from satisfying the Irish people, who continued their armed associations, and in other respects followed the same line of conduct which had led to revolution and independence in America. As early as in the month of September, 1783, a meeting of delegates from the province of Ulster, appointed and backed by the volunteers, was held at Dungannon for the purpose of reforming the Irish parliament. At this great meeting a plan of reform was agreed upon; and it was further resolved that a convention of representatives from the *whole volunteer army of Ireland* should assemble in the following month of November at Dublin. Nearly all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom adhered to the resolutions thus passed. In October delegates from all the corps of the province of Leinster assembled in Dublin and boldly put forth their demand for a reform of the representation, for the admission of Roman Catholics to the elective franchise, and for a more free enjoyment of the benefits of trade and manufacture. And on the day appointed by the meeting at Dungannon — the 10th of November, 1783—the grand national convention of volunteers, consisting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in procession to the Rotunda, and there opened their session by proposing a total remodelling of the Irish constitution. The mass of the people were soon taught to consider that those delegates were their real representatives, and that the members of the Irish House of Commons were traitors or mere intruders. Several members of that house, however, were also members of this grand national convention, and among these was the eloquent and impetuous Henry Flood, who, on the 29th of November, attempted to introduce the new-modelled constitution into the house in the shape of a bill. The motion was indignantly rejected by 157 against 77, the majority declaring that the proposal was tendered to them at the point of the bayonet. The house then voted a very loyal address to the king, expressing the great happiness they enjoyed under the present form of government and constitution, which they said they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes. The House of Lords, still less desirous of a change which would have been a revolution, concurred in the address. The national convention immediately agreed upon a counter-address, in the text of which they denied all revolutionary intention and any wish to separate Ireland from England. The volunteer corps, who had been well supplied by government with arms during the American war to enable them to repel invasion, retained their imposing attitude, and were constantly seen drilling and training. The Belfast company resolved and agreed to instruct in the use of arms persons of all ranks and religious persuasions who should present themselves; and they offered them the use of their own firelocks. The volunteers of the city and county of Dublin resolved that every honest and industrious Irishman, however poor and obscure, ought to be trained to the use of arms; and similar resolutions were entered into in most parts of the kingdom.* The Roman Catholics, of course, far outnumbered the Protestants; but for a time there was no apparent distinction as to religious faiths, and the Presbyterians of the North

* Ann. Regist.
† Wilberforce's Diary, in Life by his Sons.

* Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland, by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., member in the late Irish Parliament. A one-sided, ill-written book, and little to be depended upon, except where documents are quoted. It is to be said, however, that the works on the other (or Irish Revolutionary) side are at the least, quite as prejudiced and violent.

seemed linked heart and hand with their old antagonists the Papists. The doctrine of toleration was set forth in the broadest manner ; the volunteers, their delegates and conventions, claimed the elective franchise equally for persons of every form of religious worship. But another and more questionable principle was involved in their demands for annual parliaments and a sort of universal suffrage. In the month of March, 1784, Mr. Flood again introduced in the Commons his bill " for the more equal representation of the people in parliament." It was supported by a long array of petitions; but it was nevertheless thrown out at the second reading by a majority of nearly two to one. The citizens of Dublin held an aggregate meeting and issued a circular address to the Irish people, recommending that five persons should be elected from every county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin in NATIONAL CONGRESS. This close and quick imitation of the Americans roused the British government and called forth the energy of Pitt, whose opposition harangues about purifying the British House of Commons had deluded many of the Irish into a belief that he was an ardent friend to parliamentary reform in its most extensive sense. Measures were taken to prevent the meeting of this proposed congress: the attorney-general for Ireland menaced the sheriffs of the county and city of Dublin with a prosecution; the high sheriff of the county, who had presided at an assembly of freeholders met to elect delegates, was prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench and condemned to a trifling fine and a short imprisonment; several of the county magistrates were attacked for having called meetings and signed resolutions ; and prosecutions were instituted against the printers and publishers of Sunday newspapers.* The congress nevertheless met in October, though in a very incomplete form, passed many strong resolutions, and peaceably adjourned with exhortations to all Irish patriots to do their best in order to render its next meeting more complete and effective. As the best remedy for the distresses of the manufacturers, a plan of protecting duties had been introduced into the Irish House of Commons ; and as a beginning a duty of 2*s*. 6*d*. per yard had been proposed on all drapery imported into that kingdom. But this motion had been rejected by a majority of three to one, and the rejection had been followed by some rioting among the Dublin mob, who accused the majority of having sold themselves to England. On the 2nd of January of the present year, 1785, the national congress met again at Dublin, consisting of delegates from twenty-seven of the counties—in all about 200 individuals. Their tone was high and threatening; their proceedings continued to be an imitation of the conduct of the American revolutionists, only varying through the difference of national character, or the greater heat or impetuosity of Irish-born patriots. Many of the leaders and orators were the same men who, a few years after, mingled their admiration of the great French revolution with their sympathy for the American one, and who, deluded by promises of assistance and confraternity from the French republicans, rushed headlong into rebellion. For the present they held several adjourned meetings, and established permanent *committees of correspondence*. In the mean time commissioners had been appointed by the Irish parliament to confer with the British cabinet, and a plan of commercial relief had been agreed upon between Mr. Pitt and this commission. The Irish Houses of Commons and Lords having concurred in this plan, Mr. Pitt introduced it in the English House of Commons. It consisted of two great provisions :—1. To permit the importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain. 2. To establish a free trade, or mutual exchange between Great Britain and Ireland of their respective productions and manufactures upon equal terms. In return for these advantages the minister proposed that Ireland should contribute a certain annual sum out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue towards the general expenses of the empire. Mr. Pitt spoke with laudable feeling against the old jealous, exclusive, and unwisely selfish spirit which had animated the British legislature. He said, " the house would recollect that, from the Revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, until those very few years, the English system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of

PITT. From a Portrait by Hoppner.

her own resources ; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had, however, been exploded. It was at once harsh and unjust, and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive; for, however necessary it might be to the partial benefit of districts in Britain, it promoted not the real prosperity

* The printer of the 'Volunteers' Journal' was committed to the Newgate of Dublin on a charge of high treason.

and strength of the empire. That which had been the system counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry and enterprise of man." The scheme was submitted to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who examined some of the principal merchants and manufacturers of England, and then presented to the House a long and contradictory report. Upon this the House resolved to examine those merchants and manufacturers at their own bar. These examinations were so long, and the petitions against the plan so numerous, that more than two months were occupied by them. In the end the anti-liberal feeling compelled Pitt to subjoin a variety of restrictive clauses, binding Ireland to adopt whatever navigation laws the British parliament might hereafter enact; prohibiting the importation into Ireland, or thence into Great Britain, of any West Indian commodities not the produce of our own colonies; and forbidding Ireland to trade to any country beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the straits of Magelhaen, so long as the charter of the East India Company should be continued. Great and sure as was the ministerial majority, the principles of the bill were not adopted without warm discussions in both Houses, some maintaining that they were giving too little to Ireland, and many more that they were giving a great deal too much. In Ireland strong objections were taken to all the alterations and additions to the original propositions, and numerous petitions were presented against the bill. A motion for leave to bring in a corresponding bill was carried in the Irish House of Commons, but by a majority of only nineteen, the numbers being 127 against 108. The mover, Mr. Orde, the secretary of the lord-lieutenant, having procured the bill to be read the first time and printed, declared that he should proceed no further with it during the present session. After the rising of parliament Dublin and most of the great towns continued in a very turbulent state; the non-importation associations, which had been copied from the Americans, were renewed, and were in many instances sanctioned by the grand juries; dreadful threats were uttered against all who should dare to import any goods from England, and these menaces and the dread of the popular fury produced the same effect here as they had done at Boston. The stoppage to trade, particularly in the seaports, threw thousands of men out of employment; and the idle and the hungry sought relief or occupation in rioting. In some quarters of Dublin the troops were obliged to be almost constantly under arms.

While the Irish Trade Bill was pending, Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of April, again called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject of a reform in the representation of the people. He had pledged himself "as a man and a minister" to promote this cause; but it may be doubted whether at this moment he had any anxious desire for parliamentary reform, notwithstanding his declarations to some of his private friends, then ardent reformers, that he would exert his influence to the uttermost for this measure.* The specific proposition he made was to transfer the right of election from thirty-six rotten boroughs to the counties and the great unrepresented towns, giving a compensation in money to the owners and holders of the rotten boroughs so disfranchised; and to extend the right of voting in county elections to copyholders. In the very beginning of his speech he seemed to acknowledge the hopelessness of success to any such scheme. "The number of gentlemen," said he, "who are hostile to reform, are a phalanx which ought to give alarm to any individual upon rising to suggest such a measure. Those who, with a sort of superstitious awe, reverence the constitution so much as to be fearful of touching even its defects, have always reprobated every attempt to purify the representation. They acknowledge its inequality and corruption, but in their enthusiasm for the grand fabric they would not suffer a reformer, with unhallowed hands, to repair the injuries which it has suffered from time. Others, who, perceiving the deficiencies that have arisen from circumstances, are solicitous for their amendment, yet resist the attempt, under the argument that, when once we have presumed to touch the constitution in one point, the awe which had heretofore kept us back from the daring enterprise of innovation might abate, and there was no foreseeing to what alarming lengths we might progressively go under the mask of reformation."† He made no use whatever of his enormous ministerial influence in bringing over converts to his scheme; some of the Whig party professed to vote against it on account of the pecuniary compensation proposed to the owners and traffickers in boroughs, and the whole bill was thrown out by 248 against 174. This was Pitt's last performance as a parliamentary reformer; and we shall find him in the course of a few years the most determined opponent of all amendment or change whatsoever in the representation. It is characteristic of Pitt to observe that his friend Wilberforce, who fancied he enjoyed all his confidence, firmly believed that he was sincere in his desire to deal a death-blow to aristocratic influence, electioneering, corruption, party-spirit, and all irregularities.

In the course of the session Pitt called the attention of the House to a general review of the national finances, and, after suggesting various alterations, stated that he expected that the land and malt taxes added to the product of the other taxes would leave him an overplus of nearly 1,000,000*l.* per annum, which sum he thought ought to go into a sinking fund, to be applied to the extinction of the national debt. He did not, however, intend to

* Letter from Mr. R. Smith to Wilberforce, in Life. Wilberforce himself says in his diary:—"At Pitt's all the day—it (reform) goes on well—sat up late chatting with Pitt—has good hopes of the country and noble, patriotic heart—to town (next day)—House—Parliamentary Reform—*terribly disappointed and beat.*" In his speech the House Wilberforce said—"The consequence of this reform would be that, the freedom of opinion would be restored, and party connexions in a great measure vanish; for party on one side begets party on the other; and for myself I wish to give my vote not with a view to men, but measures."

† Speeches in the House of Commons.

put any such scheme into execution until the following year. Many objections were taken to the whole plan by the opposition, though even in that quarter some high notions were already entertained of the young chancellor of the exchequer's abilities as a calculator and a financier, and some of the Whigs—the extremes of the party—probably did not think the worse of the plan from its being known to have been suggested by Dr. Price (the friend of Dr. Priestley), an eminent dissenting minister, who entertained the most liberal views in general politics. Several new taxes were added to those imposed in the preceding year: among them was a tax upon female servants, calculated to produce annually 140,000*l.*; and an additional tax upon male servants, calculated to produce, in addition to the former one, 35,000*l.** Within the last few years, or since the impulse had been given by Burke, various bills had been passed for regulating the public offices of the kingdom; and Mr. Pitt now brought one in "for appointing commissioners for inquiring into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are or lately have been received in the several public offices; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and to report such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices." The opposition to this bill was very considerable. It was not possible to deny the existence of extortion, peculation, and other abuses; but a stand was made upon the liberty of the subject, and the principles of Magna Charta were quoted against the bill, and in defence of rapacious placemen and official understrappers. Ministers defended their measure by quoting the very recent precedent of the commissioners of public accounts; and they affirmed that, although the objects of the present reform were not of so great magnitude, yet they were really important on account of their number and extent. So extensive indeed were the evil practices, that the man who went into any of the offices of government with an empty pocket or a close hand had small chance of getting his business transacted without vexatious delays. The question was finally carried in the Commons by 74 against 15. The Lords introduced several amendments, and one in particular which subjected the commissioners to the control of the board of treasury. The commissioners appointed were two of the comptrollers of army accounts and Mr. Francis Baring. Parliament adjourned, on a message from the king, on the 2nd of August, till the 27th of October; but was afterwards prorogued by proclamation to the 1st of December.

No nation on the continent had suffered so much from the American war as the Dutch. Their finances were embarrassed, their losses excessive, and their colonies, which had been taken by the English and then retaken by the French, were kept, for the most part, by the French. Their neighbours and rivals, the Belgians, were encouraged in their endeavours to make Ostend the centre of a great trade, and a place of export and import to and from the East Indies—a scheme which had for some time been earnestly entertained by their sovereign, the Emperor Joseph, who at the same moment was erecting at the head of the Venetian Gulf a great trading town and port to rival the old commercial grandeur of Venice. At the same time the anomalous government of the Dutch, which was neither a republic nor a constitutional monarchy, or indeed anything else capable of being described by a political term, was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions. The oligarchic or French party accused the Orangists, or quasi-royalists, who adhered to the Stadtholder, of having misconducted the war and of now aiming at the subversion of the national liberties and municipal rights: the Orangists accused the French party of having needlessly precipitated the country into a ruinous war with England and a most perilous and treacherous alliance with France, which ever had been and ever must be the most dangerous enemy to Holland, of provoking an anarchy, and encouraging a democratic fury which would be more insupportable than the tyranny of the completest despot. In many respects each party or faction was thoroughly in the wrong; and there was, to some extent, an excuse for both of them, as the constitutions of the United Provinces, or the precedents of former times, did not sufficiently define the respective authorities of the stadtholder or chief magistrate, and of the legislative assemblies, but had left, and seemed variously to prescribe, an unamalgamated compound of republicanism and monarchy, of democracy and oligarchy. One thing was clear and certain—the Dutch could neither preserve peace at home nor defend themselves from the attack of any one powerful neighbour. In sacrificing their old alliance with England they had committed a sort of political suicide. England had saved them from being swallowed up by Louis XIV.; but events were now in rapid progress which were to render the restored friendship of England of no avail, which were to render the appetite of the French more ravenous than under the Grand Monarque, and to leave Holland and all her liberties and rights a helpless prey to Gallic Sansculottism. Thus, in numerous ways, did the effects of the American war prepare and facilitate the events of the French revolution. But, for the present, though injuring and despoiling them, France continued to play the part of an ally to the United Provinces, and Austria was the power that threatened their peace and their very existence as an independent nation. As early as the year 1781 the Emperor Joseph had determined to do away with the Barrier Treaty, and to take possession of the numerous fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which, ever since the conclusion of the war of succession, had been deposited in the hands of the Dutch, and garrisoned by them for the mutual defence of the Netherlands and of Holland, or as a common bulwark against the inroads of the French. The scheme was that of two great men,

* Pitt's tax on maid-servants encountered much opposition, and became the subject of many jokes.

William III. and the Duke of Marlborough; but it was to be thrown to the winds by the chances and changes, the passions and caprices, of the present times. The Dutch had all the honour, such as it was, of keeping up these garrisons, but the House of Austria nearly all the expense. The Emperor Joseph grudged the money, and felt ashamed of having some of his principal cities and fortresses occupied by foreigners; he much doubted whether in case of a new war these Dutch garrisons would materially contribute to check the progress of an enemy; besides he was now at peace and in close alliance with France, and, as he fondly fancied, likely to remain so; and, in case of the contrary, he felt that confidence in his own vastly increased army and improved resources which left him no doubt that he should be fully able to defend the Austrian Netherlands without so many expensive places of arms, and wholly without the assistance of the Dutch and the humiliating interference of burgomasters and war commissioners deputed by the States-General—these last a class of officials who had repeatedly driven Marlborough to the very verge of distraction, and had more than once, by their self-willedness, their dulness, or their corruption, nearly defeated the best conceived and most important parts of his wonderful campaigns. Joseph forgot, or cared not for, the obligations which his house lay under to the Dutch, and the solemn engagements which bound him to recognise the Barrier Treaty. He alleged that the Dutch misapplied the money; that they had shamefully surrendered many of the fortresses in the war of 1741; that they were now allowing the fortifications to fall to decay, and leaving thin and defective garrisons in them. In the beginning of the year 1781, when the Dutch had got into the war with England, the only real guardian of the Barrier Treaty, he peremptorily demanded precise accounts of the revenues received for the barrier, and of the sums expended on the fortifications. After some correspondence, which on the part of the emperor was not unaccompanied with threats, the States-General acknowledged their weakness and submitted to necessity; towards the close of the year 1781 the Dutch garrisons were withdrawn from the barrier, and Joseph began to dismantle the fortresses and sell the materials. This work was scarcely commenced ere the States-General felt the most lively apprehensions for the frontiers of their own provinces, and adopted measures for putting their own fortresses along the Scheldt into an immediate state of defence. The people were furiously excited, and the Orange party, now rapidly increasing, pointed to the open barrier and the rising port of Ostend as signal proofs of the mischief brought upon the country by the French party, and the rupture of the old alliance with Great Britain. The French party nevertheless attributed every new misfortune to the Orangists, and continued to labour with all the might that was in them for the total subversion of the present system or no system of government, and for the re-establishment of the commonwealth such as it had existed in the preceding century under the De Witts. The animosities of these antagonist parties waxed so fierce that every day seemed to threaten a civil war. The return of peace with England could restore neither unanimity nor power. Prince Louis Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel was guardian and representative of the young Stadtholder, William Frederick, during his minority, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces. He had long endured with rare temper the coarse and virulent attacks of the French party, who accused him of a design to make his ward a tyrant; but at last he wrote a letter to the States-General, referring to his thirty-two years of faithful and well meant service, to the commendations he had formerly received from them and from the Dutch people, to the changes which had taken place since the beginning of the unfortunate war with England, to the numberless attacks which had been made upon him, to the indifference to his injuries shown by the majority in the States-General themselves in refusing to grant him the opportunity which he had so frequently claimed of refuting the charges and calumnies raised against him; and finally declaring that for these and other reasons he resigned all the offices he held, and discharged himself from all obligations and engagements to the commonwealth. After this Frederick the Great of Prussia, as a near relative to the Stadtholder and as the natural opponent to the House of Austria, interfered to allay these dissensions, which must inevitably leave Holland open to the Emperor Joseph or the French king, or to both of those monarchs. Frederick remonstrated, advised, and menaced, but even his powerful voice was disregarded in the loud fury of faction. In the mean time the Emperor Joseph had advanced sundry new claims, and had assumed a tone of haughty dictation towards the States-General. The most important of these new claims, and the most distressing to the Dutch, were those to the possession and sovereignty of the city and country of Maestricht, and the free navigation of the Scheldt, without which that other grand scheme of Austria, to re-elevate Antwerp to her ancient commercial importance, must fall to the ground. The States-General, after some very submissive and humiliating correspondence, dispatched on the 21st of April, 1784, two plenipotentiaries to Brussels in order to treat with Joseph's agents for an amicable arrangement. But the very night after the arrival of the Dutch diplomatists at the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, a detachment of Austrian troops entered the territories of the Dutch republic and took possession of the fort of Old Lillo; and in little more than a week after some squadrons of Austrian dragoons crossed the frontiers at another point and pulled down the Dutch flag from the custom-house. These transactions carried rage and dismay to the furthermost dyke and canal of Holland. Some regiments of horse and foot were dispatched to Maestricht, and other troops were ordered to reinforce the different garrisons on the Scheldt; but, though everything seemed to depend upon celerity and

unanimity, the movement of the troops was retarded by fresh disputes between the States and the Stadtholder as to the rights or limits of their respective powers. The only refuge for the Dutch seemed to be in the French, and they implored Louis XVI. to mediate between them and his wife's brother the emperor. In one thing Joseph had grossly miscalculated, and that was in counting upon the acquiescence or concurrence of Louis in his project. Louis responded kindly to the Dutch application, assuring the States-General that he readily accepted the office of mediator, and that he would act with fairness and impartiality. The pretension to the free navigation of the Scheldt had been rather hinted than expressed; but an experiment was now made upon that river calculated to bring the question to issue. A small vessel manned by Flemings, who had all a vital interest in the opening the river to the sea, was dispatched down the Scheldt with orders to pass the Dutch fort at New Lillo and the guard-ship stationed there, and not to lower its flag or submit to search, except upon compulsion. The Flemings passed both the fort and the ship without being noticed, though they courted observation. On the following morning they returned up the river, and were then observed and hailed by the guard-ship. Obeying their orders they refused to strike their flag or come-to, and a magistrate of the Austrian Netherlands stood up in the boat and called out through his trumpet—"This is imperial territory; we do not acknowledge any Dutch or Zealand authority." The captain of the guard-ship, upon the suggestions of his own timidity or doubts, let the vessel pass, and the Flemings were disappointed in their expectation of violence. A day or two after the same experiment was repeated by the same boat and crew; and this time the Dutch, after some remonstrances, fired a gun over her and sent officers on board to make the search. The Flemings, as instructed, entered a formal protest and then returned quietly home. The emperor then inserted in his ultimatum his right to the absolute and independent sovereignty of the whole of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the sea, and the demand for the removal of the Dutch guard-ship at New Lillo, and the demolition of all the Dutch forts erected on that river. His minister at Brussels, Count Belgioso, further declared that the first shot fired by the Dutch upon the Scheldt would be considered as a declaration of war. Nor did the demands of the emperor end here, for he claimed a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. While the States-General and their negotiators were busied in drawing up remonstrances, and while the French were mediating without any great earnestness or alacrity, the imperialists prepared two armed vessels, to assert the right claimed in the Scheldt and to provoke an open act of hostility. One of these vessels was to proceed down from Antwerp to the sea, and the other up the river from the sea. The vessel that descended—a brig—was hailed on her passage by a Dutch armed cutter; the imperial captain refused to come-to, and pursued his course in spite of entreaties and threats; and the altercation ended in a regular broadside from the Dutchman. The captain of the brig then brought-to, and, after a solemn protest, landed and left the brig to be taken possession of by the Dutch. This happened upon the 8th of October, 1784; and within another week the emperor's ambassador was recalled from the Hague, the negotiations at Brussels were broken off, and an army of 60,000 men was ordered to march from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands. The French merely made representations to the emperor, and sent the Count de Maillebois, but without any army, to assist the Dutch, who shortly after named him commander-in-chief of all their forces. With the count went a few French officers, who acquired a knowledge of the country, and an acquaintance with some of its inhabitants, that proved serviceable a few years later when Holland was to be invaded and revolutionized by the French republic. In the month of November, 1784, by order of the States-General a dyke was broken near Lillo, and all the adjacent country inundated to prevent the advance of the Austrians.* An attempt was made to break another dyke and so extend the inundation; but this failed through the unexpected arrival in the night of a strong body of imperialists. The army of 60,000 men had a long march to perform before they could reach the Scheldt, and, as they did not march more rapidly than was usual with them, the winter arrived before they did, and, instead of beginning hostilities on their arrival, they went into winter quarters. The firm ice that formed on the rivers, canals, inundations, and swamps would have rendered easy their advance into the heart of Holland; but the Austrians were a people of routine, and they left it to those great innovators in war and politics, the French republicans, to try a winter campaign in Holland, and an invasion over ice. Little or nothing was done either in war or in negotiation during the winter, and in the ensuing spring—the spring of the present year, 1785—it became known that the versatile and volatile emperor was secretly negotiating for the exchange of all the Austrian Netherlands against the Electorate of Bavaria, and that he was favoured in this project by his great ally the Czarina Catherine. It appears that the first certain knowledge of this scheme was obtained by Frederick the Great, who immediately formed a confederation among the Princes of Germany, including the King of England in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, to oppose and defeat it. On the 23rd of July a treaty was concluded for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire and the rights of the Germanic body. In spite of this hostile league Joseph for some time seemed determined to persevere, and to obtain, even at the cost of a long war, a transfer of territory which would have been exceedingly advantageous

* It was said that from 40 to 50 men, women, and children, chiefly subjects of the emperor, were drowned by the sudden bursting of this dyke.

to his house; but his attention was divided by vague schemes of aggrandizement on the side of European Turkey, and by other schemes too numerous and confused for one head; he perceived that no great reliance was to be placed upon the promised assistance of the Czarina, that the people of Bavaria were frantic at the idea of any such transfer, and he gradually gave up the project, denying that he had ever seriously entertained it.* In the mean while the Dutch had concluded, or at least submitted to the conditions of, a commercial league and close alliance with France. The French diplomatists boasted that an actual conquest of Holland could not have been more advantageous to their country. The treaty indeed was founded upon principles best fitted to bind the countries together in the closest union that two distinct nations are capable of. It even went beyond the well-considered and extensive treaties which formerly bound England and the United Provinces. The contracting parties agreed to do everything in their power for mutual security, and for their respective preservation of tranquillity, peace, and neutrality; they guaranteed each other in possession of all their territories, domains, franchises, and liberties, and mutually bound themselves to protect each other from all hostile attacks in every part of the world. In case of their united endeavours proving ineffectual for the preservation of peace, then they were to assist each other by sea and land, in the following proportions: —France to furnish the Dutch with 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, 12 ships of the line, and 6 frigates; and the Dutch, in case of a maritime war, to furnish the French with 6 ships of the line and 3 frigates; and, in case of an attack upon the territory of France, to furnish a contingent in money or troops to the extent of 5000 foot and 1000 horse —each power to pay and support their ships and troops, and to keep an equal number of ships armed and in constant readiness to replace such as might be lost. If the succours stipulated should be insufficient, then each was to augment them, and, in any critical need, they were to assist each other with their entire force naval and military. The principle of the armed neutrality was not forgotten, and, with a direct view to England, it was agreed that the French and Dutch should mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the seas, the exemption from search, &c., in case of a naval war in which neither of them should be directly concerned. In the event of a war in which both should be engaged, neither of them was to have power to disarm or conclude truce or peace without the consent of the other; both were to communicate to each other all existing engagements with other powers of Europe, and to promise not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatsoever directly or indirectly contrary to the present treaty.* To complete this novel union between the United Provinces and the French monarchy, a treaty of commerce was superadded, by which the subjects on either side were to be treated and considered as the most favoured nation. With these treaties agreed upon, though not executed, with the consoling assurance that they had undone the system of policy of the maritime powers which had lasted nearly two centuries, the French ministers went actively to work as mediators between the Dutch and the emperor. Leopold, who, in giving up the grand scheme of territorial exchange, seemed almost to have ceased thinking about the Netherlands or their concerns and interests, presently agreed to receive at Vienna two Dutch deputies and to accept from them an apology for the firing of the cutter upon his brig. The two Dutchmen, however, were compelled to make this apology in a very humiliating manner, and to declare that their high mightinesses had never the remotest idea of offering insult to the imperial flag. Joseph then told them that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiation under the mediation of his brother the King of France. On the 20th of September preliminary articles were agreed to at Paris, and on the 8th of November the definitive treaty was signed at Fontainebleau under the guarantee as well as mediation of his Most Christian Majesty. By these articles the States acknowledged the emperor's absolute and independent sovereignty over every part of the Scheldt, from Antwerp to the limits of Saftingen in Dutch Flanders; but the lower part of the river, with all its mouths and canals that opened on the sea, was to continue under the sovereignty of the States conformably to the treaty of Munster. [The free navigation of Antwerp was thus prevented.] The emperor also quietly gave up all right and pretension to Maestricht; but the States agreed to pay his imperial majesty nine millions and a half of florins; and to his Netherland subjects, in compensation for the damages they had sustained by the defensive inundations, half a million of florins. The States also agreed to surrender the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek. Several mutual cessions were made of villages and districts so as to give each party a better frontier, and it was agreed that neither of them should keep or erect forts or batteries within cannon shot of the limits on either side.* As the emperor had already obtained a large sum from his Netherland subjects, who felt assured he would advance their commercial prosperity by opening to them the navigation of the Scheldt to the sea, and as the Dutch florins were punctually paid, the emperor was at least a gainer in a pecuniary sense by this turmoil; but he was in more than an equal proportion a loser in fame and reputation; and his Netherland subjects from this moment were alienated from him. Two days after the signing of this treaty, the compact between the French and Dutch was fully concluded, and it was ratified on Christmas day. In all the circumstances of the case, and in the deplorable anarchic state into which Holland had thrown herself, it is difficult to perceive how any exertion of English diplomacy could have prevented

* Flassan, Histoire Générale et raisonnée de la Diplomatie Française.

* Id.—Ann. Register.

LILLO ON THE SCHELDT. From an Original Drawing in the Royal Collection, British Museum.

all that had happened, and the perplexing union between the States and France. The anarchy, however, grew and increased, so that it soon became doubtful whether it would not speedily be the cause of overthrowing arrangements which it had been the cause of making. The Orange party were disgusted at the whole French alliance and the subversion of the ancient leagues and systems with which their name and best fame were identified. On the other hand the French party, who had gained a complete ascendency, were resolved to pursue with more vigour and acrimony than ever their scheme for abridging the power of the Stadtholder. During the late troubles, when the dykes of Holland were threatened by the imperialists, great bodies of volunteers assembled for the defence of their country, and the citizens of all classes, like those of Ireland at the end of the American war, still retained their arms and their organization, and seemed to declare more strongly than by mere words that they were determined not to disarm until they had remodelled their constitution and government. These volunteers had their party shibboleths and their party badges, which they used on all occasions. Some of them entered into the court-town of the Hague, which was devoted in a very remarkable manner to the House of Orange—a devotion the more remarkable as it has been generally found, as at Versailles and other places, that the seats and residences of royalty or sovereignty are distinguished by the opposition, democratic spirit of their inhabitants. Some of the people of the Hague got involved in a quarrel with these volunteers; and attempted, it was said, to deprive them of their badges and cockades. The French party in the States instantly took up the matter, and passed a vote, depriving the Stadtholder of the government of the Hague and of his body guard. That prince, who was destined to be for so long a time the victim and sport of the revolutionary spirit, withdrew indignantly to his own patrimonial city of Breda, and sent his wife and family into West Friesland. Frederick the Great interfered, remonstrated, threatened, in behalf of his young and unfortunate nephew; but not even the voice of that royal veteran could slacken the march of revolution. The aristocratic party, urged on by the Marshal de Maillebois, whom the French had sent to command the army, carried everything before them in the States of Holland, and, after transferring the military honours usually paid to the Stadtholder to their own president and pensionary, they discharged the troops from the obligation of their oath to the prince, and enjoined a new oath to the States alone. Nothing but jealousies and dissensions between the senate or aristocracy and the burghers or democratic party prevented the immediate formation of a new system of government; but these dissensions were as fierce as those which they both entertained against the Orangists, and in a brief space of time there was every prospect of a civil war between the aristocrats and the democrats. Both parties were equally desirous of totally abolishing the power vested in the Stadtholder; but they could not agree as to the division of that power and of other powers among themselves. The senators wished for a return to the old oligarchy; the burghers, who were in the habit of reading and quoting the declaration of rights and the constitutions of the United States of America, were bent upon establishing a pure democracy; or, at the least; they seemed determined to be satisfied with nothing less than a preponderating voice in the election of all magistrates, representatives, or deputies. In several of the provinces each party

made preparations for settling the question by force of arms, the Orangists looking on the while with the ordinary hope of profiting by their dissensions.

A.D. 1786.—The British Parliament reassembled on the 24th of January. The king, in his speech, informed the Houses that the disputes which had appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion; that he continued to receive friendly assurances from foreign powers; that at home his subjects were experiencing the blessings of peace, in the improvement of trade, revenue, public credit, &c. His majesty, however, recommended particular attention to our naval strength. "But above all," said he, "let me recommend to your attention *the reduction of the national debt.*" In the debate which followed upon the address Mr. Fox denounced the whole of our recent foreign policy as disgraceful, imbecile, and dangerous. He reproached ministers for not cultivating continental alliances, and for their negligence in being perpetually behind-hand in all their foreign negotiations. He maintained that it was owing to their criminal misconduct that the House of Bourbon had been enabled to conclude their advantageous compact with Holland; and that the greatest dangers were to be apprehended from the union of three such great maritime powers as France, Spain, and Holland, in a confederacy against Great Britain. He bitterly condemned the accession of the king as Elector of Hanover to the Prussian league for preventing the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands, as thereby mortal offence had been given to the Emperor Joseph, whom it was our interest to conciliate and captivate as the only power in Europe that awed France. He reprobated ministers for not seeking a close alliance with the Czarina some time before, and expressed his satisfaction at hearing that some such treaty was actually negotiating, though circumstances were not now so favourable to it as they had been two years before, when Catherine was settling her differences with the Ottoman Porte. Nor was Fox better pleased with a commercial treaty which Pitt's government had begun to negotiate with France. He put into eloquent language all the old national prejudices on this subject, and he appealed to the experience of former times for proof that England had grown great, prosperous, and flourishing from the moment she quitted all commercial connexions with France. Pitt replied coldly and sarcastically, and the address was carried without a division. On the 27th of February the attention of the House was called by the minister to a plan for fortifying the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, which originated with the Duke of Richmond, who had quitted his friends and his party to continue master-general of the ordnance under Pitt. The Commons had in the preceding session expressed their unwillingness to vote any money for these objects until they were made acquainted by competent persons with the merits of the plan. In consequence of this intimation the king had appointed a committee of military and naval officers, with the Duke of Richmond at their head, to investigate the plan, and to send in a report upon it, together with an estimate of the expense. The estimate, which amounted to 760,000*l.*, had been adroitly laid before the House by Pitt on the 10th of February, with the ordinary ordnance

The Hague. From an Original Drawing.

estimates for the year—his intention being that it should be debated and decided upon, together with the other estimates, as a mere collateral question, the report of the committee of officers being kept out of sight. But General Burgoyne, one of the board of officers who had made the report, called for the report itself, or for such parts of it as could be made public with safety to the state; alleging as one reason for this call for the paper that the House might unwittingly be led to think that the report sanctioned the duke's plan of fortifications more than it really did. On the 16th of February the witty and ready-tongued Sheridan, in addition to the demand made by Burgoyne, had moved "for a copy of the appointment of the board of naval and military officers, and of such parts of their instructions, and of their report, as his majesty's discretion might deem proper to be made public, with perfect consistency to the safety of the state." Pitt found himself obliged to produce the papers; and in laying them upon the table, on the 27th of February, he introduced the Duke of Richmond's measure in the form of a general resolution, "that it appeared to the House, that to provide for securing the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth by a system of fortification founded on the most economical principles was an essential object for the safety of the state, intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom, and necessary for enabling the fleet to act with full vigour and effect for the protection of commerce, the support of our distant possessions, and the prosecution of offensive operations in any future war." He undertook to prove that the fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth was a measure of absolute necessity; that the duke's plan of fortifications was the best plan possible; and that these fortifications would not only give a greater scope and effect to the operations of our fleets, but would also tend directly to diminish the standing army. But there was certainly no unanimity of opinion in the report of the officers to justify the minister's assertion as to the duke's plan being the best plan possible. Not only General Burgoyne and Earl Percy dissented, as land officers, from some parts of the plan, but Captain Macbride, as a sea-officer, objected to another part of the proposed system of defence, and Admiral Graves questioned whether any new system of additional land fortifications for the security of Plymouth was necessary. Sheridan pointed out these disagreements, and maintained that the report of the board of officers did not warrant or authorise the system. In the course of all the debates on this business this witty orator and his party treated the Duke of Richmond as a renegade, and made the whole matter a mere party question. We are as incompetent as was Sheridan and the great majority of these debaters to decide upon the scientific merits of the plan proposed, but we feel assured that, if it had been as perfect as Pitt—also without the necessary knowledge—chose to represent it, it would have encountered just the same amount of resistance. So strong was the opposition, that upon a division on the original resolution as moved by the minister, there appeared 169 Noes against exactly the same number of Ayes. As usual in such cases, the speaker was called upon for his casting vote: he gave it on the side of opposition, and thus put an end to a project during the discussion of which the noble master of the ordnance had been most unmercifully ridiculed by Sheridan, and personally assailed by the party he had abandoned. In the following month some mild and judicious alterations were made in the mutiny bill, though not without considerable opposition in the House of Lords.

Early in the session Pitt had moved for and obtained a select committee to examine into the public income and expenditure, and to report to the House what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future; and on the 29th of March, together with the ways and means for the year, he brought under consideration the national debt and his new Sinking Fund, or scheme for discharging that debt by compound interest.* It appeared, from the report of the special committee, that the average of the public income exceeded the expenditure by about 900,000*l.*, and that the surplus might be increased to one million without burthening the people. Hence the minister moved "that the sum of one million be annually granted to commissioners, to be by them applied to the purchase of stock, towards discharging the public debt of the country." Wrapped in a happy vision, he calculated that the accumulated compound interest of this sum, added to the annuities which would fall into the fund, would in twenty-eight years reach such an amount as would leave a surplus of four millions per annum, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. In his speech, wherein he said not a word of his arithmetical Mentor, Doctor Price,† he expressed more than a sanguine hope, he affirmed his entire conviction, that this new sinking fund would rapidly reduce and eventually discharge in toto "the enormous national debt, to pay the interest of which every nerve had been stretched, and every resource nearly drained." "Upon the deliberations of this day," said he, "do the people place all their hopes of a full return of prosperity, and that public security, which will give confidence and vigour to those exertions in trade and commerce, upon which the flourishing state of this country so much depends. And not only the public and this House but other nations look to the business of this day; for, by the establishment of what is now proposed, our rank will be decided among the powers of Europe. To behold this country emerging from a most unfortunate war, which added such an accumulation to

* In the month of September of the preceding year, Pitt had thus spoken of his grand arcanum, in a letter to Wilberforce:—"The produce of our revenues is glorious, and I am half mad with a project which will give our supplies the effect almost of magic in the reduction of debt. It will be at least new and eccentric enough to satisfy your constant call for *something out of the common way.*"—*Wilberforce's Correspondence, edited by his Sons.*

† It is said that Dr. Price submitted not one but three schemes to the consideration of the minister, and afterwards complained that Pitt had selected the worst of the three.

sums before immense, that it was the belief of surrounding nations, and of many among ourselves, that our powers must fail us, and that we should not be able to bear up under it:—to behold this nation, instead of despairing at its alarming condition, looking boldly its situation in the face, and establishing upon a spirited and permanent plan the means of relieving itself from all its incumbrances, must give such an idea of our resources, and our spirit of exertion, as will astonish the nations around us, and enable us to regain that pre-eminence to which we are on many accounts so justly entitled. . . . We have nothing indeed to fear. We may lay despondent thoughts aside." He pronounced the scheme to be "a firm column, upon which he was proud to flatter himself his name might be inscribed." He remarked, however, that care must be taken never to break in upon the sinking fund. "This," he continued, "has hitherto been the bane of this country: for, if the original sinking fund had been properly preserved, it is easy to be proved that our public debt at this moment would not have been very burthensome. This has hitherto been in vain endeavoured to be prevented by acts of parliament: the minister has uniformly, when it suited his convenience, gotten hold of the money, which ought to have been regarded as most sacred." As a means of preventing these inroads for the future, he proposed that the sums should be vested in certain commissioners, to be by them applied positively to buy up stock, so that no great or tempting sum would ever lie ready to be seized upon: it would be impossible to take it by stealth; and the advantage of a strict appropriation to the object would be too well felt ever to suffer a public act to pass for that purpose. "No minister," said he, "could ever have the confidence to come down to this House and desire the repeal of so beneficial a law, which tends so directly to relieve the people from their burthens." The commissioners he proposed were the speaker of the House of Commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the bank of England, and the accountant-general in chancery, which last functionary, "by virtue of his office, was already employed in the money of all suitors and wards in the funds, and increasing by that means the capitals by the accumulation of compound interest." Nearly the whole House entered into the fairy car with him and allowed themselves to be rolled away into a financial elysium on the glowing wheels of compound interest. The few who lingered behind or refused to embark were looked upon as madmen. Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Sir Grey Cooper, and one or two others, ventured, nevertheless, to object that the mode proposed was insufficient and in some instances impolitic. They endeavoured to show that the supposed excess of 900,000*l.* of the revenue over the expenditure did not really exist now, and that if it existed it must vanish in the event of a war, or of other casualties—that the million per annum must be raised by loan before it could be put into the sinking fund. Few men in the House or anywhere else knew more about the effect of borrowing money, in a private way, or of the compound embarrassment produced by paying old debts by making new ones, than Charles Fox and Richard Brinsley Sheridan.* Sheridan, insisting that there was no surplus and could be no surplus, said that the only means which suggested themselves to him were a loan of a million every year—"for the right honourable gentleman might say, with the person in the comedy, 'If you won't lend me the money, how can I pay you?'" The wit then moved a long string of resolutions, fourteen or fifteen in number, which were all rejected without a division. But on the day for reconsidering the report of the committee on this memorable bill, Fox moved a clause to empower the commissioners to accept so much of any future loan as they should have cash in their hands to pay for. This, he said, would obviate one great objection he had to the present bill on account of its making the sinking fund inalienable under any circumstances whatever; it would relieve that distress the country might feel, when, in case of a war, it might be necessary to raise a new loan: but whenever that case should occur, he thought that the ministry should raise taxes sufficient both to pay the interest of the loan and to make good to the sinking fund whatever had been taken from it. If, for instance, a loan of six millions should be proposed, and there should be at that time one million in the hands of the commissioners, then the said commissioners should take a million of the loan, receiving the bonus thereupon for the public. In this way government would have to borrow only five millions

* Pitt himself, while thus devising how to pay the nation's debts, was at a loss how to pay his own. Though without wife or family, without any taste for *virtù*, or the turf, or cards, or dice, or any other expensive vice, he had already contrived to involve himself in embarrassments from which he never got free. He inherited his father's great carelessness about money matters—a somewhat ominous sign in a chancellor of the exchequer with the finances of an empire under his control. If Fox had dissipated his fortune in gambling and revelry, Pitt was allowing himself to be plundered and eaten alive by his rapacious servants, even while his establishment was deficient in the ordinary comfort and elegancies of a plain gentleman's house. There was no domestic management on his part, and no conscience in the harpies that surrounded him. He had thus early adopted a practice in which Sheridan was a great proficient. When tradesmen became troublesome about their bills, he put them off by giving them large fresh orders, and passing over their charges without comment. But matters came to so inflammatory a state in this very year, that he was obliged to submit his affairs to the inspection of his friend, Mr. Robert Smith, who afterwards was one of his numerous creation of peers, under the title of Baron Carrington. Smith, who had been a man of business, a manufacturer, and a banker, was horrified at the amount of his debts, and at the manner in which they had been contracted. The butcher's bill alone was at the rate of 96*l.* per week, and the poulterer's, fishmonger's, and the rest were in an equally extravagant proportion. "Indeed," says Smith, "all the bills exceed anything I could have imagined!" Every Saturday there was an entry of some three or four hundred weight of meat. In one month the quantity of butchers' meat was set down at 3,800 pounds, and this too when he was entertaining no company, but frequently dining out, or going without his dinner. The embryo peer says, in one of the letters to Wilberforce, from which these housekeeping items are taken—"The necessity of bringing his affairs into some better order is now so apparent, that no man who is attached to his person, or values his reputation, can be easy while he knows it is undone. I hope, therefore, that you will be able to make Pitt thoroughly sensible of the necessity of an *immediate reform*, not to save money but to retrieve his affairs. To carry the measures for this purpose into execution, it is necessary he should see the evil in its full extent, and what the consequence must inevitably be if he should *continue* his present *domestic administration*." This earliest correspondent gives the year (1786) and the day of the week, but not the *month*. His letters may have been written at the very time that Pitt was making so very sure of paying off the national debt. See *Wilberforce's Correspondence and Life*.

instead of six, and great benefits would arise to the public in every way. Though at first Pitt looked grim at the notion of breaking into the sanctuary in any manner or upon any account, when he had heard Fox out, he adopted his clause with strong marks of approbation. Mr. Pulteney moved a second clause, to vest in parliament the faculty and responsibility of giving fresh instructions to the commissioners, whenever the funds should be at or above par; and to this also the minister acceded. The bill, with these additional clauses, was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the Lords, where it was passed without any material opposition. The king, in giving it his assent, felt that it would make all his financial odds even. Perhaps sufficient attention was not paid to other causes and improvements then getting into operation, but it was generally admitted, at the time, that the measure was one of excellent policy; that manufactures, trade, and public credit were immediately and immeasurably benefited by it—that it raised the funds, increased the value of land, and of everything else, and gave to every man the prosperity of a rising market.* Such were considered its effects while coupled with the advantages of peace: how it operated in war we shall see hereafter.

Pursuing his plans for increasing the revenue so as to make up the million per annum required by his sinking fund, the minister, a few days after—on the 22nd of May—presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the customs to the excise. This, he said, he proposed, because large quantities of wine were smuggled into the country, and because a spurious liquor was made and sold at home under that name. By the bill officers of the excise were to be permitted to enter into the cellars and warehouses of such as dealt in wine, but not into the dwelling-houses even of those persons. There was a strong national feeling against any extension of the excise laws, and the interference and intrusions of excisemen; this had always been the case, and it was remembered how an excise bill had nearly shaken Sir Robert Walpole, when at the height of his power, from his seat; but Pitt saw his bill carried through the House of Commons without a division. In its passage through the Lords, however, it encountered a violent opposition from Lord Loughborough, who held up to deserved reprobation a clause which had been smuggled into it while in committee. The purport of this clause was, to prohibit juries, in case of any suit commenced against an exciseman for improper seizure, from granting the plaintiff a verdict for more than twopence damages, or any costs of suit, or inflicting a fine exceeding one shilling, *if* the exciseman could show a *probable cause* for such seizure. This, said Loughborough, would render nugatory every appeal to the laws of the land. As to the term, a *probable cause*, false information was a probable cause that might constantly be assigned;—thus the rights and powers of juries would be infringed, thus jurymen would be turned into ciphers; an exciseman, placed above their jurisdiction, might laugh at them, and even at Westminster Hall. He called upon Lord Camden, whose strong patriotism had subsided to a calm courtliness, to defend, as he had done in former times, the sacred rights of juries. Thus reminded of his past performances and vehement declarations, Camden gently confessed that the clause was far from meeting his approbation; but he added, that, as any alteration would destroy the bill for the present session, he would rather swallow the clause, which might be amended hereafter. The bill was then passed without a division; and the corrective hereafter did not come in Camden's time. Shortly after Pitt again found Loughborough a thorn in his side—a thorn whose sharp and cankerous points were only to be blunted, years after, by the presentation of the great seal. In consequence of a message from his majesty to both Houses of Parliament, the minister, at the end of June, brought in a bill appointing commissioners for inquiring into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues belonging to the crown. Mr. Jolliffe strongly objected to several clauses in the bill, but more particularly to one granting what he described as "an unlimited power to the commissioners to call for and take into their keeping all titles, maps, plans, and documents which related to lands holden of the crown." He said that this was instituting a court of inquisition—that it would leave every man concerned without anything like certainty of title or estate; and he concluded by moving amendments to protect private title-deeds, and bind the commissioners to report their proceedings to parliament. The minister readily adopted these amendments without dividing the House, and the bill was then passed *nem. con.* But upon the third reading in the Lords Loughborough fell furiously upon it, asserting, 1. That it did not agree with the king's message, which only authorised an inquiry into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues belonging to the crown; whereas the bill proceeded to alienate and dispose of those land revenues, contrary to the usage of parliament, and inconsistently with the dignity of the crown; 2. Because the bill repealed two old acts and created a new power for the sale of those lands, without any exception of the rents reserved in the former acts, for divers persons, and for sundry good and wholesome purposes mentioned in those acts; 3. Because the powers granted to the commissioners were dangerous to the subject and derogatory to the honour of the crown; subjecting all persons holding of the crown, or possessing estates adjoining to crown lands, to an inquisition into their ancient boundaries and title-deeds, at the mere motion of the commissioners, without any other legal or ordinary process; tending to restrain the tenants of the crown from their accustomed rights and privileges, and depriving the crown itself of the management

* Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs during the Reign of George III. By John Nicholls, Esquire, Member of the House of Commons.

of its own estate, to place that management in the hands of the commissioners. There was a thin House, and, counting the votes present, Loughborough had 11 to 14; but ministers had besides fourteen proxies, and Loughborough and his friends only seven. He, Lord Carlisle, the Duke of Portland, Lord Sandwich, and the Bishop of Bristol, entered a protest against the bill, which, nevertheless, received the royal assent.*

Mr. Wilberforce, considering it hopeless, after his friend Pitt's failure, to think of carrying at present any general measure of parliamentary reform, made an attempt to introduce some practical improvement into the representation as it stood. The plan which he proposed aimed at purifying county elections by establishing a general registration of the freeholders, and by providing that the poll should be held in various places at the same time. A bill embodying these principles, which, nearly half a century later, were included in the great Reform Bill, was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Mahon; but, as his lordship during the session was called up, by the death of his father, Earl Stanhope, to the House of Lords, the conduct of the measure was left chiefly to Wilberforce. The motion for going into committee on the bill was carried by a majority of 98 to 22, on May the 15th. Wilberforce was the more eager for these reforms, as his own elections had cost him enormous sums.† The bill was afterwards defeated in the Lords by what has been designated "a coalition of the king's friends and the Whig aristocracy." Another bill, devised by the same humane mind, but scarcely of the usual character of his propositions, was introduced in the same session, and was also thrown out by the Lords, who subsequently rejected so many of his bills. The object of the present one was, that the power the judges already possessed of consigning the bodies of murderers, after execution, to surgical dissection, should be extended to the case of certain other felons. Lord Loughborough, who at this time must certainly be considered the leader of the opposition in the Upper House, treated the bill and its author with sovereign contempt, calling it "the project of an inexperienced youth unacquainted with the laws." As it was known that Wilberforce had consulted the attorney-general, and the solicitor-general, and one of the most active judges then on the bench, it was understood that Loughborough meant only to throw discredit on the lawyers who adhered to Pitt.‡ During the session, an attempt was made to extend the disqualification from voting at elections to persons holding places in the navy and ordnance offices, on the plea that they were as much under ministerial influence as custom-house officers or excisemen, who with others had been disqualified by Mr. Crewe's bill. Pitt opposed the measure. The reason, he said, for passing Crewe's act was the necessity of reducing the influence of the crown—an influence which the House had previously declared had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. But, he asked, was it to be laid down as a rule, that, because it was necessary to reduce the influence of the crown to a certain level, it would of course be an act of inconsistency to refuse to reduce it farther? Fox on the other hand contended, that, if depriving the revenue officers of the right of voting tended to reduce the influence of the crown, the depriving those other servants of the crown must necessarily reduce it still more; and in the matter of elections it was clear that it ought to be abolished altogether. The bill was negatived on the motion for the second reading by a large majority, the numbers being 117 against 41.

But the great business of the session, or that at least which excited more interest than even the minister's sinking-fund scheme, was the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, the charges against whom, after long and numerous preludes, were brought forward by Burke on the 17th of February, and occupied the House, from time to time, down to the 11th of July, when his majesty in person prorogued parliament until the 4th of September.

This appears to be the proper place to introduce a retrospective view of Indian affairs, which will include some details of the progress of our arms and policy in that part of the world—details omitted in the preceding period of our history, in order not to embarrass the narrative of the American war—but without which the protracted trial of the governor-general, and the eloquence of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, would be unintelligible.

Few great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British empire in India. In the year 1612, in the reign of James I., the English, stimulated by the efforts and successes of the Portuguese and Dutch, established their first humble factory at Surat. By degrees other petty settlements were formed along the western side of the peninsula, Surat continuing to have the control over them all, till the cession of Bombay to the company by Charles II., in 1668, when that town, from its fine harbour and central situation, rose to be the superior settlement in that part of India. At this period the nominal sovereigns and masters of the whole of India, and the real masters and tyrants of the greatest part of it, were the Mohammedanized Mogul Tartars, a people widely different in origin, manners, laws, and religion from the Hindus, the aboriginal or very ancient inhabitants of the country.

At the beginning of the tenth century of our era, or about seventy years before the conquest of England by the Normans, Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, who is universally regarded as the first

* Ann. Regist.

† His first return for Hull had cost him between 8000*l.* and 9000*l.* "By long-established custom, the single vote of a resident elector was rewarded with a donation of two guineas; four were paid for a plumper; and the expenses of a freeman's journey from London averaged 10*l.* apiece. The letter of the law was not broken, because the money was not paid until the last day on which election petitions could be presented."—*Life, by his Sons.*

‡ Wilberforce, Life and Correspondence.

SURAT. From a View in the Library of the East India Company.

Mohammedan conqueror of Hindustan, acquired by the sword, and by many battles and massacres, nearly the whole of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. The dynasty of Ghizni was subverted, in less than two hundred years, by new Mohammedan conquerors from Gaur in Khorasan, who, though at first defeated by some of the Hindu Rajahs, endeavouring to restore the independence and ancient religion of their race, conquered the greater part of the provinces, took Delhi, and made it the seat and centre of government. This Mohammed, called the Gaurian, was assassinated in the year 1206, when the empire he had founded was split into several parts. In 1289 the Gaurian dynasty was wholly terminated by another assassination, and the partial dominion of India passed into the hands of the Afghans, who subdued the Rajpoots, a portion of the unfortunate Hindu race who had hitherto preserved their independence. The Afghans also added to their dominion the greater part of the Deccan, pitilessly slaughtering the Hindu Rajahs. But in India no dynasty long preserved the qualities which had made them conquerors; the Afghan princes became weak and degenerate; many of the Hindu Rajahs in the Deccan and in Bengal recovered their independence; and then, in the last years of the fourteenth century, Timur the Mogul Tartar, commonly called by our writers Tamerlane, overturned the Afghan dynasty altogether. As Timur did not remain in the scene of his victories and devastations, the country became divided into a number of small independent states, some Mohammedan and some Hindu. But in 1526, Baber, a descendant of Timur, swept away by a new invasion these petty principalities and powers, extended one compact dominion as far as the Ganges, and quietly erected the Mogul throne in Delhi. The second prince in succession from Baber, the great Akbar, who began to reign in 1556, set the Mogul dominion upon a firm basis, chiefly by consulting the interests and feelings of the Hindus, who, counting the whole of the extensive country, were a hundred-fold more numerous than their conquerors. The great Akbar had been dead only seven years when the English timidly made their first settlement at Surat.

The Portuguese, who had numerous settlements along the Malabar coast, especially at Goa and Diu, and who claimed, on the ground of prior possession, an exclusive right to the commerce of the Indian seas—a pretension they were, for a long time, enabled to make good by possessing Malacca—watched the progress of the English with great jealousy, and from the first attempted to check it. The English Company armed their trading vessels, and, though there was peace in Europe between the respective mother countries, several combats took place with the Portuguese on the Indian seas. Captain Best, in the year 1612, defeated them in two actions, and these victories not only raised the reputation of the English, but enabled them to establish in quiet their first factory at Surat. In the year 1614 King James, at the solicitation of the infant company, sent an embassy to the court of the Emperor of Delhi to settle their commerce and cultivate a friendly connexion. Sir Thomas Roe, the person selected for this mission, was an observing and clever man. He sailed from Gravesend

on the 24th of January, 1615, and arrived in September at Surat, where he landed in great pomp with eighty men-at-arms in his train. As the Mogul emperor was then residing at Ajmere, Sir Thomas, after some rest, proceeded thither through the country of the Rajpoots. He arrived at Ajmere on the 23rd of December, but was not admitted to court till the 10th of January (1616). The Emperor Jehanghire received him with unusual honour, and he was assured by the Mogul courtiers that no other ambassador, not even from their co-religionists the Mohammedans of Turkey or Persia, had ever obtained so flattering a reception. Many other interviews followed; and, as both the emperor and ambassador were of a sportive turn, they had, by means of interpreters, some jocular conversation. Sir Thomas, however, soon found that his success was thwarted by the intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, and by the suspicion or caution of the emperor's favourite son and ministers. With much perseverance and address, he at last succeeded in procuring a confirmation of former grants of territory, and an extended privilege of having resident English agents at some of the principal towns in the empire. The able ambassador then returned to the coast and sailed to Persia, where he succeeded in obtaining every privilege which could promote the trade of the company with the Persian Gulf, from Shah Abbas, the reigning sovereign, and the greatest that has in modern times appeared in Persia.

The Portuguese were prevented only by the inferiority of their naval power from proceeding to war against the new English settlements. The Dutch, who were more on a par with us in this respect, viewed with an equally jealous eye the successes of the company; and when the English attempted to obtain a share in the lucrative trade carried on by the Dutch with the Spice Islands, the detestable massacre of Amboyna was the immediate consequence. At the island of Amboyna, the largest of the Molucca group, and the richest in cloves, the Dutch had a strong castle with a garrison of 200 men, while the English, only 18 in number, occupied a defenceless house in the town, being secured, as they conceived, in possession of it by agreements and treaties with the Dutch. Yet the Dutch chose to suspect that this handful of English intended to dispossess them of their castle; and thereupon, inviting them all in a friendly manner to pay a visit to their governor in the castle, they put them to rack and torture, until some of the weakest of them, under the agonies of those infernal machines, confessed to the words which their torturers put into their mouths. As soon as their sufferings were suspended they retracted what they had said; but the Dutch put them upon the rack again, and then the anguish and the weakness of nature repeated the confession. The end of all was that Captain Towerson and nine others were condemned to die, by what may properly be called the verdict of the rack; and the remaining eight were pardoned by Dutch mercy and magnanimity. With a delicate consideration for their spiritual welfare, their murderers allowed a Dutch clergyman to administer the sacrament to the ten victims; and in the act of taking it, and afterwards with their dying breath, the Englishmen protested their entire innocence. Their heads were cut off with a scymetar. Out of regard to his superior rank, a black pall was provided for Captain Towerson, the expense of which the Dutch, like regular men of business, set down to the charge of the English company! One Portuguese and nine natives of Japan, put to death at the same time as accomplices with the English, solemnly protested in dying that they knew nothing of the imputed plot.

From the occurrence of this frightful tragedy (in 1622) the English abandoned the commerce of the Spice Islands to their rivals; and for some time, owing to various causes, such as the smallness of capital held by the company, some radical defects in its constitution, the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up a naval force for protection against Dutch and Portuguese, and the waywardness of some of the native princes, the English power seemed to decline, and the company became embarrassed and in great distress. In the mean time, however, their agents from Surat had obtained permission, through the good offices of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon in great favour with the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan, son of Jehanghire, to make a new settlement at Hooghly; and the ground on which Madras, or Fort St. George, stands had been obtained from a native prince in 1640, when Mr. Francis Day began to erect a fortress, which was gradually surrounded by a thriving and still increasing town, to which the natives flocked as to the best place for pursuing trade and putting in security the wealth they derived from it—wealth which had few safeguards under the dominion or in the territories of their own princes and chiefs. In the same interval the Mogul empire had been shaken by several revolutions and changes in its interior or upon its frontiers: the Hindus of Rajpoot had recommenced their struggles for independence; the Afghans had revolted in the north, the Usbeks had taken possession of Cabul, and the Persians of Candahar. In all places remote from the centre of government the Mohammedan chiefs paid but an imperfect obedience to the Great Mogul; and wherever favoured by local situation, or defended by mountains, forests, or rivers, the Hindus bade defiance to the emperor and his lieutenants. Then came on the great civil war in England between the parliament and Charles I., during which nearly all foreign trade was suspended, and the company sunk to such a state of insignificance that its existence as a body corporate was scarcely discernible. Indeed, from the year 1652 to 1657 the trade to India was thrown open to every English merchant that chose to embark in it. But, at the end of that period, Oliver Cromwell renewed

FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS. From an early View published by Carey, in 1787.

or re-confirmed the privileges of the old company. Shortly after the restoration of monarchy, Charles II. granted the company a new charter, dated April, 1661, in which not only were all the old privileges confirmed, but new and important ones added to them. The company were vested with a right of exercising civil jurisdiction and military authority; and with the power of making war and of concluding peace with the "Infidels of India," the state reserving to itself the prerogatives of peace and war with regard to Christian or European governments. In 1663 Charles II. obtained, as a part of the dower of his wife, the Infanta of Portugal, the island of Bombay, and, finding it expensive rather than profitable, he ceded the island to the company in the year 1668. Soon after he made a similar grant of that convenient midway resting-place the island of St. Helena; and in other important matters the aid of his government was cordially given to the company—the more cordially, no doubt, because some of his ministers and favourites were shareholders and speculators, and personally interested with the merchants—not yet merchant-princes—of Leadenhall-street. In 1687 the company transferred from Surat to Bombay the presidency over all their settlements, and from that moment the town began to spread and increase very rapidly. The English were anxious to have possession of the neighbouring island of Salsette, and maintained that it was included in the dower with Bombay; but the Portuguese took a different reading of the marriage treaty, and kept Salsette.*

* Bruce, Annals of the East India Company.—Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

Trade was now carried on with a great part of the Indian empire through establishments both on the eastern and western coast; but the intercourse was liable to interruptions, and the forts and factories were not unfrequently threatened with hostile attack by the native powers, urged on in most cases by the Portuguese or by the Dutch. The weakness, the dissensions, and not unfrequent wars among the natives, encouraged the English settlers to abandon the merely defensive, and act on the offensive. The factors in Bengal transmitted to the company a list of wrongs and injuries sustained from the petty native rulers, and warmly recommended an active campaign against them beyond the limits of the company's settlements, which must become untenable or useless if allowed to be beleaguered and blocked up by the Indians. As the company had the power of war or peace with the Infidels, they sent out, in 1686, a Captain Nicholson with ten armed vessels and six companies of soldiers to levy war against the Great Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal. This force, the first employed in the intent of establishing political and military power, was diminutive indeed; but the unwarlike habits and the undisciplined condition of the natives were taken into account.* The ships composing the little armament arrived separately, and did not act with proper concert. The object of the campaign was to seize and fortify Chittagong. The fleet sailed up the Hooghly and commenced a cannonade, but they were repulsed and obliged to seek shelter near Calcutta, where they lay till some agreement with the Nabob, or additional forces

* Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.

from England, should enable them to resume their stations. A hollow truce was agreed to by the Nabob, who employed the time thus gained in making warlike preparations. As soon as he was ready the English were attacked by an immense host; but, under the direction of Charnock, the company's agent, they made a gallant defence, repulsed repeated assaults, stormed the fort of Tanna, seized the island of Ingellee, in which they fortified themselves, and burnt the town of Balasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet. But on the other hand the Nabob took and plundered the English factories at Patna and Cossimbuzar. And the campaign ended, not in any great conquest, but in an accommodation neither very honourable nor very reliable for the company. The court of directors, disappointed and irritated, sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to take the command over the head of Charnock, with instructions to re-establish, if possible, the factories at Patna and Cossimbuzar. Some of the company's servants were carrying on pacific negotiations with the natives, when Captain Heath arrived from England with a large ship and a frigate, and, without the necessary forms, commenced hostilities by plundering one or two native towns. After this work he proceeded to Chittagong, and was there foiled and defeated, as Captain Nicholson had been before him. Heath then, taking the company's servants and effects on board, sailed away for Madras; and Bengal, upon which large sums had been spent, was abandoned. The emperor now reigning was the celebrated Aurengzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, who had dethroned his father, and triumphed over his brothers who contested the empire with him.* Aurengzebe, though previously well disposed towards the English, was indignant at their last proceedings, and issued orders for expelling

* Aurengzebe had revived and extended the Mogul power, which seemed falling to ruin under his father Shah Jehan. He had taken the cities of Hyderabad, Bejapore, and Golconda, and had extended his dominions nearly to the limits of the Carnatic. But it was during his brilliant reign that a new enemy took the field. This was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, who, with the most warlike of the Hindus, overran and permanently occupied the far greater part of the Deccan.

Bombay. From a View in the Library of the East India Company.

them from his dominions. The factory at Surat was seized, the island of Bombay was surrounded by a fleet, and the English governor cooped up in the town and castle. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as was also the factory at Visigapatam, where the company's agent and several of their servants were put to death. But the Mogul treasury soon felt the want of the copious streams that flowed into it through the English factories; and Aurengzebe and his ministers, flattered, by the recent display of weakness, into the belief that the company would never be strong enough to be dangerous, made a return towards their old friendly feeling, and listened to negotiations which were proposed in a most humble, if not abject tone. After some time the English obtained an order for the restoration of Bombay and their factory at Surat. But during these premature contests with the natives, the most able and powerful of their European enemies had contrived to get a footing in India: the French had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, and were now employing themselves in fortifying that place and in establishing a close connexion with such of the natives as were most un-

friendly to the English. These proceedings quickened the desire of obtaining an extension of territory and a real dominion by treaty, by purchase, or by force of arms, but to be at all events independent of the Great Mogul, nabobs, and all other powers. "The truth is," says one of the greatest authorities in Indian affairs, "that, from the day on which the company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength; which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the occurrence of similar danger."* In 1689 the directors broadly laid down the principle that independence was to be established and dominion acquired in India. "The increase of our revenue," said they, "is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India."† And just at this time their policy was to some extent gratified, for Tegnapatam, a town and port a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the native powers. The servants of the company forthwith erected walls and bulwarks, and changed the name of the place to Fort St. David. After this acquisition the company pursued their plan of dominion with increased confidence, and soon after they may be said to have commenced a system of political ascendency. About nine years after the purchase of Tegnapatam they were enabled to make a more important acquisition. Aurengzebe had appointed his son Azim Ooshaun to be viceroy of Bengal, and this Azim aspired to dethrone his father, as Aurengzebe had dethroned his; or, if he were content to leave his sire on the throne until his natural death, Azim was anxious to secure the succession to it, which was sure to be disputed, in the oriental fashion, by a number of brothers, of whom some were younger and some older than himself. His grand scheme required money and arms, and the company could promise both for valuable considerations. For a large sum, Azim Ooshaun sold to the company the Zemindarships of Chutanutty, Govindpore, and Calcutta. At the last-named place the English began, but not without some timidity and circumspection, to erect Fort William. Nine years after this, in 1707, when the fort was strong and considerable, and a town had risen under its protecting shadow, the company made Calcutta the seat of a presidency, and the place gradually began to rise to the dignity of a capital to the British empire in the East. In the mean while many merchants and traders at home had become jealous of the strict monopoly of the chartered company, and various attempts were made by men called "interlopers" to carry on a trade with India in despite of the company and its local agents. Some interlopers there had always been, and, as early as the year 1600, the court of directors had ordered that they should be seized and treated as smugglers, or, in some cases, as *pirates*.† In 1691 the court of directors granted commissions to all their captains proceeding to India to seize interlopers of every description and bring them to trial before the Admiralty Court at Bombay—"explaining that, as they attributed all the differences between the company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or king of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as pirates, and sentence of death passed; but execution stayed till the king's pleasure should be known." "This proceeding of the court," says a warm advocate, "rested upon the opinion of the twelve judges, which was that the company had a right to the trade to the East Indies, according to their charter."* But the authority of parliament had never confirmed the kingly grant by charter of such extensive powers of judicature; and the principles thus avowed, having in many instances been vigorously and barbarously acted upon by the company's agents and lawgivers in India, had greatly increased the prevailing jealousy. The House of Commons in 1693 adopted the resolution that *parliament* should determine whatever regulations might be deemed necessary for the Indian trade. Nevertheless, a new charter was that year granted by Queen Mary, in the absence of her husband William III., by letters patent from the crown, and the interlopers were subjected to the same rigorous treatment as formerly. The House of Commons then resolved "That it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies or any part of the world, unless prohibited by *act of parliament*." William III. deferred to this decision, which had been brought about by a temporary union between the discontented Whigs and the Jacobites. In 1695 the House of Commons ordered the books of the company to be examined, and detected several flagrant abuses in the conduct of their affairs, and many palpable proofs of their having bribed some ministers of William in order to obtain their charter and the connivance of government. It was found for example that since the Revolution of 1688 the home expenses of the company had increased from 1200*l.* per annum to 90,000*l.* Much of this money had been paid at various times to members of the House of Commons, who appeared to have kept part for themselves and to have paid part to ministers. Thus Danby, Duke of Leeds and Lord President of William's council, had received 5000 guineas; and other sums, including 10,000*l.* to the king himself, had been paid in various directions, for assurances of support against interlopers, the establishment of a rival company, &c. The Duke of Leeds was impeached by the Commons, but the

* Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.
† Id.

* Bruce, Annals of the East Ind. Comp.

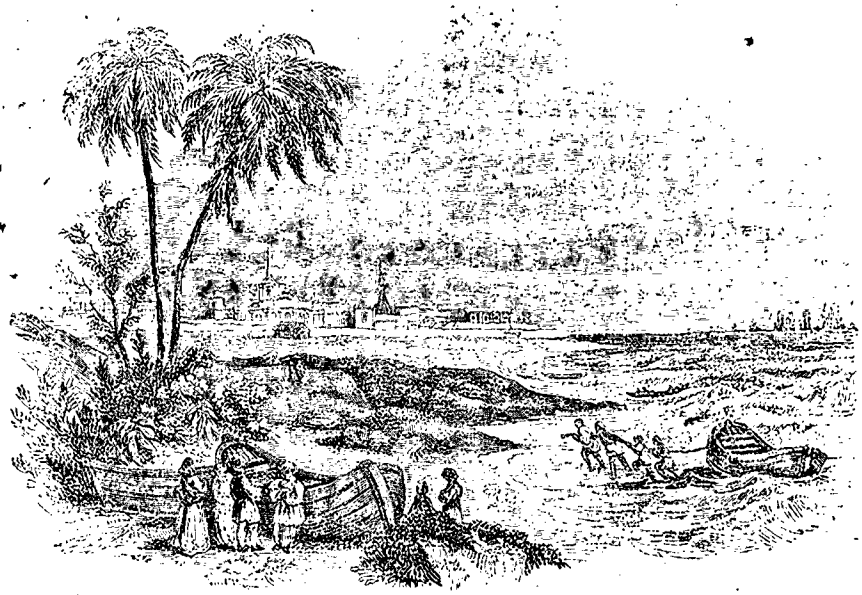
king quashed proceedings by a sudden prorogation of parliament.* The interlopers, including many men who had abundance of money, and who were quite as ready to use it in bribing the representatives and ministers of the country as were the chartered directors in Leadenhall-street, continued their earnest endeavours, which were now directed not merely to obtain a share in the benefits of the India trade, but a strict monopoly of it to their own sole advantage and to the exclusion of the old company and all others, whether individual traders or bodies corporate. And they gained so much strength by bribing and out-bidding that, in 1698, they were enabled to bring the company's charter under the cognizance of parliament and to get it set aside for one in their own favour. The charter was in fact knocked down to the highest bidder; and, in consideration of an advance of 2,000,000*l.* sterling, at 8*l.* per cent., these interlopers obtained, not by royal charter, but by parliamentary bill, the exclusive right of trade with the East Indies, in spite of the protests of the old company, that the infringement of charters was contrary to good faith, contrary to justice, and as imprudent as immoral; that they had property of which they could not be deprived without the violation of the very foundation on which all civil society rests; that they were the lords proprietors by royal grant of Bombay and St. Helena; that they had acquired in India, at their own expense and by their own exertions, much immoveable property in lands, houses, forts, factories, &c.; that they had purchased privileges of the natives, and had, in fact, established a system through which alone England could hope to preserve the India trade; that justice to individuals as well as to the public required the continuance of their charter, inasmuch as the property and even subsistence of many families, widows, and orphans were entirely dependent on the fate of the company. So much attention was paid to these strong representations, that the Old or London Company obtained a confirmation of their charter in the following season, and the nation had thus *two* East India companies instead of one—the Old by charter and royal prerogative, the New by bill and authority of parliament. "Nothing," says Malcolm, "could be more violent than the contests of these companies during the short period that they continued separate. The great efforts of both were directed to the object of gaining power in the House of Commons; and in the general elections of the year 1700 each was detected in bribery and corruption. The Old Company corrupted members and purchased votes; the New Company purchased seats. Thus the one bribed the representatives, the other the constituents. But, tired out at length with a struggle which threatened ruin to both, they united their stock under the charter granted to the Old Company, and bearing date the 5th of September, 1698, and assumed that name under which they have ever since been incorporated —"The United East India Company."* It however required some time to remove their rooted animosities and establish a feeling of common interest. But at length, in the year 1708, a new and more favourable bill was obtained from parliament, and their privileges were both extended and consolidated in return for a fresh loan to government. Some of the leaders and servants of the Old Company had never lowered their tone in all their troubles. For example, their governor at Leadenhall-street, writing to an officer who had been appointed judge of civil affairs in India, had thus expressed himself even in a season of depression and discomfiture—"I expect my will and orders shall be your rule, and not the laws of England, which are a heap of nonsense, compiled by a number of country-gentlemen, who hardly know how to govern their own families, much less how to regulate companies and foreign commerce. Having now the power of condemning the company's enemies, or such as shall be deemed so, particularly those that shall question the company's power over all the British subjects in India, I expect my orders from time to time shall be obeyed and received as statute laws."†

The union of the clashing interests of the two companies, the gradual accordance of their principles and of the views of their servants abroad, the tranquillity and commercial prosperity which the peace of Utrecht, dishonourable as it was to the Tory government of Queen Anne, indisputably brought to England, and to the greater part of Europe, all contributed to raise the value of the British settlements in the East, and to encourage the company in seeking an extension of dominion; for still all that was really occupied in sovereignty was a strip of land on the coast and an island here and there. The disseverance of the Mogul empire, which began with the death of Aurengzebe in 1707, seemed to offer an opening to their ambition. After a very short reign of Shah Alum the four sons of that emperor contended for the throne, and during this horrible family war the Mahrattas extended their conquests in the south, the Rajpoots virtually established their independence, and the Sikhs, a remarkable sect who professed a pure theism and attempted to reconcile the religion of the Mussulmans with that of the Hindus, ravaged the provinces of Delhi and Lahore. Moez-eddin, who triumphed over his brothers, was dethroned at the end of a few months by his nephew Farrukhsir or Feroksir, who did not occupy the throne quite seven years. Under his successor, Mohammed Shah, the empire of the Moguls was wasted to a shadow: the Deccan was alienated under the rule of the Nizam-al-Mulk, by name a viceroy, but in fact an independent sovereign, more powerful than the Great Mogul; the Rohillas, a fierce predatory people of the Afghan race, seized on the northern provinces; and (in 1739) the Persians under Nadir Shah penetrated to Delhi and massacred alike Moham-

* See Pictorial Hist. vol. iv. pp. 51, 52, 53.

* Sketch of Polit. Hist. of Ind.
† Extract, as given by Sir John Malcolm.

medans and Hindus. The company were signally indebted in various stages of their progress to humble practitioners in medicine. It was in consequence of a cure effected on the favourite daughter of one emperor that they had been first allowed a footing in Bengal; and in the year 1715 a medical man named Hamilton, who accompanied a commercial mission to Delhi, obtained for the company a grant of three villages near Madras, with permission to purchase thirty-seven additional townships in Bengal, as a reward for curing the reigning emperor Feroksir of a dangerous and painful illness, which was beyond the reach of the skill of the native physicians or conjurers. By the hostility of the nabob the company were for a long time prevented from purchasing the villages and townships; but they were allowed to enjoy another grant obtained through Hamilton from the grateful emperor —namely, the privilege of introducing and conveying their goods from Calcutta through Bengal without duty or search. In a very short time the trade of the company was wonderfully benefited by this privilege. But the French East India Company, who had made Pondicherry their stronghold, now began to thwart some of their plans, and to excite their jealousy by an increasing trade. In 1742, when a war between England and France appeared to be imminent in spite of the pacific temper of the great English minister Sir Robert Walpole, the French company, who were still in their infancy, and very anxious for the preservation of their profitable or promising trade, proposed to the English company, that, whatever might happen in Europe, there should be peace between them in India. The English court of directors at first accepted and then rejected this proposed neutrality, instructing their officers in India to watch, and, if possible, to circumvent the treaties and intrigues of the French company with the natives. In 1744 Walpole was driven from the helm, and the war, which broke out between the French and English, rapidly spread to Hindustan, and some few of the best officers in the French service repaired thither in the hope of attacking the English settlements before they should be prepared for defence. Labourdonnais, who had risen from a subordinate rank in the navy to be governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, by forcibly detaining all the French vessels that touched at those islands, and by training the merchant sailors to the use of the gun, got together a warlike squadron, and with all possible secrecy stretched across the Indian Ocean. He was well acquainted with the coasts, and with most of the European settlements, having previously made three or four voyages to that part of the world. His bravery was equal to his skill, and he resolved to begin his operations with an attack on Madras. He had with him a most motley crew and army of Frenchmen, Caffres, blacks from Madagascar, and negro slaves from the Mauritius, to which he had added, at Pondicherry, about 400 sepoys. The total amount was about 3600. The English in the colony of Madras did not exceed 300 men, of whom about 200 were soldiers: the town and the adjoining territory belonging to the company had already a population of about 250,000, counting Armenians, Mohammedans, Hindus, Parsees, and Indian Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese; but none of these classes could be depended upon in war. The 300 English occupied Fort St. George, which was surrounded with a weak wall, and defended by bastions and four batteries weak and badly constructed. About the middle of September Labourdonnais appeared off the town, and immediately commenced a bombardment. The inhabitants endeavoured to save the place by offering him a ransom; but he was anxious for the glory of planting the French colours on Fort St. George, and continued to bombard for five days, at the end of which the inhabitants, and the English garrison as well, capitulated. Labourdonnais had not lost a man, and the English had lost no more than four or five. By the terms of the capitulation he pledged himself upon his honour to restore Madras to the English company on payment of a fixed ransom. On entering the place he protected the persons, houses, and property of the inhabitants; but he took possession of the magazines and warehouses of the company, all situated within Fort St. George, as public property. In his instructions from the French court, Labourdonnais was expressly prohibited from occupying any establishment or factory of the enemy; whence it has been argued that the French government and French East India Company shrunk at this time from all idea of conquest in India. But if this was the case, and it seems to us extremely doubtful, M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was resolved not to abide by any such plan, having previously formed in his own mind a system of universal conquest in that great peninsula; and the first object, and that which he had most at heart, was to drive the last remnant of the English from the coast of Coromandel. Dupleix, who had wished for the sole conduct of the war, considered Labourdonnais as an intruder and rival. Now, however, he insisted that Labourdonnais should break the conditions of the treaty of capitulation and keep possession of Madras. The brave sailor was averse to a proceeding which would have been both a breach of faith and honour, and a breach of orders; but he was compelled by the storms of the monsoon, which drove his ships out to sea and sank two of them with their crews, to demand from the English that the articles should be so far altered as to allow him longer time to remove the company's goods; and the period of evacuation was changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January. This was what Dupleix desired, for he proposed, upon the departure of Labourdonnais, to take possession of Madras himself without any attention to the articles of the capitulation. Leaving part of his force in Fort St. George, Labourdonnais repaired to Pondicherry as soon as the weather would permit, and proposed several plans, to none



General View of Madras. From a Drawing by Thomas Daniell.

of which his rival would agree. After many quarrels he took his departure for France, to answer the accusations of his enemies, and to procure a patronage in the French cabinet and East India Company that should enable him to return with credit and power to India. On his voyage he was taken prisoner by a British ship-of-war, which brought him to England. As it was considered that he had behaved like a man of honour and humanity, in the capture of Madras, he was received with favour and distinction by all ranks, and a director of the East India Company offered to become security for him with his person and property. But the British government, then presided over by the Duke of Newcastle, desired no security beyond the word of Labourdonnais, and permitted his immediate return to France. It would have been better for him if they had kept him in England, for, upon the representations of Dupleix, he was arrested without process and thrown into the Bastille, where he pined for three long years.*

Labourdonnais had scarcely quitted Madras, when the nabob of Arcot sent his son with a numerous army to drive the French out of that place. The force which Labourdonnais had left behind him in Fort St. George exceeded 1200 men, nearly all native French, and well trained and disciplined. The Indians were astonished and panic-stricken by the rapidity of their artillery; and after a very short struggle the nabob's son fled with all his host.

* Mill., Hist. of Brit. Ind., and the French and other documents quoted therein. Labourdonnais died shortly after his liberation from the Bastille.

Dupleix, backed by a remonstrance and prayer signed by all the French in Pondicherry, declared Labourdonnais's treaty of ransom annulled, and ordered the officers at Madras to seize every article of property there, private or public, native or English, except clothes, furniture, and the jewels and trinkets of the women. These orders were executed without compunction; and the English governor and some of the principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and exhibited there in a kind of triumph. Dupleix then turned his attention to Fort St. David, situated only twelve miles south from Pondicherry, and having in its immediate neighbourhood the Indian town of Cuddalore and two or three populous villages, all under the dominion of the English company. On the night of the 19th of December (1746) the Frenchman quitted Pondicherry with 1700 men, Europeans, natives, and Caffres, and he arrived next morning under Fort St. David, wherein there were only about 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The French had already begun to train the native sepoys to European discipline, but the English had delayed following the example,* and had no disciplined troops of that sort. They had, however, hired about 2000 of the undisciplined bands of the country, most irregularly armed with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes and lances, old matchlocks or new English muskets; and they had placed about half of this force in Cuddalore, which was partly surrounded by water and partly by walls flanked by bastions. As for Fort St. David, it was

* Mill.

small, but much stronger than Fort St. George. The French, however, took up an advantageous post, and were making sure of the capture and plunder of both places, when a large native army appeared on their right flank and induced them to make a sudden and rather disastrous retreat, leaving (without counting their Indians or Africans) above 100 in killed and wounded behind them. This relieving army had been sent by the nabob of Arcot, instigated by wrath against the French for the defeat of his son at Madras, and captivated with the liberality of the English, who had promised him large sums. But the nearness of the place to Pondicherry tempted the French to make fresh efforts. On the night of the 10th of January, 1747, Dupleix embarked 500 men in boats to take Cuddalore by surprise. But the wind and the surf compelled the Frenchman to return to Pondicherry without doing anything. Dupleix then sent a strong detachment from Madras to ravage the nabob's territory. The French troops acted in a barbarous manner, and caused still more terror than mischief. Shortly after four French ships arrived at Pondicherry, and Dupleix artfully represented that he was speedily to be reinforced to an immense extent. The nabob began to waver; he saw that the English were but a handful of men, and he decided, with eastern facility, to change sides and join the stronger: he concluded peace with the French, recalled the army he had sent to the English, and dispatched his son on a visit to Pondicherry, where Dupleix got up a fresh show and triumph. About the middle of March of the same year, 1747, Dupleix again sent his forces to capture Cuddalore and Fort St. David; but the Frenchmen had scarcely taken up their position when an English squadron, under Admiral Griffin, approached the road and scared them back to Pondicherry. While they were retreating precipitately to Pondicherry the admiral landed 100 Englishmen, 200 Topasses, and 500 natives, from Bombay and Tellicherry.* Dupleix now apprehended an attack by the English on his own head-quarters; and, to save his ships, he sent them away to Mauritius to wait there till they should be joined by a fresh squadron from France. In the month of January, 1748, Major Laurence, an officer of great merit, arrived at Fort St. David with a commission to command the whole of the company's forces in India. He had not been there long ere Dupleix attempted another night attack on Cuddalore. Laurence allowed the French to approach the very walls of the town, and even to apply their scaling ladders; but then, as they were fancying the garrison had been withdrawn, he met them in the teeth with artillery and musketry, and drove them away in disorder. Though England had then upon her hands a war with Spain, France, and Holland, and had only recently recovered from the civil war in the northern part of the island caused by the invasion of the Young Pretender, she dispatched nine ships of war under Admiral Boscawen, to co-operate with eleven ships of the company, carrying stores and troops. Boscawen arrived at Fort St. David on the 9th of August, and, joining Admiral Griffin, found himself at the head of the largest European force that any one power had as yet possessed in India. The land troops brought from England amounted to 1400 men. It was confidently hoped that the loss of Madras would speedily be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry; but the siege of the French Indian capital was undertaken without a sufficient knowledge of the localities, was conducted with little ability or spirit, and was raised when the trenches had been opened for thirty-one days. Dupleix, who was no hero—who always carefully kept himself at a distance from shot, alleging "that the noise of arms interrupted his reflections,"*—made a loud boast of the event, and represented it as one of the most brilliant victories upon record. He wrote letters in this strain to the Indian princes and to the Great Mogul himself, and he received in return the compliments of those who would have changed sides again if the English had been successful. The French were regarded by the natives as a superior people; but before they could avail themselves of their prestige, peace was concluded in Europe between England and France, and hostilities were suspended in India.

During the war the native viceroy of Bengal had maintained peace between the French and English settled in his dominions; but the trade of the English company was much injured by the incursions of the Mahrattas, who interrupted communications, and on one occasion carried off 300 bales of raw silk, the property of the company. The still growing dissensions, the wretched weakness and anarchy of the whole country, soon encouraged the English to persevere in their old scheme of territorial aggrandisement. Sahujee, a Hindu prince, who, in the rapid revolutions of that country, had gained and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David and entreated the assistance of the English in a war against his brother, Pretaupa Sing, who had dethroned him. As the price of this assistance Sahujee offered the fort and country of Devi-Cottah, advantageously situated by the banks of the Coleroon on the coast of Coromandel. In the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Englishmen and about 1000 sepoys marched from Fort St. David into Tanjore, and, as a natural beginning to the war, directed their first attacks against the fortress, which was to be ceded to the company. But Devi-Cottah was stronger than was expected; the small train of artillery they carried with them proved insufficient; they were disappointed in the co-operation of an English squadron and of the people of the country, which had both been promised them; and they marched back to Fort St. David foiled and humiliated. The impa-

* The Topasses, whose name frequently occurs in the history of our early Indian wars, were native Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese.

* Mémoire pour M. Dupleix, as cited in Mill's Hist. Brit. India. But, though no hero himself, Dupleix had heroes under him.

tience of Sahujee to recover his throne, and their own eager appetite for territory and dominion, soon induced the English to renew their attempt. A new expedition was fitted out at Fort St. David, the troops were landed, a breach was made in the walls of Devi-Cottah, the deep river Coleroon was crossed by means of a raft, and the place was stormed. After some hard fighting in the breach and on the ramparts behind it a truce was concluded, the reigning king of Tanjore, Pretaupa Sing, agreeing to yield to the English the town, fort, and harbour, together with a territory adjoining; and the English on their part agreeing, not merely to renounce the support of Sahujee, for whom and with whom they had entered on this war, but also to secure his person in order to prevent his giving any further molestation to his brother.* It is even said, that, but for the rough yet humane sailor, Boscawen, the English would have delivered up their ally to Pretaupa Sing, who, according to the practice of the country, would have quieted his rivalry for ever by steel or poison. Thus, in profiting by the vices of the natives, the officers of the company did not hesitate in imitating those vices, and profiting by bad faith. At the siege of Devi-Cottah, Robert Clive, who was eventually to be the real founder of the British empire in India, greatly distinguished himself; but in heading the storming party he narrowly escaped being cut down by the sabre of a Tanjore horseman, one of a large party of cavalry who issued from a projecting tower and attacked the assailants in the rear. Clive, who had attracted some attention in the preceding year at the siege of Pondicherry, had entered the company's service in a civil capacity, but he had very soon thrown down the pen of a writer to take up an ensign's sword. By this time he had attained the rank of lieutenant, and was esteemed by the whole army as the most enterprising and daring of their officers. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, poor, and, comparatively, friendless and illiterate, and his chances of patronage, fame, and fortune all lay in his sword.† However foully obtained, the possession of Devi-Cottah was of vast importance to the company; the channel of the river Coleroon under that town was capable of receiving ships of the largest burthen,‡ and this was the more important, as all along that coast from Masulipatam to Cape Comorin there was not a single port that could receive a vessel of 300 tons: moreover the neighbouring country was rich and fertile, and the strip of territory ceded by the treaty one of the most fertile spots on the coast.

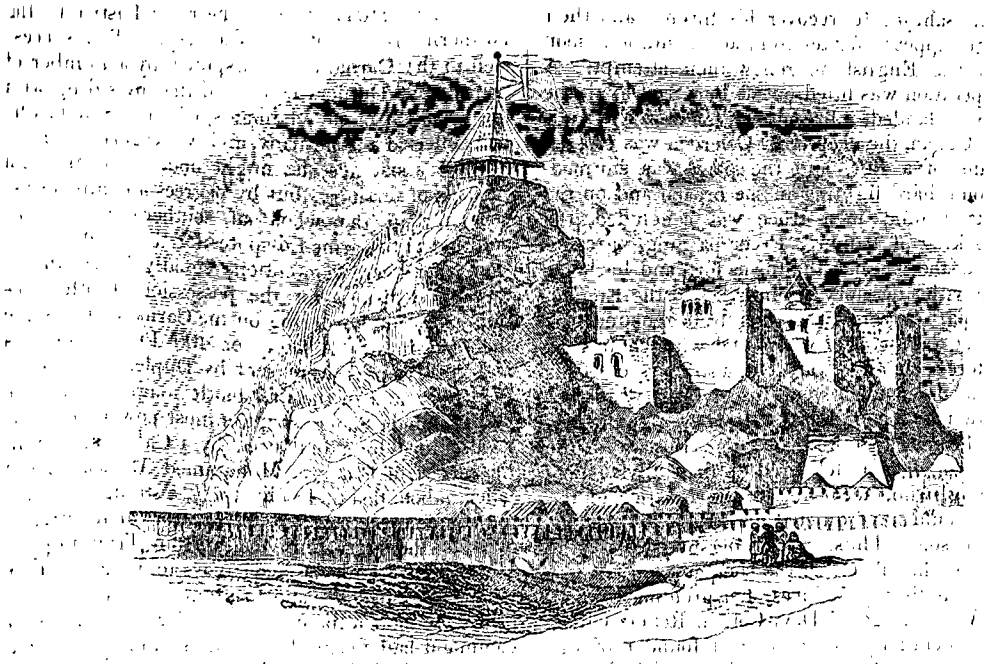
But while these events were in progress the French, whose policy and operations continued to be guided by Dupleix, were engaged in transactions of the highest moment, and taking part in a great revolution in the Carnatic, a large tract of country extending from the river Kistna to the northern branch of the Cauvery. The succession to the Carnatic was disputed by a number of princes, and Dupleix conceived that by siding with the strongest of the claimants, Chunda Saheb, who had collected a large army, and was eagerly courting French assistance, he might obtain not only vast cessions of territory, but by degrees a complete ascendency in the whole of southern India. In addition to the armed disputes for the great succession, there were contentions equally fierce among the minor princes for the possession of other dominions, some bordering on the Carnatic, and some included in it. A body of 400 French soldiers and 2000 sepoys were sent by Dupleix from Pondicherry; and in the first battle fought with these allies Chunda Saheb saw the most powerful of his rivals killed by a ball fired by a Caffre soldier in the service of France. Mohammed Ali, son to the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, a strong city, and the conquerors marched to Arcot, which surrendered at the first summons. From Trichinopoly Mohammed Ali dispatched envoys to the English to solicit their succour, and to promise the highest of prices for their alliance; but the British officers in command had received no orders from home that could justify their embarking upon a scene of such extensive operations; they were few in number, and their whole European force only a few companies; and, moreover, they were occupied at the time in taking possession anew of Madras, which had been given up by the French, in compliance with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Dupleix recommended his Indian allies to proceed immediately to Trichinopoly in order to reduce that place and kill or capture Mohammed Ali before the English should take up arms for him; but Chunda Saheb preferred going to levy tribute from the sovereign of Tanjore, who had so recently surrendered Devi-Cottah to the English. The rajah of Tanjore was compelled to give to the French two lacs of rupees and eighty-one villages belonging to Karical, which place the French had seized in 1736, and built a fort there.* In the neighbouring regions of the Deccan—the great and populous country which had formerly held dominion over the whole of the Carnatic—the succession on the death of Nizam-al-Mulk, in 1748, had been disputed between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzuffer Jung; but the senior prince had prevailed over the junior, had taken Muzuffer Jung prisoner, and now kept him in irons, carrying him in his train wherever he went. Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-Dien, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnatic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service nearly all the troops the Great Mogul had on foot, advanced to the Carnatic frontier with an enormous army, including 30,000 Mahrattas who had been engaged to act as light cavalry. At the approach of this host Chunda Saheb and his French allies retreated hastily to Pondicherry.

* Orme, History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India.—Mill, Hist. of British India.

† Sir John Malcolm, Life of Robert Lord Clive; collected from the family papers, communicated by the Earl of Powis.

‡ There was a sand-bank or bar near the mouth of the river; but it was calculated that this could easily be removed.

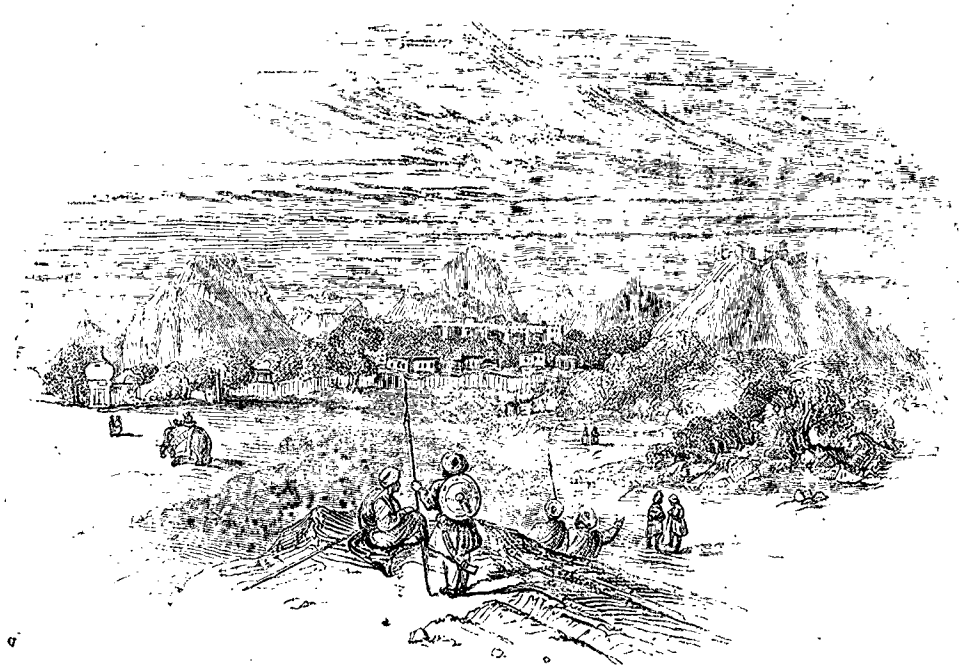
* Sir John Malcolm, Life of Lord Clive.



ROCK OF TRICHINOPOLY. From an Original Drawing.

Dupleix by extraordinary exertions increased the French contingent to 2000 men, and added a large body of well-disciplined sepoys, together with a well-served train of artillery. In the mean time the English had managed to send some very small detachments to Trichinopoly to sustain Mohammed Ali, and had thrown a few companies into the army of the rajah of Tanjore. Major Laurence advanced from Fort St. David with reinforcements, and collecting the companies in Tanjore he was enabled to join the army of Nazir Jung with about 600 Englishmen. But Laurence had with difficulty obtained the consent of his civil superiors to this active co-operation, and he was for some time disturbed by a doubt whether he should be justified in fighting the French without orders from the British government. He however determined to imitate the French in representing the English as mere auxiliaries and not principals in the war. As Laurence advanced with Nazir Jung's host, the French and their allies strongly entrenched themselves, and waited the attack with full confidence of success. Their position was so excellent, that Laurence advised Nazir Jung against an attack; but the Indian said that it did not become the son of Nizam-al-Mulk to retreat before such an enemy. A cannonade was therefore begun and the troops were put in motion for a closer attack. At this crisis the French corps was completely disorganized by the sudden resignation of thirteen commissioned officers, who were enraged at not having shared in the booty and spoils made in Tanjore. As the defection seemed growing general, M. d'Auteuil, who commanded for Dupleix, deemed it expedient to quit the field and hasten back to Pondicherry. Chunda Saheb, whose own troops began to desert, saw nothing better to do than to march after d'Auteuil. The whole excellent position was soon abandoned without a blow, or a shot fired from it; and for a moment the triumph of the allies of the English appeared to be fully secured. But Nazir Jung, the real head of this confederacy, had little ability and still less energy, and, by refusing to grant to his English allies a territory near Madras which had been promised as the reward of their co-operation, he provoked Major Laurence to return to Fort St. David with the 600 men. Nor had Dupleix lost heart by his most unexpected misfortune: by various arts he pacified the mutinous French officers, and put a new spirit into their little army; and he opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs, the leaders of the Patan troops, in the army of his enemy Nazir Jung. These Patans were unprincipled and ferocious mercenaries, ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, or to betray their trust for money. Responding to the overtures of Dupleix, the Patan chiefs engaged to perform various important services, and if necessary to murder their present employer Nazir Jung. D'Auteuil again took the field, and one of his officers with only 300 men was allowed to penetrate by night into the very heart of the enemy's camp, and to kill upwards of a thousand without losing more than two or three of his own people. Moreover, another small body of French troops sailed to Masulipatam, attacked it by surprise in the night, and carried it with a trifling loss; and another detachment seized the pagoda of Travadi, only fifteen miles to the west of Fort

St. David. Continuing this career, M. Bussy, the Clive of the French, captured by storm the hill fort of Gingee, which had been deemed impregnable and inaccessible. The event struck awe into the natives of India, and was viewed with astonishment even by Europeans. "It had not yet been discovered," says Malcolm, "as it has since been by frequent similar successes in India, that where men rely upon steep and high mountains and rugged or scarped rocks as defences other means and advantages are neglected; and if the assailants overcome those natural obstacles which have been deemed insuperable the spirit of the defenders is gone, and they seldom if ever offer that bold and determined resistance which the same troops have been found to do in half-walled towns or villages, where, from the first, they could confide in nothing but their own firmness and courage." Soon after the storming of Gingee, Nazir Jung opened, or renewed, a correspondence with Dupleix. The wily Frenchman replied to his letters in a friendly manner, and drew up a treaty of pacification which he professed would satisfy himself and his allies and restore the blessings of peace to the Carnatic, the unfortunate inhabitants of which country had suffered nearly every extremity of misery from this and preceding wars. But at the same time Dupleix had fully arranged a revolt in Nazir Jung's camp, and had collected a force of 4000 men, French or well-disciplined sepoys, under the high hill of Gingee, who were to obey the summons of the Patan traitors, and to co-operate with them. The doomed Subahdar signed the treaty as sent to him by Dupleix, and returned it to the head-quarters of the French; but at the same moment, or shortly before the arrival of the peace-restoring document, there arrived in the same camp the concerted summons of the Patan conspirators; and the French force under the command of M. Delatouche silently moved off to attack under cover of night the betrayed army of Nazir Jung. Delatouche encountered some resistance from the rest of the army, but the Patan mercenaries remained passive spectators. Nazir Jung mounted his war elephant and hastened to the lines of the Patan chiefs, ignorant of their treachery and hoping to excite them to exertion; but as he raised himself on the seat of his elephant to salute those ferocious chiefs, two cara-



Gingee. From a Painting by Lieutenant G. Payne.

bine balls were fired at his heart, and he fell dead at the feet of the traitors, who forthwith cut off his head, stuck it upon a spear, and exhibited it to the army. This was quite enough to effect an instantaneous revolution: Muzuffer Jung, the ally of the French and of Chunda Saheb, was released from his confinement in the camp and installed as Subahdar of the Deccan, although there were four brothers of the murdered Nazir Jung on the spot.* Muzuffer Jung, who had so rapidly passed from a prison to a throne, hastened to Pondicherry to express

* Colonel Wilkes. Dupleix, to cast off the infamy of treachery, asserts in his Memoirs, that, on receiving the treaty signed by Nazir Jung, he wrote off immediately to Delatouche to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived too late. There may be some doubt as to these assertions, but we believe there is none as to the fact of M. Delatouche being ignorant of the conclusion of the treaty when he obeyed the summons of the Patan chiefs.

his gratitude for the friendship and his admiration of the policy and decision of Dupleix. As substantial proofs of his thankfulness, he lavished upon the Frenchman a great part of the treasures of Nazir Jung, and nominated him governor of all the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin; appointing his close ally Chunda Saheb his deputy in the government of Arcot. But the new Subahdar and Dupleix failed in satisfying the cupidity of the Patan chiefs, who departed for the interior full of rancour and revenge. Mohammed Ali, late the ally of the English, sustained himself within the strong walls of Trichinopoly till the assassination of Nazir Jung and the union of the Great Mogul's army with the French; but now he fled and offered to resign all claim to the Carnatic, provided Dupleix would obtain for him from the new Subahdar of his own making a separate command in some other part of the Deccan. In the beginning of the year 1751 it was found necessary to attend to insurrections which had broken out—not without encouragement from the English or the native friends of the company—in various parts of the Carnatic; and the new Subahdar took the field accompanied by the French contingent, again under the command of the brave and skilful Bussy. On their march into the interior a revolt broke out in part of their own army; and it was discovered that a mountain-pass in their front was occupied by the fierce Patan chiefs with their hardy tribes. Bussy gave instant orders for clearing the pass, and this was soon done by the French artillery and grape shot. But in pursuing the fugitive Patans the new Subahdar received a Patan arrow in his brain, which proved as instantaneously fatal to him as the carabines had been to his predecessor. The native army hereupon would have packed up their rice-kettles to disband and to return to their homes; but Bussy instantly proclaimed a new Subahdar in the person of Salabut Jung, who happened to be in the camp. There was also with the army at the same time a son of the arrow-slain Muzuffer Jung; but he was a mere child, and no attention was ever paid in India or in any other of the eastern despotisms to hereditary right, or to any other fixed rule of succession. The native army received Salabut Jung with acclamations of great joy; and he forthwith confirmed to the French the splendid grants made by his predecessor. The army then continued its march to Hyderabad, one of the French officers informing Dupleix by letter that in a very short time the Mogul would tremble on his throne at the name of the French. The council of the company were thrown into consternation, and almost into despair, by the sudden ascendency acquired by Dupleix, and they endeavoured to encourage Mohammed Ali, and induce him to break off his negotiations by which Trichinopoly was to have been surrendered to the French. Mohammed Ali had courage enough left to return to Trichinopoly and to declare that he would hold that important place to the last extremity; and hereupon the English pledged themselves to support and assist him with ships, troops, and money. But small was the force that the government of Fort St. David could collect for this purpose; and, as Major Laurence had taken his departure for England, they were at a loss to know what officer they should appoint to the command of it. As Lieutenant Clive seemed too young and too low in rank, they at last gave the chief command to one Captain Cope, who might have been of the same stock as Sir John Cope the hero of Prestonpans. With 600 men in all, including sepoys, Captain Cope advanced to Madura, which still adhered to Mohammed Ali; but he marched back again without striking a blow for his ally, who thereupon was speedily besieged in Trichinopoly by the French and the forces under Chunda Saheb. As Trichinopoly, on the south bank of the great river Cauvery, was a place of vital importance—the only place that remained of all the Carnatic in the hands of their ally—and as the French were proving to them what they might expect in their ill-defended factories and settlements on the coast, by planting white flags in almost every field around their boundaries, and in some instances even within their limits, the presidency of Fort St. David were roused to greater exertions, and they collected 500 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1000 sepoys to march to the relief of the besieged city. This time the command was given not to Captain Cope, but to a Captain Gingen, who appears to have been as incompetent an officer, as weak and undecided, as Cope. Clive went with the expedition, but unfortunately merely as commissary of provisions. According to the absent Major Laurence, who afterwards wrote an account of these early and not very honourable operations, "a fatal spirit of division had crept in among our officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of our military conduct."* Gingen, about the beginning of April, 1751, started from Fort St. David, and at nearly the same time Chunda Saheb, leaving part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, began to march to meet him. The opposing armies met near the fort of Volconda, and the English behaved in such a manner as English troops have seldom been guilty of—they fled almost at the first shot, leaving their Caffres and their sepoys on the field engaged in an unequal struggle, which these mercenaries maintained for some time with considerable spirit. Gingen, who was calling councils of war and debating and wavering when he ought to have been fighting, retreated from position to position; but then changing his line of march he contrived eventually to reach Trichinopoly and throw himself and his forces, considerably reduced, within its walls. Chunda Saheb was close at his heels, and the siege was renewed. Clive, after the disgraceful affair at Volconda, had returned straight to Fort St. David to storm and swear at the misconduct of our officers, and to solicit employment more suited to his disposition and abilities. In a

* Narrative in Cambridge's War in India.

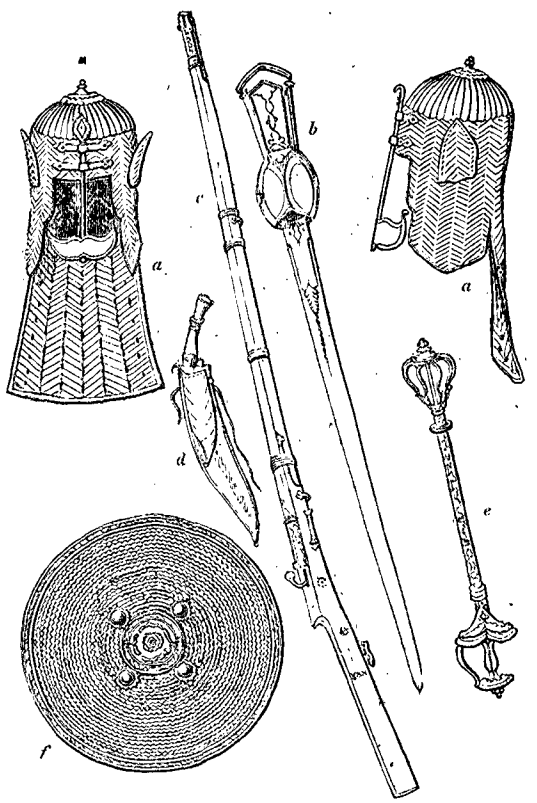
lucky hour the council promoted him to the rank of captain, adopted a plan which his daring genius had formed, and entrusted him with the execution of his own project. This was nothing less than to relieve Trichinopoly by making a sudden attack upon Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Fort St. David and Madras were emptied of their troops and left with the weakest garrisons, and yet Clive's detachment when completed did not exceed 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoys. His whole staff of officers counted no more than eight, six of whom had never been in action, and four of these six being young men in the mercantile service of the company, who, inflamed by Clive's example, took up the sword to follow him. The artillery attached to this force consisted of three light field-pieces. But Clive had learnt something while acting as commissary, and had taken good care to provide supplies of provisions and abundant ammunition. He had already the forethought of a great commander. On the 26th of August, 1751, he started from Madras with a confidence of success. On the 29th he reached a pagoda about forty miles inland, and there received intelligence that the fort of Arcot had not been drained of its troops for the siege of Trichinopoly, but was actually garrisoned by 1100 men. Nothing daunted, he wrote to Madras for two eighteen-pounders to be sent after him without delay; and continuing his march he halted on the 31st within ten miles of Arcot. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, reported with consternation that they had seen the English marching without concern through a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This was considered as a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort. A few hours after their departure Clive and his men entered the city, which had no walls or defences, and, marching through the streets in the midst of tens of thousands of timid spectators, they took possession of the fort, where they found eight pieces of cannon from four to eight pounders, a great heap of lead for shot, and abundance of gunpowder. The merchants of Arcot had for security deposited their goods in the fort: Clive scrupulously respected this property, and allowed some three or four thousand persons to remain in their houses or dwellings which were situated within the fort. All this procured him many friends among the natives, who cared little for either of the parties contending for dominion over them; and it enabled him to obtain provisions and such materials as might be wanted to sustain a siege—for he could scarcely hope to be left with such a scanty force in undisturbed possession of his enemy's capital. But before the besiegers should gather around him from afar this precocious and self-taught general resolved to scatter the ex-garrison of the fort, who lingered in the neighbourhood, and who might recover from their panic. On the 4th of September he marched out with the greater part of his men and four field-pieces; and he soon discovered 600 horse and 500 foot drawn up in battle array. They had a field-piece managed by two or three Europeans, from which they fired at a great distance. They killed a camel and wounded a sepoy; but as soon as the English got within musket-shot they fled to the hills in their rear. Clive then returned to the fort of Arcot.

On the 6th he made another excursion into the country, and found the enemy nearly at the same spot where he had found them before; but their number now appeared to be nearly doubled, and they had two field-pieces with them instead of one. Moreover, they had chosen their ground with some skill, in a grove enclosed with a bank and a ditch, and having in front an old tank almost dry and choked up. They fired their field-pieces smartly as Clive advanced, and killed three English soldiers. But the line with Clive at its head advanced more briskly, upon which the enemy, not thinking themselves safe in the grove, ran into the old tank, the banks of which were strong and high. Well under cover, they could scarcely be touched by the fire of the English line, and they were enabled to wound several of Clive's people. He therefore withdrew his troops to the rear of some buildings, and then detached a platoon to attack the tank on one of its sides, and threw forward another platoon in its front. Both gained the ridge of the bank and gave their fire at the same instant amongst numbers crowded together in the tank. The next minute there was no one in that enclosure except the killed—the enemy were in headlong flight. Close to the scene of action stood a village and the Indian fort of Timery. Clive took possession of the village and summoned the fort; but the governor knew he had no battering cannon, and refused to surrender; and, after throwing a few shells into the fort from a cohorn mortar, Clive marched back to Arcot and employed his men in repairing the works of that crazy fortress. The enemy, seeing that he made no more sallies, conceived that he was beginning to be afraid of them; and, having raised their force to 3000 fighting men, they encamped within three miles of the town. On the night of the 14th of September, when they were buried in sleep, Clive burst into their camp, committed a great slaughter, and put them all to flight, without losing a single man. At this time the two eighteen-pounders which he had demanded were on their way from Madras, escorted only by a few sepoys. Knowing that the enemy had occupied part of the road and taken possession of a strong pagoda, in the intention of intercepting this escort, Clive sent out thirty Englishmen and fifty sepoys with a field-piece to dislodge them from the pagoda. The detachment found that the pagoda was abandoned, but that the enemy had retreated to a fort on the road, where they were continually reinforced. Upon this intelligence Clive sent on nearly his whole force, remaining in the fortress with only thirty Europeans and fifty sepoys, while there were from 3000 to 4000 natives within the same walls. The enemy hereupon changed their design, and, quitting all the positions they had occupied on the road,

they returned hastily to Arcot, hoping to carry the fort by assault. During the night they completely surrounded the fort with horse and foot; and on the following morning they opened a fire of musketry upon the ramparts from some adjacent houses which overlooked them. As this attack produced no effect, a large body of horse and foot, mixed and in disorder, advanced to the outer gate of the fort, with a terrific din of voices and warlike music; but a few hand-grenades thrown amongst them frightened the horses, which knocked down and galloped over the foot; and cavalry and infantry soon disappeared. About an hour after a similar attack was followed by an equally quick repulse; and between night and morning the mass of Clive's little force, with the sepoys and the two precious battering cannon from Madras, appeared on the skirts of the town. The enemy then packed up and fled, and Clive quietly opened his gates to receive his people. During the attack the natives in the fort, well satisfied with his kind treatment, remained perfectly quiet. As had been expected, Chunda withdrew the greater part of his forces from Trichinopoly: he did not march with them himself, but sent his son, Rajah Saheb, who entered the town of Arcot with 4000 horse and foot and 150 French from Pondicherry, and fixed his head-quarters in the palace of the Nabob. Being joined by the forces previously collected in the neighbourhood Chunda found himself at the head of 10,000 men, and with these he prosecuted a siege against a contemptible fort defended by Clive's little band. Yet on the 24th the English commander made a sally with the view of driving Rajah Saheb from the palace and the town, or, if he failed in that, of striking terror into the native troops by the excess of his audacity. But after a fight in the streets he was compelled by the artillery of the French to fall back into the fort. Had there been none but native troops both palace and town would have been cleared. In this day's sortie Clive lost fifteen of his English soldiers, and one of his best officers, who sacrificed his own life in protecting that of his commander.* Moreover, Lieutenant Revel, his only artillery officer, was disabled. He was now cooped up within the walls of the fortress, which were in many places falling to ruin. These walls were more than a mile in circumference; the rampart too narrow to admit the firing of artillery; the parapet was low and weak; the towers were only capable of receiving one cannon each; and the ditch was fordable in most places, and perfectly dry and choked up in others. The houses already mentioned as overlooking the ramparts were soon filled with troops, and good French marksmen picked off several of the English garrison. At midnight, when the enemy had retired from their advanced positions, an attempt was made to blow up these houses, but it failed, and was the cause of depriving Clive of the services of another of his officers. He had now only four officers fit for duty. In order to husband the provisions within the fort, he sent away all the natives except a few artificers. For fourteen days the enemy prosecuted the siege with musketry from the houses and a bombardment from four mortars. Several of the English were killed, and more were wounded on the ramparts, though they only showed their heads above the parapet. Clive himself had several hair-breadth escapes: three sergeants, who at different times singly attended him in visiting the works, were killed at his side. On the 24th of October the French, who had hitherto had no battering cannon, received from Pondicherry two eighteen-pounders and seven pieces of smaller calibre. A well-served battery was then opened, and at their very first shot the French dismounted one of Clive's eighteen-pounders, and at the next entirely disabled it. The English mounted their other eighteen-pounder, but this too was soon dismounted, and was employed afterwards only in those parts of the fort where it was not exposed to the French artillery. In six days the French beat down all the wall between two of the towers, and made a practicable breach fifty feet wide. But, while they were making this breach, Clive, with remarkable ingenuity, was making a deep trench and erecting palisades and a strong parapet behind it; and he planted one of his field-pieces on one of the towers which flanked the breach, and two small pieces of cannon on the flat roof of a house within the fort, and just opposite to the entrance which the French guns had made. The besiegers, aware of these preparations, would not venture into the breach until they should effect another in an opposite direction. They had burst one of their eighteen-pounders, but they carried the remaining one, with a nine-pounder, to a new battery which they had erected at the opposite side of the fort. Within that precinct Clive had found one of those enormous cannons which Turks, Persians, and other Orientals have always so much admired. According to the local tradition, this monster gun had been sent from Delhi by the Emperor Aurungzebe, and had been drawn by 1000 yoke of oxen. Clive raised a mound of earth to such a height as commanded the nabob's palace over the roofs of the houses that lay between: he hoisted the great gun on this mound, and, having found some iron ball which had been cast for the gun, he loaded and fired. The ponderous ball went right through the palace, to the terror of Rajah Saheb and his principal officers there assembled. But, as every charge took thirty pounds of powder, Clive ordered that the gun should be fired only once a-day. On the fourth day the monster burst. Both in imitation and retaliation the enemy raised a mound opposite one of the gates, and put two pieces of cannon upon it; but before they could well begin their fire Clive brought his reserved eighteen-pounder to bear upon it, and in less than an hour the mound gave way and tumbled with the fifty men perched upon it. The company's agents at Madras and Fort St.

* This was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, seeing a sepoy from a window taking aim at Clive, pulled him on one side; upon which the sepoy, changing his aim, shot Trenwith through the body.

David, informed of the desperate contest in which Clive was engaged, determined to make an effort to relieve him; but so limited were their means, that all they could do was to send 100 English soldiers and 200 sepoys, under the command of Lieutenant Innis. This party, who had no cannon, were attacked on the road between Madras and Arcot by 2000 native troops, who had with them two field-pieces served by Europeans; and Innis, after a sharp contest in which he lost twenty English soldiers and two officers, thought it prudent to face about and return to Madras. Clive and his reduced garrison thus seemed left alone to their fate; but the gallant defence they had made had produced a deep impression far and near, and the fickle nature of Indian alliances and compacts soon gave him more than a gleam of hope. At the distance of about thirty miles from Arcot there lay encamped a body of 6000 Mahrattas, under the command of Morari Row, a chief of more energy than conscience. Clive, surrounded as he was, found means to send a messenger to this chief; and the messenger soon returned safe to the fort with a letter in which Morari Row stated that he would not delay a moment to send a detachment to the assistance of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, whose behaviour had now, for the first time, convinced him that the English knew how to fight. Yet all that these Mahrattas did when they came was to plunder and set fire to some houses in the outskirts of the town, for they would not venture to attack the barricades which had been erected in every street and in every avenue leading to the besieged fort. In their advance or in their retreat they, however, intercepted some ammunition destined for the besiegers.



Group of Mahratta Arms. From the Collection of Sir S. Meyrick:—*a a*, Helmet; *b*, Sword; *c*, Musket; *d*, Knife and Sheath; *e*, Mace; *f*, Shield.

In the meanwhile the French guns had made a second breach, and Clive had counterworked it as he had done the first. This second breach was nearly thirty yards wide; but the ditch there was deep and full of water. On the 14th of November, the great festival in commemoration of the murder of the holy brothers Hassan and Hussein, when the Mohammedans of India quicken their fanaticism with opium and with bang, Rajah Saheb and his French allies resolved to storm the fort through its two opposite breaches. Elephants with large plates of iron fixed on their foreheads were driven up to the gates as if they could have battered them down, and in the rear of these enormous animals marched or scrambled a multitude of men on foot. This first essay was signally unfortunate, for the elephants, being wounded by the men on the ramparts, rushed madly round, threw

down the rabble rout, trampled a good many of them to death, and then went off with their probosces in the air. The work in the breaches was more serious. In front of the first (to the north-west) the ditch was fordable, and there hundreds upon hundreds, drunk and furious with their wild devotion and the drugs working on their stomachs and brains, rushed across and entered the mortal gap. Some of these aspirants after the higher paradise even got across the trench which Clive had dug behind the breach. He let them come on almost to the palisade before he gave fire; but then he opened upon them with two pieces of cannon and with his musketry, and every shot and bullet told on their confused mass. They went back shrieking; but others crowded through the breach, and when these were driven off they were still succeeded by others. The fire of small arms from the palisade and parapet never slackened for a moment, for Clive's men who were behind kept loading the muskets and handing them to the front rank as fast as they could discharge them. The musketry, the two cannon, and some bombs which Clive had prepared with short fuses, at length drove back the bravest or maddest of the assailants, and strewed nearly every foot of ground with their dead or wounded. But in the mean time they were attempting the other breach. To cross the deep water of the ditch they had prepared a raft, which they launched with seventy men upon it. This breach, like the other, was flanked on either side by a tower, and in each of the towers there was one field-piece. Observing that his men were firing with bad aim, and that the raft was drawing near without injury, Clive ran into one of the towers, took the management of the field-piece into his own hands, and fired with such precision that in three or four discharges the raft was broken to pieces, and the seventy men tumbled into the ditch—of whom some were drowned, some killed by shot in the water, and some enabled to escape by swimming. All further attempts at storming were abandoned. The enemy had lost 400 in killed and wounded, few of whom were Europeans, for during the storm most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance. As for Clive, he had only four English killed and two sepoys wounded. So many of his garrison being disabled by wounds or sickness, the number which repulsed the storm was no more than eighty English, officers included, and 120 sepoys, and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack. The enemy, after a pause of two hours, renewed their fire upon the fort with musketry from the houses and with their cannon; but this was a mere waste of powder and shot, and at two o'clock in the afternoon they requested leave to carry off and bury their dead. Clive allowed them two hours. At four o'clock they once more opened their fire, nor did they again cease till two hours after midnight, when of a sudden a dead silence ensued. When day broke Clive learned that the whole army had abandoned Arcot in haste and confusion. He instantly threw open a gate and marched into their deserted quarters, where he found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition. Thus ended the siege of the fort of Arcot, which had lasted fifty days, and which, in a military point of view, had been highly honourable to all engaged in the defence. It established Clive's character as a soldier, and it raised the reputation of English arms in India from the lowest to the very highest pitch.* It has been said by a competent judge that Clive, who at this time had neither read military books nor conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the art of war, had employed all the resources which are dictated by the

LORD CLIVE. From a Portrait in the Government House, Calcutta.

best masters—that he acted like an experienced general from the beginning—that he was born a soldier.†

On the evening of the day on which the enemy fled from Arcot a detachment from Madras, consisting of 150 English with four field-pieces, under the command of Captain Kilpatrick, arrived safely at Arcot. Leaving a small garrison in the fort, Clive set out on the 19th of November to pursue the enemy, with 200

* Orme.—The English troops engaged had never been under fire before this campaign. The sepoys acting with them behaved with great gallantry and testified a warm affection for their white comrades. When provisions were becoming scarce in the fort the sepoys proposed that Clive should limit them to canjee, the water in which the rice is boiled, and which resembles very thin gruel. "It is," said they, "sufficient for our support: the Europeans require the grain."—*Sir John Malcolm, Life of Lord Clive.*

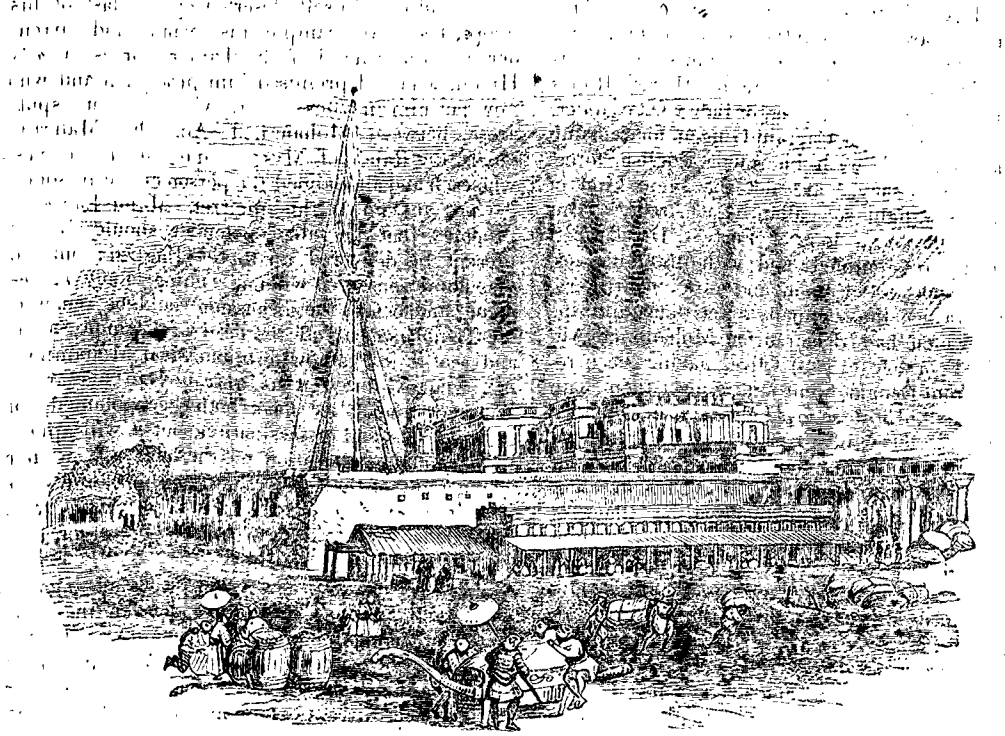
† Major Laurence, Narrative.' We suspect, however, that since his arrival in India Clive had assisted his natural genius with some careful study of a few books. It is mentioned, indeed, that in the governor's house at Fort St. George there was a good library open at all times to the young writer; and that Clive, during the first year or two of his residence in India, through poverty and pride, shyness and a sense of his deficient education, led a very secluded life.

English, 700 sepoys, and three field-pieces. Being joined by a small body of Mahratta horse sent to him by Morari Row, he gave the enemy battle at a place called Arnee, and, though they were 300 French and more than 2000 natives, horse and foot, with four field-pieces, he completely routed them, and the French were only saved from destruction by the darkness of the night. The valour of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the booty they made, for they took 400 horses and Chunda Saheb's military chest, containing 100,000 rupees. Six hundred sepoys, who had been serving the French, immediately deserted with their arms and accoutrements, and joined Clive; and the killadar or governor of Arnee abandoned the cause of Chunda Saheb and the French, and declared for Mohammed Ali and the English. With admirable rapidity Clive next proceeded to Conjeveram, made a breach in that strong pagoda, and forced the French to fly from it by night. After destroying the defences of this place, and strengthening the garrison that he had left at Arcot, Clive returned to Fort St. David to report his successes and to suggest bolder and wider operations. Mohammed Ali, instead of being besieged in Trichinopoly, saw the country open to him and a great part of the Carnatic submissive to his will. He was joined by some of Morari Row's Mahrattas, eager for fighting, or rather for plunder, who were incensed at Captain Gingen, for refusing to take the field with his small English force. "These," said they, "are not the same kind of men we saw fight so gallantly at Arcot." But Clive had not been long at Fort St. David when the enemy reassembled, and with 4500 natives, horse and foot, 400 French, and a train of artillery, began to ravage the company's territory and the districts which had declared for Mohammed Ali. Early in February (1752) Clive, having been reinforced from Bengal, went out to meet them with 380 English, 1300 sepoys, and six field-pieces. Such was the terror of his name that they retreated before him, abandoning one strong position after another. Lengthening and quickening his marches, he, however, came up with them at the village of Covrepauk, defeated them after a hard-fought battle, and took nine pieces of cannon and sixty Frenchmen. Fifty Frenchmen and 300 sepoys were found dead upon the field. Clive's loss included forty English and thirty sepoys killed, and a much greater number were wounded. Chunda Saheb's troops dispersed and fled to their homes, and the French made all the haste they could to the protecting walls of Pondicherry.

Clive, the conqueror, returned to Fort St. David, where the presidency determined to dispatch him to Trichinopoly. But just at this juncture Major Laurence returned from England and took the command as superior officer. Laurence, however, who was wholly devoid of professional jealousy, and who had the warmest admiration for the daring self-taught soldier, took Clive with him when he set out for Trichinopoly, with 400 English, 1100 sepoys, and eight field-pieces. As 20,000 Hindus from the kingdom of Mysore and 6000 Mahrattas were ready to co-operate with the English, the troops of Chunda Saheb and the French, who had again gathered in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, broke up in dismay, the French retreating to a strong pagoda in Seringham, an island formed by the rivers Colcroon and Cauvery, and burning part of their baggage and provisions which they could not transport with them. By the advice of Clive Major Laurence divided his small force, and sent a detachment across the Coleroon to intercept the enemy's supplies. Clive had the command of this detachment, and performed his duty so effectually that the French soon began to feel the horrible approaches of famine. Dupleix from Pondicherry sent M. d'Auteuil to supply and reinforce the French on the island; but d'Auteuil was driven back by some of the troops of Major Laurence, forced into an old fort, and there compelled to surrender with all his convoy. A few days after the French at Seringham capitulated and became prisoners of war; and their ally Chunda Saheb, who had so recently been lord of the Carnatic, finding himself deserted by the last of his troops, fled to the camp of his enemies and surrendered to the general of the Tanjore forces, a wily Hindu, who had promised him protection and who now put him in irons. Forthwith a violent dispute arose between Mohammed Ali, the Mahratta chiefs, the Rajah of Mysore, and the Tanjorines, who each and all claimed the person of the prisoner. To put an end to this quarrel, Major Laurence proposed that the fallen potentate should for the present be delivered up to the English; but the disputants separated without coming to any agreement, and before the discussion could be renewed the Tanjorines cut off the head of Chunda Saheb and sent it to his now fortunate rival Mohammed Ali, who exhibited it as a trophy to his army. Laurence and Clive have both been blamed for suffering this foul assassination, but it will appear on a candid examination of the facts that neither they nor any of their allies had any foreknowledge or anticipation of the deed, which sprung from the jealousy and ferocity of the Tanjore chief, over whom they had no control.

The English were now eager to advance against the fortress Gingee, the only place in the Carnatic which remained to their enemies; but fresh and far more violent disputes broke out among their allies and retarded their march. In the hour of his greatest weakness and distress Mohammed Ali, to obtain the assistance of the Regent of Mysore, had solemnly promised him the city and territory of Trichinopoly, and the Mysorean now claimed immediate possession of that important city. When Laurence spoke with Mohammed Ali, that nabob treated the whole matter in a truly Indian manner, saying that the Regent of Mysore could not but know that when he made such a promise he never intended to fulfil it. After some time lost in altercation the Nabob consented that the fort of Trichi-

nobly should be delivered up to the Regent of Mysore in two months; but, having no reliance on his faith, the Mysorean troops refused to quit the place, and induced some of the Mahrattas to remain with them. As the troops of Tanjore and other auxiliaries had marched to their homes, the English had few or none to advance with them to Gingee, except the sepoys in their own pay. They marched nevertheless to that strong place, which was held by a brave and well-trained French garrison, sustained a repulse, and were obliged to retreat with some loss. This gave new encouragement to Dupleix, whose schemes were still as extensive as ever, and who resolved to leave no art, no force, no means, foul or fair, untried, to establish the supremacy of the French all over the Carnatic. Well acquainted with the dissensions prevailing between Mohammed Ali and the Regent of Mysore, he opened a secret correspondence with the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas, hoping to break the confederacy into pieces by force of intrigue and the vehemence of their own passions. In these labours it is said he derived wonderful assistance from his wife, who was born in India and perfectly understood not only the languages but also the character of the natives. In his union with this lady, who is described as being even more ambitious than himself, we may probably find the cause of the essentially oriental spirit of most of his proceedings. In a very short time Major Laurence was recalled to the neighbourhood of Fort St. David by intelligence that Dupleix had another considerable army on foot. With 400 English, 1700 sepoys, 4000 troops in the pay of Mohammed Ali, and nine field-pieces, he encountered this French army near Bahoor, only two miles from Fort St. David, and obtained a victory which would have been far more complete if the Nabob's troops had not thought more of plundering than fighting. Laurence was now enabled to detach Clive to Covelong, an important fort in the Carnatic, about twenty miles south of Madras. The force which Clive took with him consisted of 200 recruits who had just been landed at Madras, and who are represented as being the very refuse of the jails of London, and of 500 newly raised sepoys. But, as Clive had become a general as if by inspiration, so had he the faculty of making soldiers in a week out of vaga-



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, MADRAS. From a Drawing by Thomas Daniell.

bonds and cutpurses. With this force and with four 24-pounders he attacked Covelong, which mounted 30 pieces of cannon, and was garrisoned by 50 French and 300 sepoys. At first the jail-birds showed some trepidation, but Clive shamed them out of their fears by exposing himself to the hottest of the fire, and by the time the fort surrendered they were heroes. The morning after the surrender of Covelong, Ensign Joseph Smith discovered a large body of troops advancing, and correctly judged that this must be a detachment from Chingliput intended to relieve Covelong. Clive

instantly took every precaution to conceal from this corps that the fort had fallen; and then he laid an ambuscade in their route. The French fell into the trap, and the very first volley fired by the concealed English killed or wounded 100 men. The rest threw down their arms and fled or surrendered. The French officer commanding, 25 Europeans and 250 sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, were taken. Clive next proceeded with all possible rapidity to Chingliput, which was about 40 miles to the south-west of Covelong, the fort being completely defended on one side by a lake, and on another by a swamp; it was moreover surrounded by a broad and deep ditch. Clive presently erected a battery within 200 yards of the outer wall, made a breach, and prepared to storm; but the French commandant called a parley and surrendered the place on condition of being allowed the honours of war. The French garrison evacuated Chingliput on the 31st of October (1752) and marched to Pondicherry; Clive returned to Madras, and, finding his health, which had never been very robust, greatly impaired by the incessant fatigues he had undergone, he proceeded to England by the first ship.

His back was scarcely turned when Dupleix's diplomacy and intrigue obtained the most signal triumphs. The Regent of Mysore, perceiving that Mohammed Ali had not the remotest intention of gratifying him with the possession of Trichinopoly, abruptly broke his alliance and joined the French, and his example was followed by Morari Row, the chief of the Mahrattas, who considered that they had not been allowed their fair share of booty. Still further to increase this defection, Dupleix opened negotiations with the Mohammedan governor of Vellore, and he gained this chief by flattering him with the nabobship of the Carnatic. Joined by the troops of these recent allies of the English, the French advanced once more to Trichinopoly, and laid close siege to that place. Major Laurence soon discovered the defection of the Mahrattas, and he ordered an attack upon a part of their forces which yet remained within his reach. This attack was led under cover of the night by Captain Dalton, who penetrated their camp and committed some slaughter. But shortly after the Mahrattas made an attack upon an advanced post of the British, and cut to pieces 70 English and about 300 sepoys. Captain Dalton turned out of the city a large body of Mysoreans who were still pretending to be friends. Neither Mahrattas nor Mysoreans had any inclination to attempt the reduction of the fort by storm; but they hoped to be able to reduce it by famine. They watched every avenue to the place as closely as they could, they kept parties of horse constantly scouring the country to intercept the supplies, they prohibited the introduction of any kind of provisions, and they cut off the noses of those whom they caught attempting to infringe their orders. The magazines in Trichinopoly had been intrusted to the care of a brother of Mohammed Ali; yet, when Captain Dalton found it necessary to inspect the stores, he found that this man had taken advantage of the scarcity in the city to sell at a high price a considerable part of the rice and other provisions, and that what remained would suffice only for the consumption of a few days. Captain Dalton made his situation known to Major Laurence, who had retired to Madras, but who immediately took the field and marched to his relief. Laurence arrived at Trichinopoly on the 6th of May (1753), but the hurried march and the heat of the weather had proved fatal to several of his English troops, who had died upon the road, and above a hundred more were sick and helpless and only fit for the hospital. No attempt was however made to intercept him or to prevent his entrance into the place. When his forces were joined to those of Captain Dalton they did not exceed 500 English and 2000 sepoys: there was indeed quartered in the town a body of Mohammed Ali's force, but these fellows were ill paid and mutinous. Provisions now found their way into the town; but Dupleix and his allies made such exertions that in a short time nearly 30,000 men, including about 500 French, were gathered round the place. Major Laurence made several sorties, and even attempted to drive the enemy from the strong pagoda of Seringham, which they had again occupied; but he failed and was compelled to retire with some loss. The French drew nearer and made an attack upon a post called the Golden Rock, which Laurence had established in order to keep open his communications with the country. The post was defended by sepoys, who gave way before the impetuous attack of M. Astruc; and the French flag was hoisted on the rock. Laurence sent his grenadiers to recover the important position, and it was soon recovered at the point of the bayonet; but, as the whole French force came up to support their comrades, a general action ensued, in which the Mysore army and the Mahratta cavalry took part. The Mahrattas occasionally made a charge and did some mischief, but the Mysoreans kept themselves at a respectful distance in the rear: the stern contest was only between the British and the French; but the British bayonet finished the day, and the French fled from the field, leaving three field-pieces behind them. Laurence returned triumphantly to the walls of Trichinopoly; but his loss, considering the small number of his troops, was considerable, and forced him to confess that one or two more victories of the same kind would have ruined him. The Indian Rajah of Tanjore professed to remain steady to the English interest, but he sent little or no assistance to Trichinopoly. It was now resolved that Major Laurence should proceed with Mohammed Ali to the Tanjore frontier, in order to obtain from the Rajah the fulfilment of some of his promises. At the hour of departure Mohammed Ali's own troop assembled in the court of the palace, declaring that they would not allow him to depart until he had paid their arrears. English bayonets opened a path through these mutinous natives; but as soon as the Nabob was gone they went over in a body to the

enemy.* The journey to the Tanjore frontier was however very successful, for the Rajah sent 3000 horse and 2000 foot under the command of Monackgee, the general who had assassinated Chunda Saheb, to co-operate with the English and the forces of Mohammed Ali. Moreover, Laurence was now joined by 170 British soldiers who had just arrived from England, and by 300 natives who enrolled as sepoys. Thus reinforced, with his carts well loaded with provisions, and with some thousands of bullocks in his train, Laurence returned towards Trichinopoly. The French made a spirited attempt to cut off his convoy and impede his entrance into the town, but they were again repelled by the bayonets of the English grenadiers, and Laurence and the Nabob got to their old quarters without loss or damage. The French and their allies made no progress in reducing Trichinopoly, and the English and their allies had not sufficient force to compel them to raise the blockade. The French employed all their efforts in cutting off the supplies, and the English all theirs to keep the place sufficiently victualled. Many encounters took place, in one of which M. Astruc and several French officers were taken prisoners. Months were passed in this manner in foraging and skirmishing. In the autumn a party of Laurence's troops took Weyconda, a post of some strength, and the French and their allies then retired from the vicinity of Trichinopoly, apparently with the intention of giving up the blockade. But on the 20th of November, when Laurence was 15 miles from the town, and when the Tanjore troops had quitted him to return to their homes, he was startled by news of an attack made by the French on Trichinopoly. Before he reached that town he was, however, gladdened by the intelligence that the few English and the sepoys within it had repulsed the French with a terrible loss. For two or three months there was a complete suspension of arms in this part of the Carnatic.

But in the mean time M. Bussy, who took his departure for Hyderabad in 1752 to establish Salabut Jung in the sovereignty of the Deccan, had gone through a series of brilliant and romantic adventures, and penetrated farther into the country than any European army had hitherto gone, and had to all appearance consolidated the authority of his ally. Bussy had been living with all the pomp and splendour of a vizier or a sultan at Golconda, and directing all the measures of Salabut Jung's government. To expel the French and their allies, and to place upon the throne of the Deccan Ud-Dien, the prince of the Mogul's choice, every exertion was made that the reduced means of the emperor would allow; an army of Mahrattas, who were ever ready to sell their services to any party, or to embark on either side in any war that offered a prospect of abundant booty, were engaged by the Mogul, and placed with other native troops under the command of Ud-Dien. But this unfortunate claimant was carried off by poison, or by his own excesses, as he was entering the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse. Upon this event many of his host took their departure, but the Mahrattas, eager for the spoil of a rich province, continued their advance and encountered the French and the troops of Salabut Jung in several places. Bussy, who had the genius of Clive, defeated them repeatedly, and once or twice with so much slaughter that the Mahrattas became anxious for peace. Salabut Jung then purchased their retreat by ceding to them some districts near Berar and Burhanpour; and they gladly withdrew from the murderous execution of Bussy's quick musketry and artillery. The bold Frenchman had, however, soon to experience how slightly the ties of gratitude attached Indian princes and politicians. Disgusted at seeing Salabut Jung completely ruled by a handful of foreigners, and forgetting that those foreigners alone had gained and could defend the Deccan, the courtiers advised their master to reduce the pride and power of the French, who did not enjoy or exercise it with much moderation. Taking advantage of the temporary absence of Bussy, Salabut Jung withheld the pay of the French troops, and then began to detach them in small parties to distant quarters. But some of the Mahratta tribes, continually on the watch, discovered this dispersion of the only force they feared, and instantly began to prepare for a new war in the Deccan. Quickened by the prayers of Salabut Jung, Bussy hurried back to his post, and was instantly allowed to reunite his scattered forces and to dictate his own terms to that trembling court. The courtiers and ministers who had intrigued against him were forthwith exiled; and, as security for vast arrears already accumulated and for future pay, he obtained at the end of the year 1753 the cession of the five important provinces of Ellore, Rajamundry, Cicacole, Condapilly, and Guntoor, called the Northern Circars, which made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, for an uninterrupted line of 600 miles; and which not only afforded a vast revenue, but also furnished the convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius, thus enabling Bussy to extend his views to the indirect or absolute empire of the Deccan and the south. But neither the court of Versailles nor the French India Company at home had embraced the grand projects of Bussy and Dupleix; the court questioned the propriety of these wars with the English in a time of peace, and the company doubted whether these territorial acquisitions could be maintained profitably to themselves. The French directors or managers were all for trade and peace, and were quite incapable of the exertions which the joint-stock English company could make with little inconvenience.* Dupleix too had had his day, and, considering the mutations and intrigues of the old French cabinet, it had been a long one: his

* These fellows gave notice to Captain Dalton of their intention, and requested, as a last favour, that he would not fire upon them. Dalton, glad to be rid of them, told them that they might go without any fear.

* It is to be understood, however, that the English company also was at this moment desirous of peace.

protectors and admirers were now out of office; his recall to France was procured, and a M. Godheu was sent out to supersede him as governor of Pondicherry, with instructions to negotiate immediately a peace with the English and their allies. M. Godheu arrived at Pondicherry in the beginning of August, 1754; and with the return ship that carried away Dupleix the grand schemes of French empire and dominion in the East seemed to vanish into thin air. On his arrival in Europe this ambitious and able man found himself obliged to dispute the miserable remains of his fortune with the French East India Company, to dance humble attendance on ministers and their understrappers, and to solicit audiences in the ante-chambers of his judges. His vexation was as great as what Labourdonnais had suffered through his means; and he was soon dead and forgotten in France. The only anxiety of M. Godheu seemed to be to conclude peace and get back to Paris as soon as possible. Mr. Saunders, the president of Madras, who was as well acquainted with the complicated affairs of India as Godheu was ignorant of them, readily entered into negotiations, but with the full determination of making no one important sacrifice or concession. On the 11th of October a suspension of arms was agreed to for three months; and on the 26th of December of the same year (1754) a provisional treaty was signed at Pondicherry. The French stipulated to withdraw their troops from the Carnatic and to interfere no more in the affairs of the native princes there, thus leaving Mohammed Ali, the ally or creature of the English, undisputed nabob of the Carnatic. They also agreed that the territorial possessions of the French and English should be settled and defined on the principle of equality, thus virtually resigning nearly all that Bussy and Dupleix had acquired by their wars and policy. This treaty was to be confirmed or altered in Europe, but, until the decision of the French and English companies should be known, no hostilities direct or indirect were to be allowed.

M. Bussy, however, left undisturbed at Golconda, continued his control over the Deccan; and the Mysoreans, alleging that the French had no authority to bind them by their paper agreements, seemed disposed to continue the blockade of Trichinopoly, and remained in that neighbourhood until they were scared away by the report that a Mahratta army was marching to attack them. Their departure finished a siege and blockade which had lasted altogether more than a year, and which had brought out on the part of the English troops uncommon bravery, steadiness, and no inconsiderable skill. Yet the pacification was scarcely settled when the two rival European nations were involved in fresh differences; the French complained that the English continued to keep their troops with Mohammed Ali to assist him in collecting his revenues and reducing his refractory subjects; and the English justified their conduct by showing that M. Bussy and the French troops with him in the interior continued to render the same services, and on a more extensive scale, to Salabut Jung. It soon became evident that no peace or truce could be of long duration. As there was no work to employ an English squadron which had arrived under the command of Admiral Watson, it was resolved to send some of the ships to destroy the nests of some powerful pirates who for fifty years had been committing depredations on the Malabar coast. The chiefs of these corsairs were a family of the Mahratta race, and bore the name of Angria, who had established on the coast a power closely resembling that of the Algerines, and who nominally acknowledged the Peishwa, or the supreme head of the Mahrattas, as the Algerines nominally professed allegiance to the Ottoman Porte. But the Angrias had recently given such offence to the Peishwa that he determined upon their destruction and consented to join his fleet to the English squadron. In 1755 the English ships under the command of Commodore James drove the pirates from two of their strongholds and took possession of them, the Mahratta fleet of the Peishwa never coming within reach of cannon-shot till the fighting was over. But the chief nest of the pirates—the fort and port of Gheriah—was not attacked until the following year, when the adventurous Clive had returned from England with improved health and enlarged hopes. Clive accompanied Admiral Watson on this expedition, which was not without difficulty and danger, nor without that prospect of booty and prize-money which tempts men to defy peril. The Peishwa's Mahrattas also joined, not to fight, but to appropriate all the booty as their right when the place should be taken by the English. On the 11th of February the English fleet, consisting of eight ships, a grab, and five bomb-ketches, having on board 800 Europeans and 1000 sepoys, commanded by Clive, arrived off Gheriah; while a Mahratta army approached on the land side. The pirates' nest stood on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and crowned by a fort of extraordinary strength. The English sailors soon succeeded in burning the fleet, though under the guns of the fort, and Clive then landed his troops and interposed them between the walls of the town and the Mahratta army, who, if they had entered, would have left little but bare walls to the English. The pirates, in whom ferocity had been mistaken for courage, made but a feeble and foolish resistance; they quailed under the hot shower of shot and shells; Angria, their chief, fled from the fort to seek refuge in the Mahratta camp; and on the 13th the place fell. Booty to the value of about ten lacs of rupees was divided between the royal navy and the company's land-troops; the Mahrattas were excluded from any share, and the English disagreed as to their own proper proportions. The officers of the navy, as bearing the king's commission, claimed the larger share, and they decreed that Clive, though he commanded the entire land force, should only share with a post-captain in the navy. Some warm correspondence took place on this delicate matter. Admiral Wat-

son, who said that he was only anxious to defend the rights of the service to which he belonged, offered to make up from his own share the difference between Clive's share and the share of his second in command, Rear-Admiral Pococke; but Clive replied that his own anxiety was only to satisfy his troops, and that he could not enrich himself with money taken from Watson's personal share of the capture.* Disputes of this nature arose almost every time that the king's ships or land troops co-operated with those of the company, although it appears to have been usual to adjust the relative claims to the booty to be made before entering upon the expedition. The present disagreement was, however, productive of no evil consequence, and, apparently, of no interruption to the mutual regard existing between Clive and Watson.

Preceded by glowing reports of his remarkable achievements at Arcot and in other parts of the Carnatic, Clive had been received in England with enthusiasm. Young as he was, he was hailed as the best of living English generals; the great men in Leadenhall-street proposed his health at public dinners as the saviour of their establishments in India; the court of directors voted him a sword, set with diamonds as a token of their esteem and of their sense of his singular services to the company on the coast of Coromandel; fresh banquets were given to celebrate his deeds, and in society at large and wherever he went Clive received the tribute due to a daring and successful soldier, who had worked out great ends with most disproportionate means. With laudable delicacy and gratitude he refused to accept the diamond-hilted sword until the court of directors had voted a similar present to his superior in command, Major Laurence. The greater part of the money he had brought with him from India he gave to his impoverished family; and, merely upon pecuniary grounds, it soon seemed expedient to him that he should return to the land of rupees. To the company his presence there was no less desirable, and it was resolved in sending him back to appoint him governor of Fort St. David, with a provisional commission to succeed to the government of Madras. George II., who loved a soldier, gave him the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army, which it was hoped would obviate the quarrels about rank which so frequently occurred between the king's and the company's officers. After the reduction of the pirates' nest at Gheriah, Colonel Clive proceeded to Fort St. David, and assumed the government of that place on the 20th of June, 1756, the very day on which the nabob of Bengal took Calcutta from the English, and disgraced his success with detestable cruelties.

The company's settlement at Calcutta had risen rapidly under the pacific rule of Aliverdy Khan, the Mussulman viceroy of the Great Mogul, but who had become virtually the independent and absolute sovereign of all the rich kingdom or territory of Bengal—the richest country in all India, with the most pusillanimous Hindu population. Aliverdy was, for India, a prince of rare virtues; while his neighbours and brother potentates consumed their time and their strength in multitudinous harems, and, in defiance of the Koran, stupified their intellects with excessive drinking, he adhered most scrupulously to the law of the Prophet which prohibits the use of wine and strong drinks; and he neglected at the same time to avail himself of the Prophet's licence for indulging in a plurality of wives and an *ad libitum* number of concubines. To the amazement of Hindus and Mohammedans, Aliverdy rested satisfied with one faithful and beloved wife. He was orderly, prudent, just, and averse to all violence; he encouraged the trade of the English settled in his dominions, and derived a fair and growing profit from their prosperity. Their factors and their various agents travelled without interruption through every part of his dominions, finding everywhere protection for their property and safety and respect for their persons. But Aliverdy Khan died early in the month of April of this year, 1756, and his grandson and successor, Suraj-u-Dowlah, a cruel, luxurious, and effeminate youth, proved altogether unworthy of him. As in these Oriental despotisms nearly everything depends upon the personal character of the ruler, it was evident, from the first day of Suraj-u-Dowlah's accession, that everything in Bengal would undergo a rapid and thorough change. He was known to entertain very hostile feelings towards the English, so that everybody at Calcutta ought to have been prepared for his hostile attacks; and the stories related of his violence and cruelty—of his delighting in seeing torture inflicted under his own eye—might have warned them of the fate that awaited them if they ever fell into his power. He had seen the coffers of his grandfather filled directly or indirectly by the trade of the English; he had been led to believe that the wealth and treasures these foreign merchants had accumulated within the walls of Calcutta were enormous in extent, and always ready and tangible; and, like the fool in the fable, he resolved to kill the goose that laid these golden eggs. It was very easy to find pretexts for quarrel. Alarmed by reports from England that a new war with France was inevitable, and would be prosecuted in all parts of the world, the English had begun to fortify Calcutta, so as to prevent any attack by the French on the side of the river. Moreover, they had granted refuge in their fort to a very wealthy Hindu native called Kissendass, whom Suraj-u-Dowlah wished to plunder, and they had refused to give him up to his officers. Other facilities were afforded by a Hindu merchant, called Omichund, a man of intrigue and of enormous wealth, which he was constantly seeking to increase without any scruples as to the means he employed. Omichund had lived long in Calcutta, and had been permitted to engross much more

* Clive's evidence in reports of the committee of the House of Commons.—Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.

of the company's investment than was allowed to any other contractor. The presidency, moreover, had almost constantly employed him to transact their political business with the nabob and the minor potentates in the neighbourhood, and had paid him lavishly for all these services. The influence this intriguing Hindu had acquired was immense, and his power was altogether so great that it was dangerous to offend him. Yet the presidency, disgusted by some dishonest practices, had deprived him of all his contracts, and given him the most mortal offence. Omichund retired to Muxadabad, or Moorshedabad, with 4,000,000 of rupees; but he left his harem and a considerable part of his household property at Calcutta. It was believed that the vindictive Hindu put himself in close communication with the French at Chandernagore, and advised Suraj-u-Dowlah to annihilate the English settlement. After a short stay at Moorshedabad, Omichund returned to Calcutta to facilitate the scheme of destruction he recommended, and to act as a spy for the nabob.* Suraj-u-Dowlah dispatched a peremptory letter to Mr. Drake, the governor, ordering him instantly to destroy all the works which had been added to the fortifications of Calcutta. Mr. Drake replied that the nabob had been misinformed by those who reported that the English were building a wall round the town; that they had dug no ditch since the invasion of the Mahrattas, at which time such a work had been executed at the request of the Indian inhabitants, and with the full approbation of Aliverdy Khan, the late nabob; that in the late war between England and France the French had attacked and taken the town of Madras, contrary to the neutrality which it was expected would have been preserved in the Mogul's dominions; and that, there being at present great appearance of another war, the English were under apprehensions that the French would act in the same manner in Bengal; to prevent which they were repair-

* Orme.

Suraj-u-Dowlah and his Ten Sons. From a Painting "taken by His Excellency's permission at Fyzabad," by Mr. Kettle drawn by Mr. B. Sly, from a Fine Copy in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

ing their line of guns on the bank of the river.* When this letter was presented, Suraj-u-Dowlah gave way to a paroxysm of rage, and threatened to behead or impale Mr. Watts, the English resident. A few days after he collected his whole army at Moorshedabad, and sent a detachment of 3000 men to invest the small English fort and factory at Cossimbuzar. This investment was begun on the 22nd of May, but no hostilities were committed until the 1st of June, when the nabob arrived with the rest of his forces. The fort of Cossimbuzar had neither ditch nor palisade; its walls were contemptibly weak, the largest of its guns were but nine-pounders, and those were honeycombed or shaking upon rotted carriages: the garrison consisted of twenty-two Europeans and twenty Topasses, and of the Europeans the majority were Dutchmen. The nabob summoned Mr. Watts to come forth to him. Mr. Watts waited upon the savage in his tent, and was again threatened with impalement. He was compelled to sign a paper importing that the presidency of Calcutta should level whatever works they had raised; that they should instantly deliver up all subjects or tenants of the nabob who had taken protection in their settlement; and that, if it should be proved that the company's dustucks or passports for trade had ever been given to such persons as were not entitled to them, whatever the nabob's government had been defrauded of by such practices should be refunded by the presidency of Calcutta. Mr. Watts was next required to sign an order for the surrender of Cossimbuzar; but this he refused to do. But that fort was utterly incapable of resisting a vast army; and on the 4th of June the crumbling old gates were thrown open to the nabob. The soldiery that had room to enter its narrow precincts stole everything they found instead of sealing it up for the use of their master; and then they insulted and triumphed over the little garrison, as if instead of forty-three men they had conquered an army of thousands. Their conduct was so brutal, that, to escape from it, the English commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains. On the 9th of June Suraj-u-Dowlah struck his tents and began his march upon Calcutta. None of his officers attempted to restrain his rash and violent resolution, for they believed themselves sure of the plunder of one of the most opulent cities in all India. Some Hindu bankers, who had derived great wealth from the European trade, and who better understood the means and sources of wealth, ventured to represent the English as a colony of inoffensive and useful merchants, who, if left to pursue their traffic, would every year enrich the country and the government; but their representations and prayers made no impression on the nabob, who continued his march. In the mean time the terrified and stupified presidency at Calcutta lost days and nights in doubts and deliberations: vainly hoping to avert the storm, they engaged to obey the nabob's orders, and to demolish whatever he might require, if he would only withdraw his army; and they never seriously applied themselves to the defence of the place until Suraj-u-Dowlah was within a few days' march with a still increasing army. They then implored the Dutch at Chinchura and the French at Chandernagore, for the sake of humanity and for the common cause of Europeans in India, to afford them some assistance against the nabob, who, if allowed to exterminate the English, would not long respect the weaker settlements of the other European nations. The Dutch coldly and positively refused any aid or succour, and the French insulted their distress by advising the English to repair with their goods and chattels to Chandernagore. Letters had been dispatched to Madras and to Bombay requesting reinforcements; but the sea was shut by the south monsoon, and months must have passed before any force could arrive from either of those quarters. Nothing, therefore, was left to do but to defend Calcutta with the force actually within it. This consisted of a regular garrison of 264 men, of a militia raised among the inhabitants of 250 men, and of 1500 bucksaries, or native Indian matchlock-men, whose arms and discipline were of the worst kind. Of the regular garrison and of the militia only 170 were English, the rest being Portuguese, Topasses, and Armenians, on whose valour and faith there was little dependence: and, to make the case still more hopeless, not ten of the English had ever seen any other service than that of the parade.* The genius and the all-ascendant spirit of a Clive might, even with this defective force, have made good the place against the disorderly, unwarlike host advancing against it; but there was no Clive in Calcutta, and too many of the English there whose voices were most potential were cursed with the selfish minds and narrow views of pedlers and trucksters. When all was at stake these men wanted to preserve their dwelling-houses, their magazines, their gardens, and their outhouses, from injury; and buildings which ought to have been blown into the air, because they commanded the ramparts of the fort, or covered the approaches, were left standing till Suraj-u-Dowlah should avail himself of them. On the 13th of June a detachment was sent down the river in two ships of 300 tons and two brigantines to take possession of the fort of Taunah, which lay about five miles below Calcutta, and commanded the narrowest part of the river. The Mohammedan garrison fled at their approach, but, being speedily reinforced by 2000 men, they returned, drove the English out of the fort, and compelled the ships to retire to Calcutta. On the same day a letter was intercepted, written to Omichund by Suraj-u-Dowlah's head spy, advising him to send the effects he had in Calcutta out of the reach of danger as soon as possible. This confirmed the suspicions already entertained of that great Hindu: Omichund was immediately apprehended and carried a pri-

* Mr. Drake's letter, in Orme's History.

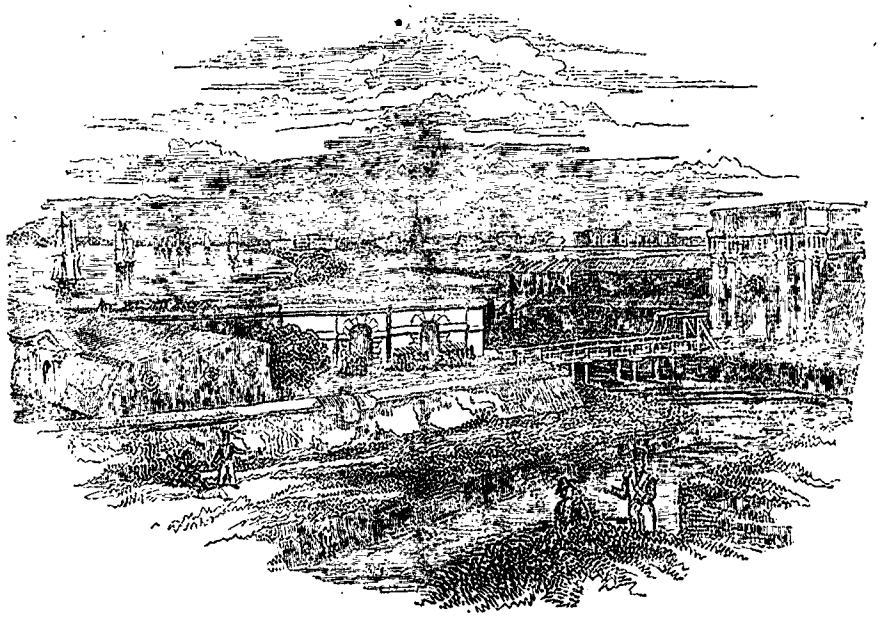
* Orme.

soner into the fort; and a guard was placed in his house to prevent the clandestine removal of his property. His brother-in-law, who had the chief management of his affairs, and who had made himself equally obnoxious to the presidency, concealed himself in the harem. Orders were sent to the guard to secure him; but the guard was resisted by the whole body of Omichund's peons, domestics, and armed retainers, who amounted to 300 men: a scuffle ensued, and ended in a combat, in which several were wounded on both sides. And while the guard and the peons were contending in the outer apartments, the chief of the peons, a Hindu of high caste, set fire to the house, rushed into the harem, and, in order to save the women from the dishonour of being exposed to the gaze of strangers, stabbed them one by one, and then stabbed himself. It is said that thirteen females were thus sacrificed; but the dagger of the peon was used less effectually against his own person, for he survived the wound.* On the 15th of June, two days after the bloody tragedy in Omichund's house, Suraj-u-Dowlah reached Hooghly, about twenty miles above Calcutta, and prepared to cross the river in an immense fleet of boats. What the English ships were doing we know not; but it should appear that the fire of two brigantines alone ought to have sunk and scattered these frail embarkations, and have effectually defended the passage of the river. On the morning of the 16th the nabob with nearly his whole force was on the Calcutta side of the river; the Indian inhabitants of the town were flying in all directions with their rice on their heads; and the Englishwomen, the Armenians, the Portuguese, and all who claimed to be Christians, were abandoning their houses in the city to take refuge within the fort, which was crowded and embarrassed in every part by women and children, and men as helpless or as timid. At the hour of noon the van of the nabob's army advancing from the northward was seen close on the company's bounds, and shortly after a firing commenced across the Mahratta ditch, and a natural rivulet which supplied the place of the ditch near the river, and which was defended by a badly constructed redoubt called Perring's Redoubt. The assailants kept themselves carefully under cover of some thickets and groves, firing with matchlocks from a great distance, and doing little or no mischief. As night set in they boiled their rice, took their supper, and went all to sleep. They were awakened about midnight by a young English ensign who had served in Clive's war in the Carnatic, and who now issued out of the redoubt, crossed the rivulet with a handful of men, crept silently into the groves and thickets, beat up and drove before him all the troops there, spiked four pieces of cannon, and then returned to his station without the loss of a single man. In the course of the night the chief of Omichund's peons and the slayer of his women escaped out of the town and showed Suraj-u-Dowlah the best way to enter it. On the following day the attack from the north was abandoned, and some thousands of the besiegers were led into the town on the east side where there were no defences. They set fire to the great bazaar or market, and they took possession of the quarter inhabited by the principal Indian merchants. A sortie from the fort drove some of these intruders back again and took some of them prisoners; but the report was spread that the nabob intended a general attack on the morrow. As the fort of Calcutta, called Fort William, was only strong towards the river, and weak everywhere else, as the ramparts were commanded by the English houses and by the English church, it was deemed incapable of defence, and it was, therefore, resolved to make the defence outside by opposing the enemy in the streets and avenues that led to the fort. But scarcely a barricade had been erected, and not a ditch had been dug anywhere. Now, with precipitation and confusion, three batteries, each mounting two 18-pounders and two field-pieces, were thrown up in the streets at the distance of 300 or more yards from the gates of the fort, and some trenches were dug and breastworks raised to bar the progress of the enemy. Still, however, no care was taken to demolish a number of houses which overlooked these defences, or a series of banks and garden-walls that might serve to cover the foe. Early on the morning of the 18th the whole of the nabob's army was in motion, and at about eight o'clock one strong division advanced towards the street-battery that lay to the south of the town, and, taking possession of some of the houses on each side of the street, and resting their matchlocks on the sills of the windows, they took deliberate aim at the men in the battery. The other two street-batteries were attacked at nearly the same time and in the like manner; but in that to the north there were several advantages favourable to the English: the street leading to it was very narrow, it was not overlooked by any very near building, and the houses closest at hand were all previously occupied by Englishmen. As the assailants entered the narrow street they were saluted with a fire in front from the two 18-pounders and the two field-pieces of the battery, and by a fire of musketry from the house windows. They presently recoiled: they advanced again, but only to retreat more rapidly than before, and then they lay out of harm's way in the cross-streets till the hour of noon, when they joined those who were employed against the eastern battery. But it was now rice-time, and the kettles were boiled, and there was no more fighting till after two o'clock. Then, however, the refreshed Indians commenced a most furious fire upon the eastern battery, crowding all the houses with their best marksmen. The Englishmen serving the guns could scarcely show themselves without being hit, and the number of killed or wounded constantly carried to the rear discouraged those who had not been over valiant before. At five o'clock in the afternoon Captain Clayton, the officer in command, sent to inform

* Orme.

Mr. Drake, the governor, that it was impossible to maintain the post any longer unless it was immediately reinforced with cannon and men sufficient to drive the enemy out of the houses. But before an answer could be received from the governor matters were brought to such a crisis that Captain Clayton thought it necessary to spike his two 18-pounders and one of his field-pieces, and to retreat with all that remained of his detachment into Fort William. The nabob's people, scarcely crediting their good fortune, took possession of the battery, and raised a shout of triumph from ten thousand throats. The fall of this battery was fatal to the whole scheme of defence; but the English troops in the northern battery and in the houses near it continued a desperate resistance. A small party under the command of two young volunteers —Smith and Wilkinson—were completely surrounded in a detached building; they bravely resolved to cut their way through, and some of them succeeded; but Smith, intercepted and refusing to surrender, killed five Indians before he fell; and Wilkinson, who surrendered, was cut to pieces. Towards evening the detachments were recalled into the fort, and all three batteries abandoned. The front of each of them was strewed with the dead; and, if only tolerable precautions had been adopted, they would certainly have sufficed to repel Suraj-u-Dowlah and his unwarlike rabble, or to have kept them at bay for weeks or even months. The abandonment of all the batteries on the very first day they were attacked, created a general consternation: the Indian matchlock-men who had been engaged by the presidency all disappeared; the Lascars who had been helping to serve the guns all deserted; and the peace-loving Armenians and the Portuguese half-castes, who formed a considerable part of the militia, gave themselves up to grief and despair, declaring on every hand that further resistance was useless. Instead of the firm word of command and the rattle of arms, nothing was heard in Fort William but despondent murmurs, lamentations, and womanly wailings. The governor, however, contrived to throw four detachments into the English church, the government-house, and two houses belonging to English merchants, all which buildings commanded the ramparts of the fort. In the mean time the enemy had drilled the three English guns which had been spiked and abandoned in the eastern battery, and they now turned these guns on the fort, and threw forward a swarm of combatants who sheltered themselves behind garden-walls and outhouses, and kept up an irregular but never-ceasing fire with matchlocks and muskets. A ship and seven smaller vessels were now lying before the fort, and shoals of native boats were in readiness to carry off persons and property. As it grew dark the European women were conveyed out of the fort and safely embarked. When this was done, or while it was doing, the detachment which had been sent to occupy the government-house, and which had been severely galled by the enemy's fire, was recalled to the fort. This retreat exposed the very weakest part of the fort, where it was unflanked by any bastions; and about midnight the enemy, availing themselves of their advantage, approached to escalade the walls. Mr. Drake, who heard their approach, ordered the drums to beat the general alarm; but, although this summons was thrice repeated, not a man came up to the walls except those who were already on duty. The roll of the drums, however, proved enough for the Indians, who ran back from the foot of the walls into their own quarters, believing that the whole garrison was collected at one point to oppose them. No further attempt was made during the night, for the Indians, as usual, betook themselves to their suppers and their rest. In that precious interval of time a sortie from the fort made with rapidity and spirit might have thrown half of the nabob's army into irretrievable confusion; or, without that bold measure, a wonderful amount of human misery might have been spared if the English had removed quietly out of the untenable fortress and gone on board their ships. The latter project was, indeed, entertained; for, two hours after midnight, a general council of war was held, to which all the English, except the common soldiers, were admitted; and it was debated whether they should immediately escape to their ships, or defer their retreat until the next night. These deliberations lasted for two hours, when it was too late to go, and therefore they stayed where they were. As the day broke Suraj-u-Dowlah's people again swarmed to the fort, bringing more artillery with them, and occupying the houses and the garden enclosures near it. They did not, however, venture to take possession of the government-house, and a fresh detachment was sent out from the fort to re-occupy that building. These men, under Ensign Pischard, behaved with the greatest gallantry, occupying the house and killing a great number of those who attempted to dislodge them; but, unfortunately, the ensign was badly wounded and carried to the fort, and his departure was soon followed by the flight of his men. The party who had held the English church now gave way also, and all the other houses and every foot of ground outside Fort William were abandoned to the enemy, whose courage and activity seemed to increase prodigiously. From the water-gate of the fort there now arose a loud and earnest cry for boats; but the greater part of the native boatmen, tired with waiting, had taken their departure, and the general embarkation, which would have been easy a few hours before, became very difficult. This difficulty was made the greater by the madness of fear and the total want of all order or arrangement. Men, women, and children rushed to the water's edge, pressing every one to be first embarked; the boats were crowded with more than they could carry, and several of them were overset or swamped. Most of those who had crowded into them were drowned, and the few that swam or floated to the shore were either made prisoners or massacred;

for the nabob's people had now taken possession of the river-side, and were even discharging fire-arrows at the English shipping in the view of destroying that last hope of escape. Of the parties from the garrison who had escorted the European ladies on board, none returned to the fort, and, their fright being increased by the fire-arrows, they, without orders from the governor, removed the ship from her station off the fort to Govindpore, three miles lower down the river; on which all the other vessels weighed their anchors likewise, and began to fall down to Govindpore. Several of the English militia now lost all heart and all care except for their own personal safety; and, seizing by force some government-boats, they put off after the shipping. The governor himself (Mr. Drake) was not long in following them: he was told that nearly all the gunpowder remaining in the fort was damp and unfit for use; he was convinced in his own mind that the savage nabob intended to impale him; and, without giving any warning to the garrison, he ran out by the water-gate and leaped into a remaining boat. The military commanding officer (Captain Minchin) and several other Englishmen, who chanced to have their eyes upon him, followed his example, scrambled into the boat after him, and escaped with him to the ship, in spite of the Indian fire-arrows and bullets. Those who were left behind, including many who would have escaped if they had been able, raised a cry of indignation and execration at the conduct of the governor and the companions of his flight. They next elected Mr. Holwell, one of the members of the council, to the command of the hopeless fort. The entire number of regulars and militia remaining within the walls did not exceed 190, and many of these were looking for the first opportunity to escape. As he saw two or three boats returning to the wharf, Mr. Holwell locked up the water-gate and carried off the keys, in order to prevent further desertion. There was still a ship lying off the mouth of the creek on which Perring's Redoubt stood. An officer was dispatched in a boat with orders to the captain to bring this ship down immediately to the fort, in order that the whole garrison might at a proper moment get on board; but the ship in coming down struck upon a sand-bank, and was instantly abandoned by her crew, who hastened in their boats to Govindpore. As this hope was frustrated the garrison saw, themselves attacked with renewed vigour; and so active were the Indians, that they continued their efforts not only all that day, but nearly all the succeeding night. By the direction of Mr. Holwell, signals were constantly thrown out, flags by day and fires by night, to call the shipping at Govindpore back to the fort; but no attention whatever was paid to these strong appeals to valour and generosity: the ships remained where they were, and merely sent a native boat down the river from time to time to see what was passing. Nothing but imbecility on the part of the commanders can account for this conduct in British seamen. On the following morning the assailants crowded round the fort in still greater numbers. Some of the English who had seen how easy it was to scatter thousands with the well-directed fire of a single gun recommended steadiness and perseverance in the defence; but others recommended with equal earnestness an immediate capitulation, without reflecting that Suraj-u-Dowlah was the last man upon earth likely to observe any treaty, or to put any bounds to his wrath. Mr. Holwell at last



Calcutta, from Fort William. From a Print by Orme, 1756.

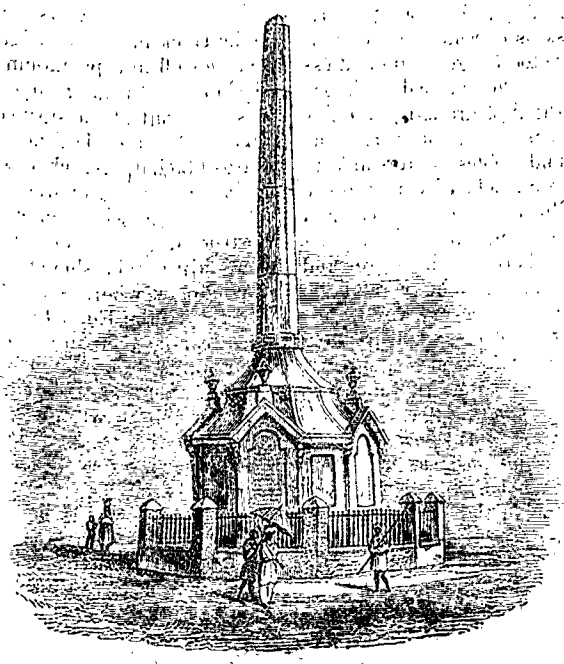
consented to make his prisoner Omichund write a letter to one of the nabob's generals, stating that the English were ready to obey the nabob's commands, and were only defending the fort to preserve their lives and honour. This letter was carried into the Indian general's quarters, but it seemed to produce no effect, as the attack was continued and preparation made to escalade the walls. Advancing under cover of a strong fire from one of the neighbouring houses, a large party actually began to escalade the northern curtain of the fortress; but after persevering for half an hour they were hurled back and totally repulsed with great loss. But in this stern contest twenty-five of the garrison had been killed or desperately wounded, and more than twice that number had received slighter wounds. In this state, when the place was filled with moans and groans and shrieks of anguish, some of the remaining English soldiery broke open the arrack storehouse, swallowed that ardent spirit as if it had been water, and became mad or stupid. About two o'clock in the afternoon, after a very faint renewal of the attack, the Indians sent a flag of truce towards the fort; but while Mr. Holwell was parleying with the messenger, and the garrison suspending their fire, hosts of the nabob's people flocked to the gates of the fort; to the palisades, and to the weakest parts of the works, where they applied their scaling ladders and began again to ascend, firing at every one they saw. A gentleman was wounded at the side of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon broke off the conference and endeavoured to collect his men on the ramparts. But the men who were sober could not be brought up in time, and those who were mad drunk were breaking open the water-gate to escape by the river. As this gate was forced, a mass of Indians who had climbed over the palisade beyond it, and were lurking under the walls, rushed in, and at the very same moment the curtain which had been attempted before was escaladed by hundreds after hundreds, who advanced into the centre of the works and there met their comrades who had entered by the water-gate. About twenty of the garrison threw themselves over the walls; all the rest piled their arms and surrendered with prayers for mercy. At five in the afternoon Suraj-u-Dowlah, who had kept at a distance so long as there was any resistance or the slightest chance of danger, entered the fort in triumph, accompanied by Meer Jaffier, his treasurer and commander-in-chief, and by most of his principal officers. He seated himself with all his pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. He abused the English with oriental richness of language for their presumption in daring to oppose his will and defend the fort, and he bitterly complained of the small sum of money he had found in their treasury—a sum which in reality fell below 50,000 rupees, while his ravenous imagination had anticipated many millions. He dismissed Mr. Holwell, recalled him to ask if there was no more money, and then dismissed him again. Before seven o'clock he summoned the Englishman to his presence once more, and this time, in dismissing him, pledged his word as a soldier that he should suffer no harm.* Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in misfortune, whom he found surrounded by a strong guard and gazing upon a terrible conflagration which by accident or by design had been kindled in the houses outside the fort. Asking where they were to be lodged for the night, they were ordered to march to a veranda or open gallery near the eastern gate of the fort, where they remained for some time without any suspicion of their impending fate. But about eight o'clock at night the principal officer who had charge of them commanded them all to go into a room behind the gallery. This room was the common dungeon of the garrison, and called the Black Hole. Many of the prisoners, knowing the narrowness of the place, imagined at first that the officer was joking, and, being in good spirits on account of the nabob's promise that no harm should be offered to them, they laughed at the absurdity of the notion; but when they perceived in the savage looks of the Indians that they were in earnest they began to expostulate and implore; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated, and the captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword. The space was so thronged that the last could hardly find room to enter. The savages without then locked the door upon them; confining 146 persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and those obstructed and deprived of air by the projecting veranda. It was the very hottest season of the year, and the night unusually sultry even for that season, for the atmosphere was heated by the burning houses and charged with the smoke that proceeded from the conflagration. As soon as the dismal door was closed upon them the prisoners, crowded and wedged together in one living, desperate mass, began to feel all the unutterable horrors of their situation. They cried, they shrieked for mercy—they prayed to be removed to separate rooms, to any place but that—they attempted to burst open the door, but the door was strong and opened inward, and no impression could be made upon it or its fastenings. Mr. Holwell, having been one of the first to enter that infernal hole, had secured himself a place near one of the windows, and through the grating he addressed an old Hindu, "who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance," and promised him 1000 rupees in the morning if he would separate the captives into two chambers. The old man said he would go and endeavour to obtain permission; but he soon returned, saying that the thing could not be done—that it was impossible. Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum—the old man went again—and again he soon returned, pronouncing, this time, the inevitable doom—for the nabob, he said, had retired to rest and was fast asleep, and no man dared to wake or disturb him. Then the captives went raving mad with despair and a hell-like heat and thirst; they shrieked for water! water! and

* Holwell's Tracts.

they fought with each other with maniac hands, feet, and teeth, for possession of the ground nearest the windows. The old Hindu, at the prayer of Mr. Holwell, brought some skins of water to the grating, but the sufferers were too far gone in madness to wait their turn to drink; they battled with one another like demons for the first draught, and they spilt and wasted more than was drunk. But the contents of the largest and coolest water-tank in Hindustan could not have quenched the inward fire that consumed them, or have cooled or sweetened the infernal air of their dungeon. They went madder and madder. To shorten their horrors and to provoke the Indians outside in the veranda to fire upon them, they made use of every kind of invective and abuse; but the blacks kept up their torture, and, staring through the windows, shouted with laughter at the frantic tricks of the white men. By this time many of the captives had been squeezed or trodden to death, or had died for want of air. At two o'clock in the morning not more than fifty remained alive; but even this reduced number could not long live in that close and poisoned air, which was rendered every moment more loathsome by the almost instantaneous decomposition of the dead bodies. As the light of day glimmered through the narrow apertures the sight was too horrible to be borne; but the sun was allowed to rise high in the heavens before the tyrant quitted his soft and perfumed couch and inquired after his prisoners. At eight o'clock in the morning, after ascertaining that Mr. Holwell, whom he wished to question about money, was among the survivors, he sent an order to enlarge the captives. The narrow space was so blocked up with the dead lying one upon the other, and those who yet lived were so weak and faint, that it was with the greatest difficulty the door was opened and a passage made for egress. At length, however, twenty-three ghastly figures were brought out of that truly black hole—figures that would not have been recognised by the mothers that had borne them, or by the bosom friends that had seen them but a few hours before on the eve of their terrific incarceration. The dead, amounting to 123, were then dragged out and thrown promiscuously into a great pit outside the fort, and there covered in with earth and rubbish. Mr. Holwell, unable to stand, was carried to the presence of Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, so far from showing any compassion for his pitiable condition, or any remorse for the dreadful death of his companions, talked of nothing but the treasures which, he said, the English had buried; and he threatened further severities if the concealed money were not instantly delivered up. Mr. Holwell, who knew of no hidden treasures, was consigned over to some officers of the nabob, who put his sinking and emaciated frame into irons and fetters. Messrs. Court and Walcot underwent the same treatment, as they were suspected of knowing something of the hidden treasures which haunted the young tyrant's imagination, and which only existed there. Mr. Cooke, the secretary to the council, and Captain Mills were told they might go wherever they chose; but an Englishwoman, the only one of her sex among the sufferers, was reserved for the harem of the Buckshee, or chief general, Meer Jaffier, who sent her off in a palanquin to his palace at Moorshedabad. Little or no attention was paid to the obscurer part of the survivors, who were allowed to quit the fort and descend the bank of the river towards Govindpore, where the English shipping still lay at anchor. But when they reached the point where they hoped to embark they found themselves obstructed by some of the nabob's troops, and they were fain to take shelter in some mud huts behind Govindpore, where some of the poor natives who had served the English in more prosperous times shed tears at their misfortunes and administered to their wants, in so far as their limited means permitted. Some three or four of the fugitives got, however, on board the ships, where the tale they told, confirmed by their own wretched appearance, filled every mind with horror and rage. In those moments of excitement vows of revenge were made that were afterwards but too faithfully executed: but for the present the stupid indecision and inactivity continued, and nothing was done or attempted by that naval force, which, small as it was, might have sufficed, under the direction of clear heads and brave hearts, to have saved all that were in Fort William.*

Meanwhile the nabob's army were plundering all the warehouses and dwelling-houses in the town of Calcutta, making no distinction as to persons, faiths, or nations, but robbing alike Hindus, Mohammedans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English. Their booty in merchandise and in household property was very considerable; but, like their nabob, they too had visions of hidden treasures, to realize which they in many instances tortured or barbarously maltreated their victims. If the intriguing Omichund had contributed to bring down the fury of the nabob on the settlement, he was nevertheless in a pecuniary sense one of the greatest sufferers from the invasion, for, as he had been prevented by the English from removing his effects, 400,000 rupees were found in his treasury, and vast quantities of merchandise in his stores; and all this wealth became the prey of the conquerors. Enraged at what he considered their wilful obstinacy in still refusing to tell where the great treasures in the fortress were hidden, Suraj-u-Dowlah ordered Mr. Holwell and his two companions in chains to be sent to Moorshedabad; and they were accordingly put into an open boat, without any shelter from the intense heat of the sun or the heavy rains of the season. They were fed only with thin rice and water, and were treated in all respects with excessive barbarity. To perpetuate the memory of his victory, which his courtiers represented as the greatest and most glorious that had been achieved

* "Never, perhaps," says Orme, "was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected; for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon."



OBELISK BUILT ON THE SITE OF THE BLACK HOLE, CALCUTTA, TO COMMEMORATE THE MURDER OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE ENGLISHMEN. From a Drawing in the India House.

since the days of Tamerlane, the nabob ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to that of Alinagore, or the Port of God; and then, writing pompous letters to the Great Mogul at Delhi, and collecting his army on the 2nd of July, he proceeded up the river to fall upon his neighbour and near kinsman, the ruler of Purneah. His departure from Calcutta was made in triumphal style. His boats were decorated with flags and streamers, and the air was filled with military music. He left behind him in Fort William and in the town of Calcutta about 3000 men. As he passed by the French settlement at Chandernagore, and the Dutch settlement at Chinchura, which places lie close together on the right bank of the Hooghly, about thirty miles above Calcutta, he demanded tributes, and spoke at one moment as if he intended to complete his glorious career of victory by expelling both French and Dutch as he had expelled the English. The money demanded from the settlement at Chinchura, and promptly paid by the terrified Dutchmen, amounted to 450,000 rupees, but the French at Chandernagore he let off for 350,000 rupees, in consideration, it is said, of their having furnished him with 200 chests of gunpowder when he was advancing against the English at Calcutta.* On the 11th of July he arrived at Moorshedabad, where he gave a feast, and ordered that all kinds of property belonging to the English anywhere in Bengal or its dependencies should be seized and confiscated to his use; a few days after, finding that no information could be obtained from them respecting the supposed hidden treasures, he liberated Mr. Holwell and his two companions, who, since their arrival in his capital, had been confined in a cow-shed. These gentlemen were scarcely enlarged ere they discovered that the greatest discontents prevailed both among the soldiery and the people; that many persons of the greatest wealth and influence, more especially the Scits or Hindu bankers, were convinced that the subversion of Calcutta and the ruin of the English would be destructive to the commercial prosperity of the country; that the arrogant nabob was detested even by those who most fawned upon him, and that many nearest to his person and highest in command of the troops were ready to plot and to combine for his overthrow and death.

The rainy season, which began before the nabob left Calcutta, and other circumstances, delayed the expedition into Purneah till the month of October. The nabob then marched with a large army, which was in reality commanded by Meer Jaffier, who gained a complete victory over the rash young ruler of that country. This prince, the relative of Suraj-u-Dowlah, was slain in the battle; the whole of Purneah then submitted to the conqueror, who once more returned triumphantly to Moorshedabad, swollen with pride and elated by the conviction that nothing could resist him, and that the scattered and humbled English would never venture to renew

* Orme.

hostilities in his dominions. But these dreams were soon to be dissipated, for Clive the avenger, Clive "the Daring in War," was now preparing to come against him.* At Madras and Bombay, at every place in India in which there was an Englishman, exertions were made in order to recover Calcutta and take vengeance for the cruelties which had been committed; but the mighty monsoons would not yield nor change to suit the impatience of man; materials had to be collected from various parts of the coast, and ships to be waited for that were crossing the Indian Ocean from Europe. Thus it was not until the 16th of October that Clive and Admiral Watson could sail from Madras for the Hooghly. The force consisted of five of his majesty's ships and five of the company's, having on board 900 European infantry and 1500 sepoys. Five hundred more sepoys were expected from Bombay. All the fleet, with the exception of two vessels, the 'Cumberland' and 'Marlborough,' on board of which were a considerable proportion of the troops and stores, had reached Fulta, a village on the left bank of the Hooghly, twenty miles in a straight direction below Calcutta, but more than double that distance by water, by the 22d of December, where they found the fugitives from Calcutta. Major Kilpatrick was found at Fulta, where he had arrived some weeks after the capture of Fort William; but, having only a handful of men with him, he had not been able to undertake any enterprise, nor had he even succeeded in procuring draught oxen for the artillery or proper information as to the nature and the state of defence of the neighbouring country. Although 250 of his small European force, 430 of his sepoys, and almost all his artillery and military stores were on board the missing ships, Clive resolved to advance immediately towards Calcutta, and to capture on his way the fort of Budge-Budge, a place on the left bank of the river. The road to this fort lay through a low swampy country, covered with jungle and underwood and intersected with gullies and ditches. It appears from Clive's letters that he had expected Admiral Watson would have landed him near to the fort; but this was not done, the troops being landed at Moidapore and thence marched through the wretched country. "The men," says Clive, "suffered hardships not to be described." They were obliged to draw their two field-pieces and their tumbrel loaded with ammunition through that dismal bog and across the ditches; and during their slow progress they were watched by spies, so that, instead of taking Budge-Budge by surprise, when they reached a dry hollow near that fort and laid themselves down after a night's march to take a little rest, they were suddenly attacked by the nabob's general Monichund, who had come down from Calcutta with 3000 horse and foot. But, after sustaining some loss, Clive beat off his assailants, and Monichund, having witnessed the death of four of his principal officers and of a fine war elephant, and having received a bullet in his own turban, fled back to Calcutta and left Budge-Budge to its fate. The garrison fled out of the place by night, leaving their artillery and stores behind them. Monichund was so terror-stricken that he remained only a few hours at Calcutta, and then continued his flight to Moorshedabad, to assure the nabob, who had no more courage than himself, that "The Daring in War" was irresistible. Monichund, however, left a large garrison behind him in Fort William, and he had conjured them to defend the place against the English. On the 2d of January (1757) Admiral Watson brought his ships to anchor off the fort, and a very few shot were sufficient to send the garrison scampering off after their general. Without the loss of a single life, apparently without a wound or a scratch, the English regained possession of the fort and town. Clive, who had come up with his troops, and who took possession of the fortress, recommended an instant attack upon Hooghly, where Suraj-u-Dowlah had stationed a considerable army; but hot disputes broke out between Clive and Watson, and generally between the officers in the company's service and the officers who commanded the king's troops, and who, inferior as was their force, seem to have assumed on all occasions the rights of precedence and superiority. The success of the whole expedition and the fortunes of the English would more than once have been irretrievably committed but for the iron will and daring, unflinching spirit of Clive, who was ever ready to take upon himself all responsibility, and to answer for every consequence. At length, on the 10th of January, a part of the fleet, and a detachment of the land troops under the command of Major Coote, arrived off Hooghly, which bristled with batteries mounting heavy guns, and garrisoned by 3000 men—who all fled after a very short cannonade, and left the place with everything in it to the English. So perfect was the panic of the nabob's troops, that Coote, with only fifty Europeans and one hundred sepoys, scoured the country for several miles, destroying or capturing a vast quantity of rice and other provisions. The sepoys were left to garrison Hooghly, and the Europeans returned to Calcutta on the 19th of January, with a booty estimated at a lac and a half of rupees. Suraj-u-Dowlah had by this time collected an enormous army in Moorshedabad, and, believing Clive's force to be even smaller than it was, he began to march down to Calcutta with terrible menaces. The English had not neglected to prepare for his reception, and determining not to be cooped up in the crazy fortress, Clive had fortified a camp with several good posts around it, about a mile to the north of the town, and half a mile from the bank of the river. The camp was almost surrounded by a lake, a marsh, and artificial ditches, and no army coming from the northward could get into the town without passing close to it. Fortunately the arrival of the 'Marlborough' at the end of the month fur-

* The name of "Sabut Jung," or "The Daring in War," was given to Clive by the natives, and was applied to him by Suraj-u-Dowlah himself.

nished Clive with the artillery and stores that were wanting. On the 30th of January the nabob crossed the river about ten miles above Hooghly, and, as he continued his march, the country people, who had hitherto supplied the English camp and city with provisions, hid their stores and fled. The bullock-drivers also disappeared, and Clive was left without oxen, and with only one horse, which had been brought from Madras. The want of a small body of cavalry was sensibly felt on many occasions. In the course of the 30th, Clive wrote a conciliatory letter to the nabob, proposing peace; Suraj-u-Dowlah returned a courteous answer, but continued his march. The French at Chandernagore had, however, declined joining the native army, and had even made proposals to the English for a constant truce between them in Bengal notwithstanding any war between the two crowns in Europe and other parts of the world. On the 3rd of February all the villages to the north-east were seen in flames, and the van of the nabob's army appeared in full march towards Calcutta. They passed along a causeway, or elevated road, in full view of Clive's camp, and about noon some of their plunderers penetrated into a suburb of Calcutta occupied by poor natives; but a sally from Perring's Redoubt drove back these marauders with loss, and nothing more on the offensive was done during the rest of the day by the nabob's army, who intrenched themselves in a large garden, about a mile to the south-east of the English camp. About an hour before dark Clive advanced with the greatest part of his troops and six field-pieces, and attempted to drive them from the garden with a hot cannonade; but they answered his fire with nine heavy guns, they threw out cavalry to harass his flanks, and as it grew dark he retired to his camp, having lost three sepoys and two artillery-men. The nabob, who was still several miles off, continued his attempt to amuse Clive with negotiations, and on the following morning a letter was delivered from him requesting the attendance of some English deputies at a village six miles from Calcutta, in order to arrange the conditions of peace. Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton forthwith set out for the place designated; but when they got there they found that the nabob was gone. He had in fact traversed his far-extending army, and had now lodged himself, with some of the best of his troops, in a house and walled garden belonging to Omichund, situated in the north-east part of the company's territory, and within the Mahratta ditch. Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton followed him to this place, and, after some violent altercation about delivering up their swords, which they resolutely refused to do, they were admitted to an audience. Suraj-u-Dowlah, stern and stately, was seated on the musnud, and was surrounded by the principal of his officers and the tallest and grimmest of his attendants, who, to impress awe, and to look more stout and truculent, had dressed themselves in wadded garments and put enormous turbans on their heads. During the conference these fellows sat scowling at the two Englishmen, as if they only waited the nabob's nod to murder them. Nevertheless, the Englishmen remonstrated with the nabob upon his thus entering the company's territory, and delivered to him a paper containing the conditions upon which Clive would make peace with him. Without replying, Suraj-u-Dowlah broke up the assembly. As Walsh and Scrafton were leaving the hall, Omichund, that wily and inexplicable Hindu, whispered them in the ear to have a care of their lives; adding, with a significant look, that the nabob's cannon had not yet been brought up to that position. Instead of going as ordered to the tent of the nabob's minister, the two Englishmen ordered their attendants to extinguish the torches; and then they fled through the darkness and confusion to Perring's Redoubt, whence they easily found their way to the camp. Clive instantly determined to attack the nabob the following morning. At midnight 600 sailors, armed with firelocks, were landed from the ships of war; the battalion of Europeans were 650, the artillery-men 100, the sepoys 800, the field-pieces six 6-pounders.* "About three o'clock in the morning," says Clive himself, "I marched out nearly my whole force, leaving only a few Europeans, with 200 new-raised bucksarees, to guard our camp. About six we entered the enemy's camp in a thick fog, and crossed it in about two hours, with considerable execution. Had the fog cleared up, as it usually does, about eight o'clock, when we were entire masters of the camp without the ditch, the action must have been decisive; instead of which, it thickened and occasioned our mistaking the way."† When this fog cleared up, Clive, with a portion of his small army, found himself wholly separated and at a considerable distance from the rest; and in this state he had to sustain the attack of a great portion of the nabob's forces, horse, foot, and artillery — and among the horse were some well-mounted and well-accoutred Persians, who did unusual execution before they wheeled and fled. In this conflict Clive lost altogether, two field-pieces, 120 Europeans, and 100 sepoys—a great proportion of his small force. But the carnage committed by the English, who were mad for revenge on the perpetrators of the black-hole murders, was terrible; the panic in the Indian army was universal, and Clive was not disappointed as to the effects likely to be produced on the feeble mind of the nabob by the battle. On the next day Suraj-u-Dowlah quitted the town and the territory of the company, and encamped on a plain six miles off. Clive was preparing to give him battle again, when he received a humble note in which the nabob proposed or prayed for peace. Admiral Watson, insisting that no reliance was to be placed on his good faith, recommended another attack without loss of time; but Clive thought it more prudent to treat and to secure the extensive advantages which had already been

* Orme.

† Clive's letter to the Secret Committee, in Sir John Malcolm's Life.

obtained. He had no more reliance on the good faith of the Indian prince than had the admiral; but he was fully prepared to play off deception against deception, to watch events, and to finish the ruin of Suraj-u-Dowlah, whose name inspired every Englishman with horror, whenever the conjuncture should be favourable. He was the more eager to treat as he knew that the French at Chandernagore were now fully informed of the commencement of hostilities in Europe between France and England, and as he apprehended that, in spite of their recent professions, they might be induced to take the field for the nabob, who, if driven to extremities, would be sure to tempt them with the most splendid offers. Even 40,000 Hindus and Mohammedans, under ignorant native officers and a coward like Suraj-u-Dowlah, might be despised; but Clive felt that the case would be different if they should be joined by 400 or 500 brave and expert Frenchmen. He therefore responded with alacrity to the nabob's pacific proposals; and in a day or two a treaty was concluded as favourable to the English as if they had dictated all its clauses. Suraj-u-Dowlah restored to the English at Calcutta all the villages he had seized, permitted their merchandize to pass custom-free, agreed to their fortifying Calcutta, allowed them to establish a mint, and engaged that all goods taken from their factories should be restored, and that money compensation should be given for such as had been damaged, destroyed, or lost.* This treaty was concluded on the 9th of February, and three days after the nabob, who now wished, or pretended to wish, for an alliance offensive and defensive with the English, whom he had so recently vowed to exterminate, entered into another agreement with Clive, by which the English engaged to look upon the nabob's enemies as their own, and to grant him any aid in their power.† Yet the nabob had scarcely signed these papers and gotten back in safety to his capital, when he opened a fresh correspondence with the French at Chandernagore, and even sent emissaries to Golconda to invite M. Bussy into Bengal, where he promised him and his troops higher rewards than any they could now hope for in the Deccan. He said that there would be no limits to his gratitude, or to the prosperity and grandeur of the French, if they would only lend him a helping hand to crush the insolent English once and for ever. These secret correspondences were betrayed by the nabob's own ministers and agents, and Clive, who was supposed to know nothing of them, was fully informed of every particular. It appears that Omichund, who had been a great loser by the sacking of Calcutta and the entire interruption to trade, and who had not yet been able to recover the compensation which the nabob had promised him, was now as hostile to Suraj-u-Dowlah as he had been to the English presidency; and that by himself, or by his numerous friends and dependents, he acted as a spy at Moorshedabad, as he had formerly done at Calcutta. But his views and plans shifted and varied with circumstances, and it was impossible to judge, by his conduct on one day, what that conduct would be on the morrow. Like an expert juggler, he puzzled or deceived all parties at once, and bewildered the judgment of those whom he was actually serving for the time.

The English felt that there would be no permanent security for Calcutta or any other place on the Hooghly so long as the French were left in possession of Chandernagore; and the presidency of Madras had recommended the capture of that place to Clive, who turned his attention in that direction as soon as he had concluded his treaty with Suraj-u-Dowlah. He thought it, however, necessary to ask the nabob's permission for the attack, and this served as a test of Suraj-u-Dowlah's good faith. Receiving evasive answers, Clive hurried on the preparations for the assault. The French now repeated their desire for a truce with him. "But," wrote Clive, "I have given it as my opinion to proceed and invest the place, and, if it should happen at last that the nabob is really against taking it, to accept the neutrality, and make merit of doing it at his request and in obedience to his order, by which means he will be convinced of our friendship and power at the same time."* On the 1st of March he instructed Mr. Watts, who was again residing at Moorshedabad, to inform the nabob that he felt the greatest reluctance to attack the French without his consent, but that he hoped that this permission might be obtained from one who was now his friend and ally. Admiral Watson joined in representing to the nabob that it was essential to his own interest, as much as to the safety of the English, that the French should be rooted out of Chandernagore. The admiral further stated that the French on the Hooghly could not engage for their countrymen on the coast of Coromandel; that the governor of

* Sir John Malcolm's Life of Clive.—Orme.

† This peace, severely censured by many of the English in India, was thus justified by Clive himself in a private letter written at the time:—"If I had only consulted the interest and reputation of a soldier, the conclusion of this peace might easily have been suspended. I know, at the same time, there are many who think I have been too precipitate in the conclusion of it; but surely those who are of this opinion never knew that the delay of a day or two might have ruined the company's affairs, by the junction of the French with the nabob, which was on the point of being carried into execution. They never considered the situation of affairs on the coast, and the positive orders sent me by the gentlemen there to return with the major part of the forces at all events; they never considered that, with a war upon the coast and in the province of Bengal at the same time, a trading company could not subsist without a great assistance from the government; and, last of all, they never considered that a long war, attended through the whole course of it with success and many great actions, ended at last with the expense of more than fifty lacs of rupees to the company. Believe me, sir, I have constantly had this consideration in view, and my conduct has been always regulated agreeably to it. I can further say I never undertook an expedition attended with half so many disagreeable circumstances as this: the natural jealousy subsisting between the sea and land service has given me much uneasiness; I have suffered many mortifications; the independent power given me by the gentlemen of the committee at Madras has created me many enemies; and lastly, that attention which, by my public station, I owe to the interests of the company, in preference to that of private individuals, has not passed by unreflected upon. I am a very considerable sufferer myself; and I can affirm with great truth and sincerity that I have left no means untried with the nabob, when the company's interest was not immediately concerned, to induce him to consider the unhappy people at Calcutta, and he has often promised me to do it. Nothing harsh, ungenerous, or uncharitable shall fall from my pen; at the same time, in justice to the company, I cannot avoid expressing my concern at the future prospect of their affairs, after the obtainment of such honourable and advantageous conditions."—*Letter to Mr. Payne, in Sir John Malcolm's Life of Clive.*

* Letter to Mr. Payne, in Sir John Malcolm's Life of Clive.

Pondicherry might at any time break any truce between them and the English at Calcutta; that, if a superior French force arrived at Chandernagore, Calcutta would be assuredly attacked; and, finally, that the French were not only talking of such reinforcements by sea, but also reporting that M. Bussy was marching from the Deccan into Bengal.* "Is it," wrote the English seaman, "to attack you? Is it to attack us? You are going to Patna. You ask our assistance. Can we, with the least degree of prudence, march with you, and leave our enemies behind us? You will then be too far off to support us, and we shall be unable to defend ourselves. Think what can be done in this situation. I see but one way. Let us take Chandernagore, and secure ourselves from any apprehensions from that quarter; and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Delhi, if you will. Have we not sworn reciprocally that the friends and enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? And will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us if we do not fulfil our oaths? What can I say more? Let me request the favour of your speedy answer."† But the answer was a fresh evasion, and the nabob even ventured to detach some troops to the neighbourhood of Chandernagore as if to assist the French. Losing all patience, Watson wrote again to the equivocator, telling him that Clive had received more men, that more troops and ships were expected, and that, if he, the nabob, failed to act up to his engagements, he would kindle such a fire in his dominions that all the water in the Ganges should not be able to extinguish it. "Farewell!" added the sailor; "remember that he who promises you this never yet broke his word with you or with any man whatsoever." This concise rhetoric terrified Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, by a note dated the 10th of March, gave, though in general and vague terms, the required assent to the attack upon Chandernagore. "You have understanding and generosity," wrote the nabob to the admiral: "if your enemy, with an upright heart, claims your protection, you will give him his life; but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatsoever you think right, that do." Yet, all the while, he was making advances of money to the French, and urging the advance of M. Bussy. A day or two after he gave to Mr. Watts, in words plainer than those used to the admiral, a verbal assent; but he told the same resident that the attack must not be thought of, as M. Bussy was on his road and marching through Cuttack. But the information respecting Bussy, which afterwards proved not to be true, made Watson and Clive hasten their blow. On the 14th of March the English fleet was anchored near Chandernagore, and Clive began the attack by land with all his characteristic spirit and intelligence. The place was not unprepared. As soon as the French knew that war was certain they blew up all the houses that overlooked their works, and made out of the materials a glacis. The fort, about thirty yards from the river, was a square, with four bastions, each mounting ten guns; several more guns were mounted in different parts of the ramparts, and eight upon a ravelin towards the river: all these were heavy pieces, from 24 to 32-pounders; and six of smaller calibre were planted on the terrace of a church within the fort, which overlooked the walls. Beyond the glacis the French had erected several batteries to sweep the approaches to the fort by land, and one battery of superior strength to command the river. Moreover, to prevent the near approach of the English men-of-war, they had sunk several ships in the river. The garrison was 900 strong, 300 being French regulars, 300 French inhabitants well trained as militia, and the rest French sailors and sepoys. They expected to be assisted by the detachment from the nabob's army which lay within or upon the skirts of their little territory; but Nuncomar, who commanded those troops, had a private understanding with Omichund and the English, and withdrew before the siege began. In one short day's work Clive drove in all the French outposts and forced them to abandon and spike the guns of one of the best of their outer batteries. On the morning of the 15th the French abandoned all their other outer batteries except the one on the river. On the 16th Clive brought into position his own heavy artillery and began to cannonade: on the 17th and 18th he threw some shells from a cohorn and a mortar; and on the 19th the 'Kent,' 'Tiger,' and 'Salisbury' came to anchor within a mile of the fort, and began to remove the obstructions from the bed of the river. With great skill and industry a way was opened through the sunken ships; and on the 23rd the three men-of-war presented their formidable broadsides to the fort. On the following morning a terrible battering was begun both by land and water; but the French responded with so much celerity that they seemed to have the better until about sunset, when the 'Tiger' came opposite the ravelin and knocked it to pieces with one broadside. The 'Salisbury' hardly came into action at all, but the 'Kent,' Admiral Watson's ship, fought closer to the bastions than was intended, so that several of her people were killed or wounded as she was shifting her ground, and she was allowed to run out her cable and fall into a very disadvantageous position. Watson, however, instead of hauling off, determined to decide the contest at those close quarters, and he thundered at one of the bastions. On both sides every shot told, and the 'Kent' suffered severely. But at the same time Clive's land-batteries kept up a cross fire on the bastion, and the 'Tiger' continued to pour in her broadsides. At nine o'clock in the morning, when nearly all their guns were silenced, the French hoisted a flag of truce, and proposed a surrender to Admiral Wat-

* The distance of the northern part of the country ceded to Bussy was only about 200 miles from Calcutta.

† From a letter given by Sir John Malcolm in Life of Clive.

son. Captain Coote was sent on shore to arrange the terms. Fifty of the best French soldiers, with twenty Topasses and several officers, stole out of the fort before anything was settled, and marched away to the northward. At three o'clock the rest capitulated and remained prisoners of war. The acquisition of this important place had not been obtained without serious loss: in the 'Tiger' the master and 14 others were killed and 56 wounded; the 'Kent' had received six shot in her masts and 142 in her hull; the first lieutenant, Mr. Perrot, and 18 of the crew, were killed, and 72 wounded. In the last decisive attack Clive had only 1 man killed and 10 wounded; but before the ships came into action he had lost between 20 and 30 in killed and wounded. During the siege the nabob had addressed several letters to the English, commanding them in imperious language to desist; and he had even dispatched another division of his army under Roydullub to make them raise the siege. But when within twenty miles of Chandernagore Roydullub was met by Nuncomar, who assured him that his advance was useless, for that Chandernagore must fall before he could reach it.

All intentions and schemes on the part of the nabob were more changeable than an April sky or the hues of the chameleon. Just as he received the news of the capture of the French settlement, intelligence was brought him that the Patans, in conjunction with a Mahratta army, were about to invade Behar and Bengal. He had already requested the aid of the English against these much redoubted warriors from the north; but, as they had delayed their invasion, he had been indulging in the hope that the danger was blown over, and that he might be able not only to maintain himself without the assistance of the English, but also to curb their encroachments. Even now the information respecting the Patans was incorrect; but, believing it to be true, and his own danger imminent, he wrote letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, and offering the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as those on which it had been held by the French company; but he ordered the division of his army which had marched with Roydullub to continue at Plassey, on the island of Cossimbuzar, thirty miles to the south of Moorshedabad.* Clive, whose suspicions never slumbered, and whose secret agents were constantly conveying to him fresh doubts of Suraj-u-Dowlah's sincerity, was disquieted by the position taken up by his army, and was greatly offended at the nabob's giving refuge and protection to the French soldiers and Topasses who had escaped from Chandernagore, and who must have been captured by an English detachment sent after them, if the nabob's troops had not prevented it. Clive demanded peremptorily that these fugitives, who were now under the command of M. Law, an officer of some ability,† should be given up to him as prisoners of war, and that all the settlements and factories that remained to the French in Bengal should be surrendered to the English. Suraj-u-Dowlah returned a civil but evasive answer to these demands; but, to dissipate the ill will of the English, he chose this moment for fulfilling part of his treaty, and paid over 450,000 rupees as an instalment to Calcutta. Leaving a good garrison in Chandernagore, and the greater part of the army cantoned in the neighbourhood, Clive and Watson returned to Calcutta with a booty estimated at 100,000*l*. The presidency of Madras, apprehensive of an attack by the French from Pondicherry and from Europe, wrote pressing letters to recall Clive to the Coromandel coast; but he, being fully convinced that the work was not yet finished in Bengal, determined to remain where he was. Not only with Clive, but with every Englishman at Calcutta who had witnessed or suffered the nabob's perfidy and cruelty, it was a confirmed belief that there could be no permanent security in Bengal until Suraj-u-Dowlah was driven from the musnud, and made as quiet as his sacrifices of the black-hole, that were sleeping in the great pit under the walls of Fort William. Clive had all along insisted that there should be no rest or pause until the French were destroyed root and branch, and he had also foreseen that this operation would be opposed to the utmost by the nabob: he had written to the committee at Calcutta—"If you attack Chandernagore, you cannot stop there; you must go further. Having established yourself by force, and not by the consent of the nabob, he, by force, will endeavour to drive you out again."

The invasion of the Patans was stayed by the payment of large sums of money by Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, after the fall of Chandernagore, as before the commencement and during the progress of the siege, continued to call upon M. Bussy, whose reported march into Cuttack proved a mere fable. Several of his letters to the French general were intercepted at the time they were written, and copies of others were found upon his person afterwards, when he was dethroned and a prisoner at Moorshedabad. In fact, no proof was wanting of his treachery and double dealing. In one of these letters to Bussy he said that he hoped he would come with 2000 brave men well supplied with muskets to free him from "The Daring in War" (Clive), for whose destruction he fervently prayed. In another epistle, written after the fall of Chandernagore, and nearly on the same day on which he pretended to congratulate the English commanders on that event, he said to Bussy—"I am advised that you have arrived at Echapore. This news gives me pleasure; the sooner you come here, the greater satisfaction I shall have in meeting you. What can I write of the perfidy of the

* Orme.

† This Law, who had previously been serving in the Carnatic against Clive and Laurence, was a son or nephew of the celebrated Scotch financier, Law, who had driven all France mad with the famous Mississippi scheme, the parent of the South Sea scheme, which had produced an equal madness in England.

English? They have, without ground, picked a quarrel with M. Renault, and taken by force his factory. They want now to quarrel with M. Law, your chief at Cossimbuzar; but I will take care to oppose and overthrow all their proceedings. When you come to Ballasore, I will then send M. Law to your assistance, unless you forbid his setting out. Rest assured of my good will towards you and your company."* In the same letter he added that he had issued his mandates to the governors of his provinces through which Bussy was to march to supply him with everything he needed, and to co-operate with him to the extent of their power. It was also known that he had sent servants with an elephant and jewels through Ballasore to meet M. Bussy, and that he was actually keeping in his pay M. Law, whose force had been raised to above a hundred French, through broken paroles and flights from the English camp. The presidency of Calcutta were long kept in ignorance as to Bussy's movements, not knowing with any accuracy whether he was advancing into Bengal or was still in Golconda, or was quartered in the Northern Circars; but no doubt was entertained that his junction with the nabob would be fatal to the English interest. Explanations were demanded over and over again by Mr. Watts, the resident at Moorshedabad, by Colonel Clive, and by Admiral Watson; but the only answers were subterfuges and equivocations, and Suraj-u-Dowlah's behaviour gave every day some fresh cause for disgust. When he knew for certain that the Patans had retired beyond Delhi, and when he fancied that the French must surely be coming, he again threatened Mr. Watts with impalement, withheld the money which he was bound to pay to Calcutta, broke the treaty in other respects, interdicted the carrying of ammunition and provisions into the English fort and factory at Cossimbuzar, and threatened to cut off the ears and nose of every subject that dared to contravene his orders. He also kept his army on foot at Plassey, reinforcing it from time to time, until nearly every man, horse, elephant, musket, firelock, and cannon he possessed was collected at that commanding point. Mr. Watts, soon after his return to Moorshedabad, had discovered that the nabob was loved as little there as he was at Calcutta, and that a large portion of his ministers, officers, and courtiers were ripe for conspiracy and revolt. These discoveries had been communicated in detail, by Watts, to Clive, to Watson, and to the members of the council, who all, without any hesitation, agreed with him that the conspirators should be encouraged and assisted, and that no means, however dark, or however contrary to the more honourable tenor of modern European policy, should be neglected to destroy that prince. What there was of iniquity in this scheme was certainly not wholly attributable to Clive, but shared with him by Watts and Watson and a dozen others. It seems, indeed, that not an Englishman in India was averse to the scheme, which, in its execution, necessarily involved other iniquities: and Clive was afterwards made to bear more than his due share of the blame, because he was the most forward and energetic in working out the scheme, which all the rest had agreed upon and approved. In a private letter he, vividly described the conduct of the nabob, and repeated what he had often said before, that, if the English power were to be preserved in India, no terms must be kept with him. "One day," says he, "he tears my letters and turns out my vakeel, and orders his army to march; he next countermands it, sends for the vakeel, and begs his pardon for what he has done. Twice a week he threatened to impale Mr. Watts; in short, he is a compound of everything that is bad, keeps company with none but his menial servants, and is universally hated and despised by the great men. This induces me to acquaint you there is a conspiracy going on against him by several of the great men, at the head of whom is Jugget Seit himself, as also Cojah Wazeed. I have been applied to for assistance, and every advantage promised the company can wish. The committee are of opinion it should be given as soon as the nabob is secured. For my own part, I am persuaded there can be neither peace nor security while such a monster reigns. Mr. Watts and Omichund are at Moorshedabad, and have many meetings with the great men. The last letter I received from Mr. Watts he desires that our proposals may be sent, and that they only wait for them to put everything into execution; so that you may shortly expect to hear of a revolution which will put an end to all French expectations of ever settling in this country again. The Patans, who were coming this way, have been pacified by a sum of money, and are returning to their own country. Had they approached near, everything would have been overset in this country, from three-fourths of the nabob's army being against him. It is a most disagreeable circumstance to find that the troubles are likely to commence again: but the opinion here is universal that there can be neither peace nor trade without a change of government."* Jugget Seit, named by Clive as being at the head of the plot, was the greatest banker in Bengal, and he possessed immense influence in the neighbouring kingdom of Oude, and even in the Mogul's court at Delhi, by means of his wealth and his connexions with the other great Hindu Seits, or bankers, who, under the Mohammedan conquerors, as under their native princes, monopolised the business of revenue and finance in every part of India. Other Hindus, both civil and military, in the service of Suraj-u-Dowlah, were leagued with Jugget Seit,—as Monichund, the late governor of Calcutta, who had fought Clive in the hollow near Budge-Budge; Ramnarrain, the governor of the province of Patna; Rajaram, the manager of Midnapore; and Roydullub, the dewan, or minister of finance. But the real chief of the conspiracy, or he who was to gain the most by it, was Meer Jaffier

* The nabob's letters, as given by Orme.

* Letter from Clive to Pigot.

Khan, a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, who had been raised to the highest dignities by the late nabob Aliverdy Khan, whose daughter he had married. Meer Jaffier was at this moment commander-in-chief of the army assembled at Plassey, and it was calculated that half of that force would implicitly obey his orders. His object was nothing short of the throne and dominions of his master. That adept in intrigue, Omichund, was admitted into the secret at an early stage, and was employed both by the Hindus and the English to forward the conspiracy and to bargain with Meer Jaffier. Though suspicious, like all Eastern despots, Suraj-u-Dowlah entertained so little doubt of the fidelity of Meer Jaffier that he was offering him ten lacs of rupees if he would go down to Calcutta and exterminate the English. On the other hand, Clive wrote to recommend firmness and perseverance to Meer Jaffier, telling him that when all was ready he would march to his assistance with 5000 men who never turned their backs. To lull the nabob into security the English troops were all sent into quarters, and the artillery and tumbrils were warehoused in Calcutta as if the war were considered at an end for that season. But Clive then demanded from the nabob that he should break up his camp at Plassey, remit another instalment of the money owing, and fulfil other articles of the treaty. As was foreseen, Suraj-u-Dowlah replied to these demands, sometimes by equivocations, and at others by menaces or a haughty defiance; and the plot against him went on with additional vigour: —Mr. Watts was fully authorised to conclude a treaty with the aspirant to the musnud; and Admiral Watson, though entertaining serious doubts as to the success of the daring enterprise, agreed to send 200 of his seamen to act with the land troops at Plassey, or Moorshedabad, or wherever the star of Clive might lead them. Everything on the part of the English was ready for taking the field, when the conspiracy was nearly broken up by a sudden and violent quarrel between Meer Jaffier and the nabob; but Meer Jaffier, who only a few days before had solemnly sworn on the Koran, and by God and the Prophet of God, to keep his engagements with Mr. Watts, took the same solemn oaths to be faithful to his prince, and Suraj-u-Dowlah received him back into his confidence and continued him in the command at Plassey. But this alarm was scarcely over when a new one was created by the perplexing conduct and excessive cupidity of Omichund. Meer Jaffier very soon regretted that the wily Hindu had been admitted into all the secrets of the plot; and Mr. Watts agreed with him in the opinion that Omichund would make everything subservient to his own avarice, and would be ready to sacrifice every member of the confederacy if he should see a prospect of greater gain with security to himself. The Hindu, who was in body and soul one mass of intrigue and deception, would not be satisfied with following the directions of others, but was always inventing manœuvres of his own, some of which were quite unintelligible to the other less imaginative conspirators. One day he waited upon the nabob and told him that he had an important secret to communicate which might cost him his life: the nabob promised him secrecy; on which he told him the English had sent two gentlemen to Ganjam to consult with M. Bussy; that the French and English had made peace together; and that M. Bussy was coming here to join Clive.* The motive for this lie was seen through, for it gained him favour with Suraj-u-Dowlah, who was fool enough to believe it, and who gave Omichund an order for a considerable sum of money which he owed to him. At the same time Cojah Wazeed reported other particulars to Mr. Watts of Omichund's conduct, which were calculated to astonish, if not to alarm, all the members of the confederacy. But when all was ready the complex traitor took a bolder step, which was at least clear and intelligible to every capacity. With his demure face and supple form he waited upon Mr. Watts, and told him that he would discover the whole plot to the nabob unless it was settled that he should receive thirty lacs of rupees, to reimburse him for past losses, and to reward him for his present services. Watts, who had become familiar with treachery and baseness of all kinds, concealed his emotions, flattered the Hindu that his wishes would be complied with, and then wrote to Clive to denounce the villain and to consult as to the best mode of proceeding with him. Clive was of opinion that the treachery ought to be met and defeated by treachery; that Omichund ought to be deceived by a fictitious agreement to pay him the money: and it appears that the members of the council, and most if not all the English officers at Calcutta, concurred with Clive, who replied to Mr. Watts:—"I immediately repaired to Calcutta, and at a committee held both the admirals and gentlemen agree that Omichund is the greatest villain upon earth; and that now he appears in the strongest light, what he was always suspected to be, a villain in grain. However, to counterplot this scoundrel, and at the same time to give him no room to suspect our intentions, enclosed you will receive two forms of agreement; the one real, to be strictly kept by us, the other fictitious. In short, this affair concluded, Omichund will be treated as he deserves. This you will acquaint Meer Jaffier with." Accordingly two treaties were drawn up; one real upon white paper, and the other fictitious upon red. In the former there was no mention of Omichund; the latter had an article which expressly stipulated that he should receive twenty lacs of rupees; and Mr. Watts was desired to inform him that "thirty lacs was not inserted, as it might give rise to suspicion; but that a commission of five per cent. should be given to him upon all sums received from the nabob, which would fully amount to the other ten lacs." Though Admiral Watson agreed to the expediency of this juggle, it is said by various writers that he indig-

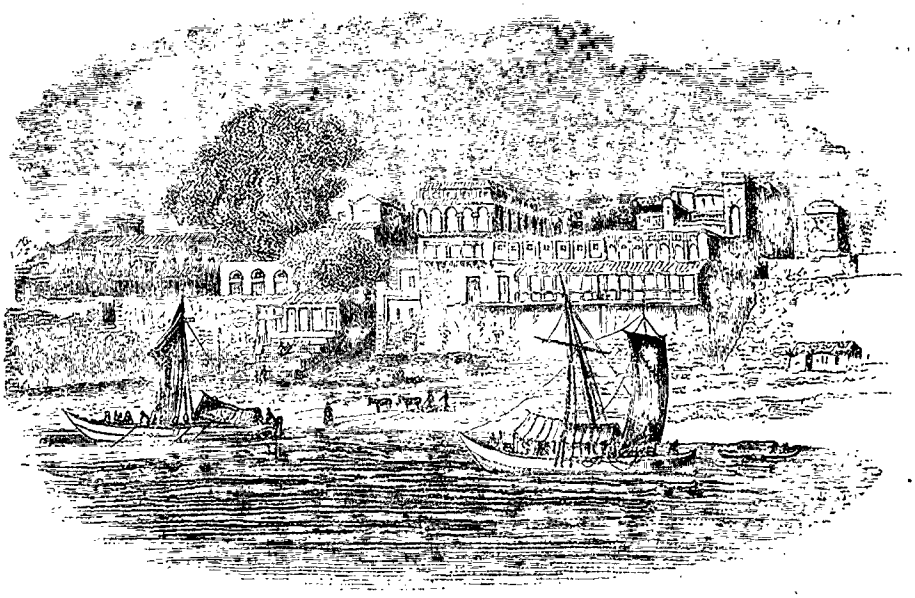
* Letter from Mr. Watts to Clive.

nantly refused being a party to the fraud, or putting his name to the false red paper. Clive, however, solemnly affirmed afterwards, before a committee of the House of Commons, that the admiral objected to the signing of it, but, to the best of his remembrance, gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Lushington) leave to put his name upon it.* It has recently been asserted in the broadest manner that Clive himself forged Watson's name on the document without his consent,† but no evidence is adduced to prove the fact, which seems to us open to every kind of doubt. Mr. Lushington, or any member of the council which agreed to the deception, was more likely to forge the signature than Clive, who was no penman. But in reality it matters very little who wrote Watson's name if they all agreed that it must be written in order to complete the deception. Omichund would not have been satisfied with the sham treaty if Watson's name had not been to it; and if that determined Hindu had conceived any suspicion, and had realized his threats of disclosing all he knew to Suraj-u-Dowlah, Mr. Watts, Mr. Scrafton, Meer Jaffier, every Englishman, and every native concerned in the plot and within the nabob's power, would inevitably have met a horrible death; and the company would have lost all that they had gained at so much cost —would have been ruined or exterminated in Bengal. Such at least was the deep conviction of Clive, of Watts, of Watson, of every member of the presidency, of every Englishman in the country, who, each and all, thought that the act of treachery was, under the circumstances of the case, both indispensable and justifiable. Besides the odium excited by his last proceeding, Omichund was detested in Calcutta on account of the well-grounded suspicion that he had contributed to lead the nabob to the capture and plunder of that place, and to the dismal tragedy of the black-hole. That such a scoundrel should be gratified in all his wishes, and be allowed to extort in so nefarious a manner the enormous sum of thirty lacs of rupees, seemed altogether mad and monstrous. Clive, to the end of his life, justified the trick. He said before the House of Commons—"I never made any secret of it; I think it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times; I had no interested motive in doing it, and did it with a design of disappointing the expectations of a rapacious man." As soon as Mr. Watts received the two treaties at Moorshedabad he showed the red one to the grasping, gasping Hindu, and then endeavoured to get him away from the nabob's court, lest he should brew some fresh mischief, or demand more gold to close his lips. Omichund said he wished to tarry a little longer at Moorshedabad, as the nabob had not yet paid him all the money he had promised him; but Watts at last succeeded in persuading him that Clive, who wanted his valuable services, would pay him with a liberality that would more than make up for any deficit or loss he might sustain by going to Calcutta; and then the Hindu took the road to that city in company with Mr. Scrafton. But on the road he gave fresh cause for uneasiness. At Cossimbuzar Mr. Scrafton missed him, and after a search found him at midnight closeted with the nabob's treasurer, endeavouring to obtain from him some more money. As the treasurer was not to be moved, Omichund continued his journey. During the night Mr. Scrafton fell asleep in his palanquin, and waking at daybreak he again missed his suspicious and slippery companion. Not knowing this time where to look for him, the Englishman halted on the high road till three o'clock in the afternoon, when Omichund reappeared with a troubled countenance. He said he had been to pay a visit at the camp of Plassey to his friend Roydullub, one of the conspirators, who had told him that no stipulations had been made in his (Omichund's) favour in the treaty with Meer Jaffier! Every man engaged in these life and death transactions needed nerves of iron. Scrafton had both nerve and wit: he stood unmoved the searching glances of the Hindu, and he ingeniously convinced him that Roydullub could not yet have seen the final treaty arranged between the select committee and Meer Jaffier,—in which treaty his name stood for the promised rupees. Thus convinced, and full of hope or confidence, the Hindu went the rest of the journey without giving any further trouble to his travelling companion. On the 8th of May Omichund arrived at Calcutta, where he was received by Colonel Clive and the other members of the committee with much apparent cordiality. But, in a nature like his, and engaged in such transactions, jealousy and suspicion could not be put to rest for any length of time. He sought out the Persian secretary of the council, and bribed him to inform him if any deceit to his detriment should appear in the treaty, when ratified by Meer Jaffier in the Persian language. In this quarter, however, his money and his trouble were thrown away, as neither the Persian scribe, nor any other doubtful dependent, was admitted into the secret. After the departure of Omichund from Moorshedabad disputes arose between Mr. Watts and Meer Jaffier as to the manner in which the nabob's treasure was to be divided; and when these difficulties were amicably adjusted, Suraj-u-Dowlah quarrelled again with Meer Jaffier, deprived him of the chief command of the army, and appointed to it Coja Haddee. Meer Jaffier shut himself up in his strong palace at Moorshedabad, and called upon his officers and retainers to defend him in case he should be attacked by the nabob. He had signed the last treaty, but Mr. Watts required the confirmation of his oath, and requested an audience of him. Jaffier declined the visit, saying that it would excite suspicion, and that he was closely watched. Upon this Watts threw himself into a covered palanquin, such as was used to carry native ladies of rank, and passed unchallenged into the palace and into the harem, where he was met by the khan and his son

* Parl. Report.

† In a very brilliant article in the Edinburgh Review, No. CXLII., in which we recognise the eloquence and local knowledge of Mr. Thomas B. Macaulay.

Meeran. In that sanctuary they were safe from intrusion, and they conferred at their leisure. Meer Jaffier said that through the recent alteration in the command all the troops he could confidently rely upon were 3000 horse; but that the nabob was so odious, and the disaffection so general, that many chiefs might be expected to desert him on the day of battle. At all events he desired that the English would immediately take the field and march upon Plassey and the capital, promising that, if the nabob remained in Moorshedabad and attempted to defend that city, he would himself rise within the walls and attack him in his palace; and that, in case of the nabob's risking a battle in the open plain at Plassey or elsewhere, he would at the onset beat a great drum and hoist a white flag as signals, join the English, and charge the nabob's army with all his horse. He then swore to observe every article of the true treaty, placing the Koran on his own head, and his hand on the head of his son, whilst Mr. Watts held the papers before him. This over, Watts retired as he had come in the covered palanquin: and having dispatched Omar-beg, one of Meer Jaffier's officers, to Calcutta with a message to Clive, he—a man of remarkable nerve, like all the rest—determined to remain at Moorshedabad until the very last moment, in order to watch events and to avoid exciting the suspicions of the nabob, who would have understood by his flight the hostile intentions of the English. Clive, though well knowing that Meer Jaffier was a timid and irresolute man that might fail him at the moment of crisis, resolved to lose no more time, but to begin at once a short campaign, which must either lay a throne and the richest provinces of India at his feet, or ruin him and the company beyond all hope of recovery. Having made his preparations, and collected his troops at Chandernagore, he set out from that place on the 13th of June, leaving 100 sailors to garrison that fort, and taking every soldier from it. The Europeans, with the field-pieces, stores, and ammunition, proceeded in 200 boats, which were towed against the stream by the Indian rowers; the sepoys marched in sight of the boats along the high road made by the Mogul government, and continuing from Hooghly to Patna. Clive now dispatched a letter to Suraj-u-Dowlah, complaining "that he (the nabob) had used every subterfuge to evade the accomplishment of the treaty of February; that he had in four months restored only a fifth part of the effects he had plundered from the English; that he had scarcely made



Patna. From a View by Thomas Daniell.

peace before he invited M. Bussy to come from the Deccan, and assist him in extirpating them once more out of his dominions; that the party of French troops with M. Law were at this very time maintained at his expense within a hundred miles of his capital; that he had, on groundless suspicions, insulted the English honour—at one time sending troops to examine their factory at Cossimbuzar, at another driving their vakeel [agent] with disgrace out of his presence; that he had promised a sum of gold rupees, then denied that promise, and then sent Omichund from the city under pretence that it was he who deceived the English commanders in their business. On the other hand, the English had borne all these injuries patiently, and had even taken the field to assist him when alarmed by the approach of the Patans; but at length, seeing no other remedy, their army was now marching to Moorsheda-

bad, when they intended to refer their complaints to the decision of the principal officers of his government; namely, Meer Jaffier, Roydullub, the Seits, Meer Murdeen, and Moonloll; to which arbitration it was hoped that he would acquiesce, and spare the effusion of blood." At this moment Omichund, who had not been enabled to discover anything of the trick intended against him, was following the English army, and rendering services to Clive in communicating with Monichund, Nuncomar, and other chiefs. At Moorshedabad Meer Jaffier continued shut up in his strong palace, which was furnished with artillery, and made more like a place of arms than a dwelling-house. Mr. Watts was still in the same city, but feeling that the moment for his hasty departure was arriving. On the 11th, Meer Jaffier sent him a message, advising him to escape immediately. The English soldiers and goods at Cossimbuzar had been sent off some days before, and Watts had everything ready for his own flight. Still, however, he lingered about the court of the nabob, being reluctant to quit his dangerous post until he received an express order from Clive. On the 13th, however, he was assured by a fresh messenger from Meer Jaffier that there was no longer any safety for him in Moorshedabad, as the nabob was going to attack his palace with cannon on the next morning. Upon this warning Watts stole out of the city, and travelled in his palanquin to Cossimbuzar, where there remained Mr. Collet, Mr. Sykes, and a surgeon, who were to make their escape with him. Watts ordered a banquet for the evening, and adopted other artifices, to make the people believe he intended staying in the factory; but, having collected the English gentlemen, he put himself under the guidance of a faithful Usbeg Tartar, struck across a wild and unfrequented part of the country, and after some strange adventures reached the head-quarters of Clive at Culnah at three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, having met on the road a messenger bearing Clive's orders to join him.

Intelligence of the flight of Mr. Watts was conveyed to the nabob the morning after his departure, just as he was preparing to cannonade Meer Jaffier's palace. He now discovered strong reasons for believing what he had before tried to doubt, that there was a league between Jaffier and the English. Filled with dismay, he gave up all thoughts of cannonading his general, and endeavoured to detach him from his engagements with the English, and to win him back to his own service. Meer Jaffier received his overtures, but refused to quit his fortified residence to wait upon the nabob. Sinking his pride in his terror, Suraj-u-Dowlah hereupon condescended to wait upon the general in his own house, and an interview, with proper precautions on both sides, took place in Jaffier's palace. The nabob was profuse of promises, and at the end of the interview everything seemed changed again, for Meer Jaffier swore upon the Koran to be true to his master; and the nabob swore to permit him, when the present troubles were over, to retire with his family and treasures to another province. This was on the 15th, and Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, from his own practice and experience, might have been expected to make a more correct estimate of the value of such vows and promises, was so elated that he sent off a letter of defiance to Clive, whose manifesto he had not yet received. He reproached the English commander with the want of justice and good faith; he alluded to the flight of Mr. Watts as a proof of his treachery and evil intentions; he affirmed that his suspicion of the bad faith of the English had induced him to keep his army on foot at Plassey; and he called God and his Prophet to bear witness that Clive, and not he, had broken the treaty of February. At the same time he reinforced his army, sent Meer Jaffier to Plassey, as if confident in his truth, and wrote to M. Law to march back to Moorshedabad with all speed. In the mean while Clive kept steadily advancing: on the 16th he halted at Patlee, and sent Major Coote to take Cutwah, a mud fort about twelve miles higher up, and commanding the passage of the river Cossimbuzar, the governor of which had promised to surrender after some show of resistance. Coote on approaching the fort waved a white flag; but the governor had apparently changed his mind, for his answer to the signal was given by cannon-balls, and a warm fire was kept up from behind the mud walls for some time. As soon, however, as Coote put his Englishmen and his sepoys in order for an assault, the garrison set fire to the straw and matting which covered the walls to protect them from sun and rain, and fled out of the fort, wherein Coote found rice enough to supply an army of 10,000 men for a whole year. In the evening Clive came up with his main body and encamped in the plain; but the next day the rainy season set in with terrible violence, and he was obliged to seek shelter for his army in the houses and mud huts of the town of Cutwah, which stood near to the fort. Nearly every day since he had begun his march Clive had sent secret messengers to Meer Jaffier; but no answer from that chief reached him until the 17th, and the letter then received was far from being satisfactory. Jaffier confessed to him that he had been reconciled to the nabob, and had taken an oath to be true to him; adding, however, that all this signified nothing, and that he still expected the English to keep their engagements. It was not easy to trust a man who could swear with so much readiness on every side, and Clive determined not to cross the river of Cossimbuzar—the holiest branch of the Ganges—until he should obtain some further securities or assurances that Jaffier really intended to act with him. On the 20th—the anniversary of the Black-hole—the messenger who had been dispatched by Mr. Watts to Meer Jaffier returned to Cutwah, where he reported to Clive that he had gained access to that chief, but that while conversing with him and his son Meeran, some officers came into the apartment who seemed to be steadily devoted to the nabob, and that thereupon Meeran, changing

his tone, had told him he would cut off his head as a spy, and the heads of all the English that dared to cross the river into the island. But on the evening after the arrival of this messenger at the English quarters another secret emissary appeared there, with two letters from Meer Jaffier, one addressed to Clive and the other to Omarbeg, who was in the English camp. In these letters Jaffier re-affirmed his resolutions, and stated that his position at Plassey would be either on the right or left wing of the nabob's army; that he was now in the camp and should be able to communicate more freely and frequently with the English. He also gave some account of the state of the army, but seemed to avoid entering into any particulars as to the course which Clive ought to pursue upon reaching Plassey. The mind of the English commander was still disquieted by suspicions and misgivings. With the assistance of Jaffier's 3000 horse he made sure of victory; but without this accession of strength he despaired of it, as he was wholly destitute of cavalry. The greatness of the stake for which he was playing with so small an army, the heavy responsibility that lay upon him, rendered him irresolute and nervous, and he had recourse, for the first and last time in his life, to a council of war. Having, on the morning of the 21st, assembled his officers to the number of fifteen,* he proposed the following questions:—"Whether the army should immediately cross into the island of Cossimbuzar, and at all risks attack the nabob? or whether, availing themselves of the great quantity of rice which they had taken at Cutwah, they should maintain themselves there during the rainy season, and in the mean time invite the Mahrattas to enter the province and join them?"† Contrary to the established practice, Clive gave his opinion first—and it was that they should remain where they were. Majors Kilpatrick and Grant with six other officers agreed with Clive; but Captain Coote differed with him, and his opposite opinion was supported by six other officers.‡ Coote's notion was—"that the common soldiers were at present confident of success; that a stop so near the enemy would naturally quell this ardour: that the arrival of the French troops with M. Law would add strength to the nabob's force, and vigour to his councils: that they would surround the English army and cut off its communication with Calcutta, when distresses not yet foreseen might ruin it as effectually as a loss of a battle. He therefore advised that they should either advance and decide the contest immediately, or immediately return to Calcutta." But Clive's majority of nine had scarcely carried the question against Coote's seven, when Clive himself felt dissatisfied at the decision, and his mind began to resume its vigour and firmness. To collect his thoughts he retired alone to a grove of mango-trees a little beyond the town of Cutwah; he remained there for an hour in deep meditation; but then he returned to his quarters with the word "Forward" on his lips; and, without consulting or caring for the council of war, he gave his orders that the army should cross the river on the following morning. At the hour appointed—at sunrise—the troops were put in motion: they had all crossed the river by four in the afternoon, and after a rapid march they encamped, long after sunset, in a mango grove near Plassey, and within a mile of the enemy. Clive, kept awake by his anxious thoughts, heard during the whole night the drums, trumpets, and cymbals of the nabob's host, who had been warned of the approach of the English, and were making their barbaric music to dispel drowsiness. After crossing the river in the morning, Clive received another letter from Meer Jaffier, conveying incorrect intelligence about the position which the nabob himself intended to occupy. It appears, however, that this incorrectness was not intentional, and that Suraj-u-Dowlah, who never had a consistent plan, altered his intentions. In replying to Meer Jaffier, Clive said, that, unless he co-operated with his cavalry, he would make peace with the nabob. Suraj-u-Dowlah, who was really in the camp at Plassey, was as sleepless as Clive: his army was immense, but he had no courage and no confidence in his chiefs, and it is even said that while sitting in his tent he expected to be assassinated. At last the day broke which was to decide the fate of India. The extensive ground occupied by the nabob's army had defences both natural and artificial; a deep winding river flowed round three of its sides, and the other side was in part traversed by a ditch: there were two tanks surrounded by high earthen embankments, and there were groves, thickets, and eminences in various directions. But, relying on their superiority in numbers, the native troops, instead of waiting to be attacked, marched out to attack the English. Soon after sunrise they poured through all their openings and advanced to the mango grove where Clive lay. They were 40,000 foot and 16,000 horse; they had fifty heavy cannon, each drawn by a long train of white oxen, and pushed on from behind by an elephant; and, besides this ordnance, there were some field-pieces under the direction of about forty Frenchmen. The cavalry was far superior in quality to any that the English had yet seen in the Carnatic or in Bengal; it was not composed of the unwarlike weakly materials found in the valley of the Ganges and the plains of Hindustan, but both men and horses were from the hardier clime of Northern India. To oppose this vast host Clive had but 3000 foot, and of this number only 1000 were British soldiers; but his sepoys were admirably trained and disciplined, were all commanded by British officers, and were enthusiastically attached to their general. All the artillery he had consisted of eight field-pieces, but these were well placed in the wood, and ably served by artillerymen and by sailors from Watson's fleet. Clive expected every moment to receive an encouraging message from Meer

* Orme says *twenty*, but Sir John Malcolm gives the names of all the officers from a list found in Clive's papers, and there, the total number, including Clive, is sixteen.

† Orme.

‡ Sir John Malcolm's Life of Clive.

Jaffier, but none came. The Indians began the fight with their great guns. Clive ordered his people to sit down on the ground, and the loud cannonade of the enemy did them little mischief, the balls mostly striking the mango trees over their heads. But when the Indians came a little nearer to the grove, the rapid fire of the English field-pieces did great execution on their crowded and confused masses. At eleven o'clock Clive resolved to keep up his cannonade, which seemed quite sufficient to deter the enemy from a near approach, all the rest of the day, and then, when night arrived, to penetrate into the nabob's camp, these night attacks having so often been proved the best method of ruining native armies. About noon there fell a heavy shower of rain, which damaged the ammunition of the incautious Indians and thereby obliged them to slacken their fire; but, Clive's powder being well protected from the elements, his eight field-pieces in the grove kept up their fire with the greatest regularity. About the hour of noon one of his cannon-balls mortally wounded Meer Murdeen, one of the highest and best officers of the enemy; and the event greatly terrified the nabob, who was remaining in his tent at a safe distance, and who had hitherto been flattered by those who took a nearer view of the battle with the assurance that his victory was certain. But now Suraj-u-Dowlah could see nothing before him but defeat and treachery; and, sending for Meer Jaffier, he took his turban from his head and threw it on the ground, exclaiming, "Jaffier, that turban you must defend." Meer Jaffier bowed reverentially to the nabob, and to the symbol of him, the turban on the ground, and, crossing his hands on his heart, he protested he would do all that could be done for his prince. It is said that immediately after this interview Jaffier dispatched a messenger to Clive informing him of the mortal wound of the great officer, and of the nabob's fears, and advising him to make an attack on the camp three hours after midnight: but it is added that his messenger was too much afraid of the cannon-balls to venture to the English position. It appears doubtful whether such messenger was ever sent by the faltering, calculating conspirator, who was evidently determined not to commit himself on the field, or to risk anything until he should see a certainty of Clive's success. But the increasing panic of the unmanly nabob soon made that success most certain. Roydullub, who was as deep in the conspiracy as Meer Jaffier, repaired to the craven, to magnify the danger and to advise him to retreat immediately to his capital. Suraj-u-Dowlah at once gave orders for commencing the retreat, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon the firing of his great guns ceased altogether, and the long teams of white oxen were put to the cumbrous carriages to drag them off. In a short time all that host, horse and foot, was seen retreating through the camp, and nothing remained stationary on that side except the small body of French adventurers who had ensconced themselves and their field-pieces behind the embankment of one of the tanks. To dislodge these Frenchmen, Major Kilpatrick detached himself, without orders, from the grove, with two companies and two field-pieces. When he was made aware of this unauthorized movement, Clive ran to Kilpatrick, reprimanded him, and sent him back to the grove to bring up the entire force. As soon as the English began to approach in numbers, the French, seeing that they were left without any support, hastily abandoned the tank and retreated to the rear of some intrenchments in the interior of the camp. While Clive was advancing, a great body of the nabob's cavalry appeared on his flank: these were the troops of Meer Jaffier, but they were not recognised as such by the English, for the promised white flag was not held out, nor was any other signal given or message sent. Clive, conceiving that they were manœuvring to fall upon his baggage and his rear—which doubtless they would have done if he had been checked and beaten—detached three platoons of the line and a field-piece to stop their march. Major Grant presently fired into the mass, and Jaffier, still making no sign, halted and fell back. Clive, in the mean time, had taken possession of the tank which the French had abandoned, had occupied an eminence 200 yards to the left of the tank, and was now maintaining from both these posts a warm cannonade. But the French kept their ground, some of the nabob's troops rallied, and some of his heavy guns were again loaded and pointed upon the English. Some bodies of cavalry too advanced several times as if to charge, but they were every time stopped and driven back by Clive's field-pieces. At last that great body of horse which had recently been on his flank began to move off the field without joining the rest of the nabob's army; and this convinced Clive that they were the troops of Meer Jaffier, and that that conspirator was now in reality doing something, in his timid way, to settle the affair. In a few minutes Clive advanced still farther and fell upon the Frenchmen, who, finding themselves again abandoned by the natives, fled from their position, and this time left their field-pieces behind them. There was no more fighting; the nabob's tens of thousands were flying towards Moorshedabad; the whole camp, with tents, baggage, artillery, and oxen, was left in the undisputed possession of the English, whose booty upon that spot alone was of immense value. Suraj-u-Dowlah, mounted on a swift dromedary, was the foremost in the flight: he was accompanied by some 2000 horsemen, and seems never to have stopped or looked behind him till he reached his capital. Clive stated his loss at twenty-two killed and fifty wounded, and these chiefly blacks, and the loss of the enemy at about 500 killed and wounded. All of his little army, British or sepoys, had behaved with the greatest steadiness and bravery, but praise was more particularly given to the 39th regiment, which still bears on its banners the name of "Plassey," and the motto, *Primus in Indis*.*

* Orme. — Colonel Wilkes.—Sir John Malcolm, Life of Lord

The English pursued the fugitives for about six miles and then halted for the night at Daudpore, where Clive received a congratulatory letter from Meer Jaffier, who came and encamped in his neighbourhood that night. At midnight the fallen nabob arrived at his palace in Moorshedabad, and assembled all the officers that had escaped with him, to deliberate what next was to be done, or what means were most proper to save him from the wrath of his enemies. Some were of opinion that he ought to deliver himself up to the English and trust to the magnanimity of "The Daring in War;" and some proposed that he should dispense his treasures with a liberal hand to his officers and troops, collect all of the army that he could, place himself at the head of it, and try once more the fortune of war. He agreed, or at least seemed to agree, with these bolder advisers, whose advice in all probability sprung solely out of their desire of getting a part of his treasure; but, dismissing the council and retiring to the apartments of his women, his fears overcame him, and he made up his mind to fly from his capital. The circumstances of his flight were essentially oriental, resembling scores of other stories told of dethroned eastern princes, Indians, Persians, Saracens, or Turks. He took with him, grasped in his own hand, or hid under his own vest, a rich casket of jewels; and his chosen companions were his favourite concubine and his confidential eunuch: with no other attendants than these, and disguised in a mean dress, he descended in the darkness of night from a window of the palace, threw himself into a boat, and ascended the river towards Patna.

On the morning of the 24th of June, the day after the battle, Meer Jaffier waited upon Clive at Daudpore to claim the musnud. Conscious how strange his conduct at Plassey must have appeared to the English, he was not without his fears and trepidations, and, when Clive's troops drew out to receive him with military honours, he fancied they intended to kill him or make him their prisoner. He started back in a cold agony, but Clive, hastily advancing to receive him, and embracing him, hailed him as Nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. His fears were then sufficiently removed to allow of an hour's consultation with the English nabob-maker, who accepted the excuses he offered, and advised him to push forward to Moorshedabad with all his horse, in order to secure the palace and the treasury of Suraj-u-Dowlah. Jaffier and his cavalry reached the capital that evening, and the English made another advance of six miles. The treasury was secured; and some elephants, loaded with gold, dresses, furniture, and women, which Suraj-u-Dowlah had sent away previously to his own flight, were overtaken and brought back to the palace. Hopes were also entertained of capturing the flying nabob himself, as troops of horse were sent in pursuit in various directions. On the 25th Clive arrived at Mandipore, and sent Messrs. Watts and Walsh, with an escort of sepoys, to pay a congratulatory visit to Meer Jaffier, and to look after the English share of the treasure. Watts, who was at home in Moorshedabad, where he knew all classes and conditions of men, was secretly assured that the Mohammedan and Hindu conspirators were resolved to withhold the treasure from their English allies; and that Roydullub, Meeran the son of Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussein Khan, an officer of distinction, were in a new plot to assassinate Clive. Whether true or false, Mr. Watts thought fit to believe this information, and Clive thought it prudent to postpone his entry into Moorshedabad until the 29th; and when he entered he was surrounded by 200 English and 300 faithful sepoys. Moreover he took up his quarters in a strong palace, spacious enough to accommodate his 500 men. In a short time young Meeran waited upon him with all the flattery and adulation of the east; and Clive—we presume with a good escort—accompanied Meeran to pay a visit to his father. Meer Jaffier was found installed in the royal palace, in the splendid hall where Suraj-u-Dowlah had been wont to give audience. The musnud, or throne, was at the top of that hall, and Clive, perceiving that Jaffier kept at a distance from the regal seat, took him by the hand, led him up the hall, and seated him upon the musnud. That ancient maker and unmaker of kings, the gaunt Earl of Warwick, never displayed more might, dignity, and decision. When Jaffier was thus put in his pride of place, Clive completed the eastern ceremony by presenting to him, on a golden platter, a heap of gold rupees, and then all present prostrated themselves before Jaffier as their lawful sovereign. The next morning the new nabob paid a visit to the English commander and entered upon the delicate subject of the division of the spoils. He protested that there was not money enough left in Suraj-u-Dowlah's treasury to pay what the English demanded, and what had been stipulated for in the treaty between them; but he assured Clive at the same time that he was most anxious to satisfy him, and that he would pay the full amount if time were allowed him. In order to come to some definitive arrangement, and to obtain security from the only men capable of giving it, Clive proposed that they should repair together to the residence of the seits, or great Hindu bankers, who had nearly all been concerned in the conspiracy against Suraj-u-Dowlah. Meer Jaffier consented, and they went immediately to the seits, Clive being followed by Omichund, who fancied that he was higher than ever in the Englishman's favour, and that the moment was now at hand when he should receive some of his lacs of rupees. But, on arriving at the seits, Omichund was not invited to a seat on the carpet with the other Hindu capitalists, and, somewhat disconcerted and dismayed by this slight, he sat himself down among his servants near the outer part of the hall. The white or real treaty, containing all the stipulations and the sums and proportions agreed

Clive. Clive's own account of the battle, in a letter to the secret committee, as given by Malcolm.—Edinburgh Review.

upon, was now produced; and Clive, turning to Mr. Scrafton, who was in attendance with Mr. Watts, said, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." Scrafton, who spoke the language of the country well, went up to the Hindu, who rose at his approach, and said—"Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing!" The old man staggered as if struck by a thunderbolt, and, fainting, would have fallen to the earth if his attendants had not caught him in their arms. He was conveyed to his palanquin and carried to his house in the city, where he lay for several hours insensible and speechless. His intellect, once so keen, never made more than a partial return: Clive recommended, what was a common cure for grief and sickness among the Hindus, a pilgrimage to some famed pagoda or temple; the old man went to one of the most celebrated of all these shrines, but he returned uncured; he fell into a state of idiocy, and died about a year and a half after receiving the mortal shock. His deathlike swoon and departure from the hall of the seits occasioned no emotion there; and the contracting parties to the white treaty calmly settled their money affairs. The treaty, as written in Persian and English, was read, and, after much conversation, it was settled, that one half of the sum promised the English should be paid immediately in coin, plate, and jewels taken out of the treasury; and that the other half should be discharged in three years by equal annual instalments; that Roydullub should receive the five per cent. which had been promised to Omichund, &c. On the 2nd of July, two days after this conference, Meer Jaffier received the glad tidings that Suraj-u-Dowlah had been taken at Rajahmahal, through the information of a poor fakeer or dervish who had recognised him in his disguise, having had good reason to remember the person of the tyrant, inasmuch as he had been deprived of his ears about thirteen months before by order of this nabob. This earless wight led a brother of Meer Jaffier, who was residing at Rajahmahal, to the fugitive's hiding-place, and Suraj-u-Dowlah was seized and hastily conveyed by a strong guard back to Moorshedabad. At the hour of midnight he was brought like a felon into the presence of Meer Jaffier, in the palace which had so recently been his own. He behaved in the most abject manner, crawling in the dust of the new nabob's feet, weeping and praying for mercy. It is said that Meer Jaffier, moved both by contempt and pity, intended to spare his life, but that Meeran, his son, as vile and ferocious a scoundrel as the fallen nabob, insisted that he ought to be put to death to render the musnud and his succession to it the more secure. The victim was carried off by the soldiers to a distant chamber, the vilest in the palace, and there secured with a guard at the door. Before the day dawned Meeran sent a trusty servant and assassin to the chamber with an order to the guard to make an end of the prisoner. As the door flew open Suraj-u-Dowlah saw the intention, and fell into an agony of fear and horror. When he could speak he implored for a short respite to make his ablutions like a true Mussulman, and say his prayers, in order that his soul might not perish with his body. There chanced to be a pot of water close at hand, and the guards took it and emptied it on his head, and while the water was trickling to the earth Meeran's servant plunged a dagger into his body. The soldiers finished the butchery with their swords, and in the course of the following day the mangled remains of Suraj-u-Dowlah were exposed on an elephant in the streets of Moorshedabad, and then deposited in the tomb of his predecessor, Aliverdy Khan. His stormy career had been very short, for he was only twenty years old when it ended. Meeran, his murderer, was still younger, being only in his seventeenth or eighteenth year.

M. Law, on receiving Suraj-u-Dowlah's last summons, had commenced his march back to Moorshedabad, but, upon receiving intelligence of the battle of Plassey, he stopped short when within twenty miles of the place where the fugitive nabob was taken. If the Frenchman had continued his march for a single day he might have met and saved the nabob. Law soon got the news of the capture and death of the wretched man, upon which he retreated with all speed into Bahar, intending to offer his services to Ramnarrain, the vice-nabob of the province, and a Hindu who was supposed to have been greatly attached to Suraj-u-Dowlah. This movement excited alarm in the new government at Moorshedabad, and Clive readily agreed to send troops in pursuit of the dangerous Frenchman, Meer Jaffier being afraid to trust his own army. Coote was appointed to the command of this flying column, which consisted of 230 Europeans, 300 sepoys, 50 Lascars, and 2 field-pieces. The baggage, stores, carriages, ammunition, and provisions were to be conveyed up the river in boats; but there was so much difficulty and delay, that the column could not begin its march till the 6th of July, when Law had got half way to Patna. Coote encountered many difficulties; through want of a sufficient number of boatmen he was often obliged to wait for the boats; it was the 10th of July ere he reached Rajahmahal, and the boats did not arrive till the 11th. Meer Jaffier's brother, who commanded in that district, would afford the English no assistance. Coote was detained here three days, and it was the 18th before he reached Boglipore, a place about 105 miles from Moorshedabad. Continuing to advance, though with little hope of overtaking Law, who was reported to be beyond Patna, Coote on the 21st reached Monghir, expecting to be received as a friend; but, seeing the garrison standing by their guns with lighted matches, he made a circuit and avoided the place. On the 23rd he arrived at Burhai, and, landing his field-pieces and ammunition, he marched the same evening six miles farther. On the following day the English soldiers, worn out by heat and fatigue, were almost in a state of open mutiny. Coote

ordered them all into the boats, and with the sepoys alone pushed on to the town of Bahar. On the 25th, while the English were still following in the slow boats, which were towed against the stream by natives pressed into that service, Coote and the sepoys entered Futwah, which was only seven miles from Patna. Here he received letters and a deputation from Ramnarrain, who endeavoured to excuse himself for having permitted M. Law to escape through his territories. He declared that he had acknowledged and proclaimed Meer Jaffier as rightful nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar; and, as a matter of course, he professed the greatest friendship for the English. Yet the deputation charged with these compliments and congratulations were ordered to ascertain Coote's strength and situation, with the view of surprising and destroying him. On the very next day the sepoys by land and the English in the boats arrived at Patna and quartered themselves in the company's factory, a spacious building just outside the western wall of the city. Coote would have immediately waited upon Ramnarrain, but he received a message from that chief begging him to take rest and defer his visit till the morrow. In the evening two or three of the English who were leading their cattle to the water-side were, without any provocation, assaulted by some peons belonging to the garrison. Coote complained of these outrages, but Ramnarrain gave him no satisfaction, and requested him not to pay his visit on the morrow, lest quarrels should arise between his people and the English. Moreover, one of Coote's officers, who was supposed not to understand the language, overheard two native chiefs discussing a project for massacring the English detachment. The next day Coote found an opportunity of conferring with some of the relations of Meer Jaffier, who assured him that Ramnarrain was seeking to compass his destruction, and to establish himself as an independent power in Bahar; that he expected assistance from the neighbouring nabob of Oude; that he had sent M. Law into Oude, with recommendations to that court, to wait until the new confederacy should be ready. This information determined Coote to press forward to the frontier of Oude. Every obstacle was thrown in his way by Ramnarrain, who pretended all the time to be anxious to promote the expedition; and a large body of troops who hovered on the line of Coote's march wore so dubious an aspect that it was difficult to know whether they were friends or foes. Coote, however, on the 1st of August, reached a small town situated at the confluence of the Sona and Ganges. Three days were spent in ferrying the troops, bullocks, and baggage across the broad river; and on the 5th the detachment was assembled at Chuprah, where Coote was informed that Law had reached Benares, more than 140 miles off. Further pursuit was utterly hopeless, nor was it considered prudent to cross the frontier of the powerful ruler of Oude with so small a force, exhausted by fatigue and deprived of many of their materials of war by the sinking of some of the boats. Coote, therefore, rested at Chuprah, where, on the 12th of August, he received a letter from Clive, ordering him to return, and, if possible, to deprive Ramnarrain of the government of Bahar on his way back. The rapid stream of the Ganges, which had so impeded the boats on their way up, proportionately favoured their descent; and, embarking his troops, Coote glided down to Patna in one short day. There he would have assaulted Ramnarrain in the citadel, but this bold measure was opposed by Meer Jaffier's brother; and in a few days Meer Jaffier himself changed his mind, began to suspect his own relations of aiming at a separate sovereignty in Bahar, and instructed or implored Coote to treat Ramnarrain with kindness and consideration, and enter into arrangements with him. A conference was, therefore, held in Patna, and Ramnarrain swore, in the Hindu fashion, to be true to Meer Jaffier. Other solemn vows were made by other parties, every one of them intending to break their oaths as soon as they should find a fitting opportunity. On the 7th of September Coote, leaving all quiet at Patna, re-embarked his detachment on the Ganges, and in seven days reached Moorshedabad.

In the mean time—on the 6th of July—Clive and the English committee had obtained payment, in coined silver, of 7,271,666 rupees, amounting in English money to 800,000*l.*, in addition to which Clive had taken or accepted from Meer Jaffier, as his own private reward, about 200,000*l.* sterling, or, according to his own statement, about 160,000*l.** The money filled 700 chests, embarked in 100 boats, which proceeded under the care of soldiers to Nudea, whence they were escorted to Fort William by all the boats of the English squadron, with banners flying and music sounding—a scene of triumph and joy, and a remarkable contrast to the scene of the preceding year, when Suraj-u-Dowlah had ascended the same stream triumphant from the conquest and plunder of Calcutta. Between the 9th and 30th of August the company received in gold, jewels, and cash, 3,255,095 rupees. The other advantages which the new nabob had promised the English were, a right to establish a mint of their own at Calcutta; the entire expulsion of the French for ever, and the delivery to the company of their factories and effects; the entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch at Calcutta to be vested in the company; also 600 yards all round without the said ditch; the cession of all the land in the neighbourhood of Calcutta that lay between the river, the lake, and Calpee, the company paying the usual rent to the nabob; and full freedom of trade throughout the three provinces, except that the old prohibition against their trading in salt, betel, and some other commodities was to remain in force. As the trade

* One of the first uses Clive made of his wealth was to bestow an annuity of 300*l.* on his old commander Laurence, who had grown old in the service without growing rich.

in salt was very profitable, some of the English at Calcutta endeavoured to obtain at least a part of it; and before Meer Jaffier had been many weeks on the musnud he complained that the treaty had been infringed in this particular.

The company's mint at Calcutta began to coin rupees by the 19th of August. Three days before this, Admiral Watson, who had so materially contributed to the success of the war, died of a jungle fever. Clive remained with the committee at Moorshedabad to press the nabob for more money, the great payment already made not amounting to the promised half, and the time fixed for the first instalment of the second half being near at hand. Meer Jaffier and his son had imagined that the private gratifications given to the English commander would render him less active and severe as to the public account, but Clive let them know that they must pay punctually all that they had agreed to pay, and he also insisted, in the tone of a master, that they must observe the treaty in every other respect, and by no means deprive the chiefs who had been parties to it of any of their places, emoluments, or promised rewards. The new nabob was already plotting against the said chiefs and the Hindu bankers, being eager to destroy and plunder those who had helped to raise him. Almost immediately after Coote's return from Patna, Clive repaired to Calcutta, leaving Messrs. Watts, Scrafton, and Maningham to transact the company's affairs at Moorshedabad. Coote's detachment was quartered at Cossimbuzar; and the rest of the troops who had fought at Plassey, and conquered a country more extensive and more populous than the whole of Great Britain, were sent down the river and quartered at Chandernagore, a place then considered more healthy than Calcutta. Clive was received with wonderful acclamations, and he witnessed the effects of his achievements in the restoration of commerce, confidence, and prosperity.

For some time, while Clive was changing nabobs and rooting out the French in Bengal, his countrymen on the Coromandel coast endeavoured to preserve a truce with the French at Pondicherry. The presidency of Madras, which had dispatched most of the troops and ships to co-operate on the Hooghly, instructed Captain Calliaud, who remained with Mohammed Ali in Trichinopoly, not to engage in any warlike operations. But when they received intelligence of some of the successes obtained in Bengal, and perceived that the French in the Carnatic were receiving no reinforcement, they resolved to make an attempt upon Madura, and to try all the means in their power to subject the whole country to their ally, who was now greatly embarrassed by the rebellion of two of his younger brothers. Captain Calliaud was ordered to march to Madura; and he took the road accordingly, though much distressed by want of money. Reaching Madura, Calliaud made an unsuccessful attempt on the place, and, before he could repeat the assault he was recalled to Trichinopoly by information that the French were showing themselves in that neighbourhood: this was on the 21st of May (1757). He instantly made up his mind to leave tents, baggage, and artillery behind him, and to fly to the relief of Trichinopoly, which was garrisoned by 150 European infantry, 15 artillerymen, 700 sepoys, 600 men furnished by a Hindu chief of Tanjore, and about 400 worthless, fellows belonging to Mohammed Ali. According to Orme, these auxiliaries were fit for nothing but night-watches, and not even fit for that without being watched themselves. There were no fewer than 500 French prisoners within the walls, who had found means to maintain a correspondence with their countrymen outside, and who were prepared to rise upon the garrison. The besieging army, which had commenced operations several days before Captain Calliaud received the letter at Madura, consisted of 1000 Europeans, infantry and artillery, 150 European cavalry, and 3000 sepoys, supported by several field-pieces, all under the command of M. d'Auteuil. Pondicherry had been left with scarcely any garrison, and vast exertions and sacrifices had been made in the hope that Trichinopoly might be taken while Calliaud was away at Madura. D'Auteuil threw shot and shell into the town during four successive days, and then summoned it in form. The English officer in command replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity. It was expected that d'Auteuil would attempt a storm, but he remained quiet behind his batteries; and a day or two after, Calliaud, with admirable rapidity and skill, reached the vicinity, completely deceived the French as to the path he intended to take, turned the long lines drawn out to intercept him without receiving a shot, got between the besiegers and the besieged, and finally entered Trichinopoly in triumph; but so exhausted by the continual fatigues he had undergone that he could no longer walk or stand without support. His arrival was announced to the French by a discharge of twenty-one cannon. D'Auteuil raised the siege the same day and retreated to Seringham, whence he soon withdrew to Pondicherry, mortified and humiliated in no common degree. After his retreat the war again languished in the Carnatic until the French, by an unexpected movement, took the important English factory of Vizagapatam. While the presidency of Madras were demanding money from Mohammed Ali by letters and messengers, Bajee Row's Mahrattas burst into the country to exact at the sword's point tribute or black mail from the same poor potentate. The nabob bought them off for the present with 200,000 rupees; but this made him so much the less able to pay his debts to the English, whose treasury was almost empty. But worse followed; for Mohammed Ali, besides the 200,000 rupees in hand, had promised the Mahrattas 250,000 more *in futuro;* and he pretended that the English should furnish this sum out of the rents of the lands he had assigned to them for their services in establishing his authority. This demand was at first met

by the presidency with anger, and a resolution to resist it. Morari Row, and the chiefs of some of the other Mahratta tribes, offered to assist the English; but their services would have cost as much as the sum in dispute, and their return into the country would have been a fresh scourge, and a new cause of impoverishment. The English, says Orme, "had no alternative but to pay or fight." For fighting they had not men enough, and for paying they had not money enough; but the credit of the company was known even in the camps of the wild Mahrattas, and when the English consented to pay they agreed to take part of the amount in coin and part in bills.

In the month of September a squadron of twelve ships appeared off Fort St. David. The English authorities in the fort sent off a gentleman to congratulate the admiral on his safe arrival, and to deliver a letter containing some necessary and important information. When the messenger got near to the ships he discovered that they were not English, but French—it was too late to retreat—he concealed the letter, went on board, and was made prisoner. This French fleet was commanded by M. Bouvet, who enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best naval officers of France; and it had on board 20 pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls, the regiment of Lorraine, nearly 1000 strong, 50 artillerymen, and 60 volunteers; the troops being under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. Four of the fleet were 60-gun ships, two carried 50 guns each, three others varied from 36 to 22 guns each, and there were two sloops of war of 16 guns each, and a bomb-ketch. The English from Fort St. David saw these ships repair to Pondicherry and there land the troops; this was on the 9th of September; and a day or two after the whole fleet disappeared, leaving the English much perplexed as to its next destination and object. The fact was, the mishap of the messenger had had the most happy andun expected consequences; for, whilst the marquis was deciding how to attack Fort St. David by sea and land, Bouvet discovered the letter which the messenger had concealed, and this epistle upset the whole scheme, for the council of Fort St. David mentioned in it that Admiral Watson, with his fleet from the Hooghly, was expected on the coast by the middle of September. And, as Bouvet apprehended that the junction of Watson with some English ships already on the coast would form a force superior to his own, he determined to fly while there was yet time; and in so great a hurry was he, that he would not even wait to land the heavy artillery and heavy ammunition which he had brought, for the landing must have occupied some time, and then the taking in of ballast would have occupied more. Crowding all his canvass he bore away for the Mauritius or Bourbon—flying from Watson, who had been nearly a month in his winding-sheet, and whose fleet, under the command of Rear-admiral Pococke, was still in the Hooghly. On the very day on which Bouvet took his departure, Captain Calliaud took Madura by making a fresh expedition from Trichinopoly, and by carrying a military chest, well filled, with him. One hundred and seventy thousand rupees was the price paid to the native chiefs and garrison for the surrender of this important place, the possession of which was of the highest importance to the English interests in Coromandel. Calliaud moreover succeeded in detaching many of the petty chiefs from the French, and in inducing turbulent tribes in the woods and hills to recognise the authority of Mohammed Ali. On the other side, however, the French, reinforced as they had been, were not inactive, or without triumphs and successes. Their dread of the arrival of Watson's fleet deterred them from attacking Fort St. David; and, as the Marquis de Soupires's orders forbade his engaging in any distant expedition, they could not try their fortunes again at Trichinopoly; they therefore confined their operations to the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar, where they took Chitteput, and two or three other inferior forts garrisoned by natives. Little else occurred during the remainder of the year, except a quarrel between the mother and brother of Mohammed Ali and the commandant of the English garrison at Arcot, who suspected that those near relations of the nabob were conspiring against him and the English. The commandant, after exercising some very arbitrary authority and giving mortal offence to the nabob's brother, was recalled by the presidency, and succeeded by a more prudent officer.

As soon as war had been declared in Europe the government of Louis XV. had commenced preparations for a formidable expedition to the east; and the arrival of a great armament was now daily expected at Pondicherry. It was not, however, until the 28th of April, 1758, that a squadron of twelve ships reached that coast. These ships were commanded by Count d'Aché, and they had on board a regiment of infantry nearly 1100 strong, a corps of artillerymen, and a number of officers of distinction, all under the command of Count Lally, a veteran officer of Irish extraction, who had been all his life in the service of France, and who had fought against the English at Fontenoy. So high did Lally stand at this time, that he had been appointed governor-general, with the most extraordinary powers, over all the French possessions and establishments in India. The court of Versailles confidently anticipated that this new force being added to the troops under the Marquis de Soupires would be sufficient to clear the whole Coromandel coast of the English, and restore the supremacy of the French in the Carnatic. In compliance with the orders and instructions laid down for him, Lally was to commence operations by the reduction of Fort St. David. He dropped into Pondicherry with two of the ships, and d'Aché repaired at once to Fort St. David, where two English frigates, the only ships on the station, were run ashore and wrecked to prevent their being captured. The French ships anchored two miles to

the southward, off Cuddalore, and waited there till troops from Pondicherry should invest the fort by land. But on the very next day Admiral Pococke, who some time before had brought Watson's squadron round to Ceylon, stood into the road and brought M. d'Aché to action. The English squadron was inferior in number; some of the ships were foul and damaged, and scarcely fit for service; some of the captains misunderstood the various signals made by the admiral; and in one or two instances the signals could not be obeyed through the unmanageableness of the ships. Nevertheless Pococke inflicted a severe blow on the French, the end of the drawn battle being the loss of 500 in killed and wounded on their side; while the English counted only twenty-nine killed and eighty-nine wounded. One of d'Aché's ships, the 'Bienaimé,' was stranded after the battle in consequence of damage done by English shot to her cables. Pococke's ships, however, had suffered greatly in their spars and rigging, and, in the various manœuvres which followed the battle, they drifted to leeward, and the French were enabled to come to anchor in the night in the road of Alamparva. Before the seafight began, some of the French troops from Pondicherry, hurried on by the impetuous Lally, without baggage, and even provisions, got to the rear of Fort St. David and drove in some English outposts. On the following day, the 30th of April, the Marquis de Soupires joined them with more troops, some heavy cannon, found in Pondicherry, and a convoy of provisions. On the 1st of May, Lally, escorted by some French cavalry, arrived in person, and detached Count d'Estaign to take up a position near Cuddalore, which was no stronger now than when attacked twelve years before by M. Dupleix, which was garrisoned by four companies of sepoys and a few artillerymen, and which, to add to the precariousness of its situation, contained within its walls 150 French prisoners. In the evening this very weak garrison was reinforced from Fort St. David by thirty Europeans and a few lascars. But Cuddalore was not defensible, and could not have been held for any length of time even by a much stronger garrison; and, after a conference, Major Polier, the commandant of Fort St. David, agreed to evacuate it in four days, the troops being allowed to retire with the honours of war, with their arms and ammunition, to Fort St. David, and the French prisoners to be sent to another part of the coast and there to remain neutral. M. Lally, who knew nothing of India or of the strange and complex nature of Indian society, and who was too hot-headed and presumptuous to be guided by those who had more knowledge, created the greatest disgust by forcibly employing different castes of the natives in labours to which they had never been accustomed, and which they considered derogatory to their condition and dishonourable to the castes to which they belonged. The more rigour he exercised the greater became the difficulty of getting any work done. The sepoys and all others who did not belong to the very lowest castes would neither dig in the trenches nor drive the trains, and when Lally threatened or punished them they deserted. Thus no ground was broken, and the heavy artillery and stores, though they had only a few miles to traverse, were brought up very slowly. But M. d'Aché contrived to lend assistance by water; he landed troops and cannon at the mouth of the river Panaur, about a mile to the north of the fort, and on the 15th Lally opened a fire upon the garrison from an unfinished battery and from a great distance. It was not by means like these that Fort St. David, now regularly fortified on all sides and defended by a garrison of 619 Europeans, * 1600 natives, sepoys, lascars, and Topasses, could be reduced. But on the 16th Lally opened another battery from the ramparts of Cuddalore, and brought two or three guns to bear from points nearer at hand; and on that night a general assault was made upon the English outworks, some of which were carried. On the 17th Lally began to break ground, and, forcing his people to labour during the scorching heat of the day as well as during the night, he had a great trench finished by the night of the 19th. On the 20th he made another trench and repaired a bridge which crossed a canal. During five days he erected several other batteries, and girded the fort with more trenches. Meanwhile, through a defective discipline and some other faults, imputable to the officers in command, great desertions had taken place among the natives from the garrison. A great absurdity was also committed in keeping up a continual fire from the fort, wasting gunpowder and shot, ruining many of the gun-carriages, shaking the walls, and doing very little mischief to the French. On the 30th the French had advanced their trenches to within 200 yards of the glacis, and opened three more batteries. Just as their fire became most terrible, the English found that they had consumed nearly all their gunpowder, and that the French bombs, by injuring the reservoirs, had left them scarcely any water to drink. As their only hope, they looked seaward for Admiral Pococke's squadron. Baffled by contrary winds and currents, and then by dead calms, it was the 28th of May before Pococke could reach the road, and then he saw d'Aché's whole squadron lying at anchor at Pondicherry. M. d'Aché, who, besides the wounded in the late action, had a great many sick on board, was of opinion that his ships should be anchored near to each other, and close in shore, so as to have the support of the land batteries; but Lally, hurrying round from Fort St. David, insisted that the squadron ought to stand out and fight the English in the open sea. Taking therefore on board 400 Europeans and about as many sepoys and lascars, d'Aché weighed anchor on the 31st; but, instead of bearing down upon Pococke, who could not possibly work up to him, he kept cautiously to the windward, with the evident determi-

* Of this number 83 were sick, 286 were effective, and 250 were seamen, the crews of the two frigates which had run ashore on the appearance of the French squadron.

nation of avoiding a combat. But Pococke could no more reach Fort St. David than he could reach d'Aché; the 'Cumberland,' one of the worst of his bad ships, kept falling away to leeward, and in looking after her his whole force drifted down to Alamparva, where, on the 5th of June, he was told that Fort St. David had capitulated. Major Polier, who had acted so imprudently that his ammunition was all expended when most needed, had indeed capitulated on the 2nd. In the evening a company of French grenadiers were admitted within the fort, and the garrison marched with drums and colours to the foot of the glacis and surrendered themselves to the French line drawn up to receive them. They were, with all convenient speed, conducted to Pondicherry, where it was stipulated they should remain until an equal number of French prisoners were delivered there, when the English were to be sent to Madras, or Devi-Cottah, at the option of M. Lally, who rejected the proposal that Fort St. David should not be demolished during the war, and, in consequence of instructions from France, immediately ordered all the fortifications to be razed to the ground.* Lally next determined to obtain possession of Devi-Cottah, and he immediately detached M. d'Estaing in that direction with a considerable force, which was however reduced on the march by the frequent desertion of the sepoys. The garrison of Devi-Cottah, which consisted of only thirty English and 600 sepoys, abandoned the place at his approach, and marched away for Trichinopoly. After the capture of Devi-Cottah, Lally marched his army from Fort St. David back to Pondicherry, entered that city, where pompous preparations had been ordered, in a triumphant procession, and celebrated a *Te Deum* for his successes. But he had scarcely done praising the Lord ere he began quarrelling with the gentlemen of the council, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, which seriously impeded his future operations. He thus early prepared a strife and a hatred which in the end brought him to a lamentable death; and he accused powerful and resentful men of having appropriated the public money to their own use. If he could have found rupees he would have proceeded immediately against Madras, for Polier's wretched defence of Fort St. David had given him a mean opinion of the military prowess of the English in India, and led him to anticipate an easy victory. In rummaging the exhausted treasury of Pondicherry he discovered a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which had been given by the rajah of Tanjore to Chunda Saheb, and by Chunda Saheb to the French, in satisfaction for some of the various claims which they had upon him. Lally determined to enforce payment of this bond, and taking the field he advanced towards Tanjore, with one in his camp that had pretensions to the sovereignty of the country.† The march was long, and the disposition of the country people everywhere unfavourable, for the treatment which Lally had given the natives at the siege of Fort St. David had revolted their prejudices. No bullock men or market people would follow him except by compulsion, and every act of compulsion tended to spread and increase the ill-will against him. His want of money and almost total want of provisions, even at the beginning of the march, induced him to rob and plunder; and the French soldiery, when once they got accustomed to these operations, considered everything as their own that they could seize or extort at the point of the sword. A regiment of hussars was constantly employed in cattle-lifting, and the unfortunate natives saw their cows and their oxen driven into the French camp, where no price was ever paid, or even promised. The effect of this, however, was slight and trivial, compared to the excitement produced by the outrages the French offered to the women and to the Brahmins. In seven days Lally reached Karical, which he reinforced, as the French there were apprehensive of an attack by Pococke's squadron. He then proceeded to what had been recently the rich and thriving town of Nagore, in the hope of getting a great booty and contribution in money. But the native merchants, warned in time, had carried off their money and jewels, and they offered little for the redemption of their houses. The French hussars were, therefore, let loose on the defenceless town, with the understanding and regular bargain that Lally was to have a large share of the spoils. The Hiberno-Frenchman then applied, in a peremptory manner, to the Dutch at Negapatam, to supply his wants in money, ammunition, and provisions; and the Dutch, awed by his power, sent him 20,000 pounds of gunpowder, declaring that money they had none, but that as to provisions the French commissaries might purchase them in their territory. Acting under the same fears, the Danes, who had a small settlement on the coast, sent him 10,000 pounds of gunpowder and six small field-pieces. On the line of march stood the pagoda of Kivalore, which Lally believed to contain great riches. Here he halted, ransacked the place and the houses of the Brahmins, dragged the tanks and got possession of a number of idols; but to his bitter disappointment these figures instead of being of gold were of brass, and as no treasures could be found above ground, or under ground, or in the water, he incurred a horrible odium without any profit. On the following day he reached another pagoda from which the priests had all fled; but perceiving in the evening that some of the Brahmins had come back, and were looking about them and asking questions, he chose to consider them as

* Orme.

† "The French," says Orme, "had found in Fort St. David a prisoner of greater consequence than they expected; his name was Gatica: he was uncle to the deposed king of Tanjore, whose pretensions the English asserted in 1749, when they entered the country and took Devi-Cottah. The king then and now reigning, when he ceded this place to them in propriety, stipulated, by a secret article, that they should prevent this pretender from giving any molestation in future; to insure which it was necessary to secure his person; but he withdrew himself out of their reach; however, being in possession of his uncle, who was the leading man of the party, and had entirely managed his nephew, they detained him a prisoner, but under an easy confinement, within the fort, where he remained until fated by the fall of the place to be employed by the French with the same views as nine years before by the English: and Gatica was now produced at Pondicherry with much ostentation and ceremony, in order to excite the apprehensions of the king, that the pretender himself would appear and accompany the French army, whom nevertheless they did not proclaim."

spies, and he put six of them to death by blowing them off from the mouths of his field-pieces. He then went on to Trivatore, where he remained till the 12th of July, employing his well-practised hussars in scouring the neighbouring country and seizing the cattle, part of which were consumed in his camp and part sent down to the towns on the sea-coast to be sold for the benefit of the army. On the 18th, Lally halted near to the walls of the city of Tanjore, and sent in one of his captains and a Jesuit, called Father Esteban, to demand the full amount of the bond. The rajah offered 300,000 rupees. Lally then said that he would consent to take 1,000,000 in money, if the rajah would add to it 600 bullocks and 10,000 pounds of gunpowder. The rajah would not comply with these terms; and therefore Lally began to throw shot and shell at the temples and pagodas, and such other buildings in the town as towered above the walls. He also continued the work of cattle-lifting in the open country, sending droves upon droves down to Carical and Pondicherry. The rajah, in a few days, made overtures for a peaceful accommodation, and sent 50,000 rupees to the French general to prove the sincerity of his intentions. A treaty was commenced, in which the Hindu prince endeavoured to dupe the French, and they him. In the mean time English assistance had been called for, and 600 sepoys, sent by Major Calliaud from Trichinopoly, were on their march to Tanjore. After an infinitude of manœuvres on both sides, Lally broke off the negotiation, denounced the most implacable vengeance against the city and the whole kingdom, swore he would send the rajah and his family to the Mauritius as slaves; and he erected two batteries, with which, on the 2nd of August, he began to ply the walls of Tanjore where they were weakest. After five days' firing, a breach was made; but by this time Lally had burned nearly all his gunpowder, and notwithstanding all the cattle-lifting he had not provisions for more than two days. The country people, driven to desperation by the losses and insults they had sustained, were continually cutting off stragglers and small detachments, and masses of Tanjore cavalry, that gave no quarter, had thrown themselves between Lally and the places from which alone he could expect supplies. On the 8th of August Lally's uneasiness was increased by intelligence that another engagement had taken place between the French and English squadrons, and that the English ships were menacing Carical, where the French squadron had not been heard of since the engagement. Quite crest-fallen, he summoned a council of war: ten of his officers recommended an immediate retreat, and only two an immediate assault and storm. On the same day the sick and wounded were sent away under the escort of 150 Europeans, and preparations were made for a general decampment on the morrow. In the course of the night the English sepoys from Trichinopoly entered the town. Early the next morning the sepoys joined the Tanjorians in a sortie and general attack on the French camp, while bodies of Tanjore horse, and swarms of country people, and wild coolies from the hills, made some attempts on the French rear. Lally had several hair-breadth escapes; at one moment he was nearly blown into the air by the explosion of a tumbril of gunpowder, at another he was nearly cut down by a scimitar, and he was actually knocked down and trampled upon by some of the rajah's cavalry. Three of his cannon were taken, and a considerable number of his men killed in the first surprise. But when the French recovered their presence of mind, and formed in good compact order, they were too much for the Tanjorians; and the English sepoys, left without proper support, were compelled to abandon the three guns they had taken, and to retreat into the town with no other prizes than one elephant and two camels. The French now spiked their heavy guns, threw the shot into wells, and destroyed a considerable part of their baggage: and then, in the darkness of night, they marched away in all haste from the walls of Tanjore, pestered in their retreat by the peasantry and by the Tanjore horse, and half famished and half crazed with thirst. The retreat was most disastrous till they got to Trivatore; and, if the native cavalry had not left off pursuing when their pursuit ought to have been the hottest, their sufferings and losses must have been greatly increased. On his road between Trivatore and Carical, Lally was informed that the French squadron had returned to its anchorage at Pondicherry, but that M. d'Aché was determined to sail for the Mauritius or Bourbon without seeking any further action with Pococke. Lally in a fury sent the Count d'Estaing to remonstrate, to persuade, to threaten, to do everything in his power to make the French admiral stay where he was. On the 18th of August, Lally and his army reached Karical, and saw the English squadron at anchor not far from that town. The engagement between the hostile squadrons, reported to Lally while at Tanjore, had been a closer and hotter affair than the former encounter, and d'Aché at the end of it had run before the wind and escaped, though with two or three of his ships much shattered in their hulls. The French had lost in killed and wounded from 500 to 600 men, while the English loss is stated to have been only 31 killed and 166 wounded; but, as in the former affair, the English ships had suffered most in their masts and rigging. Both Admiral Pococke and M. d'Aché were wounded by splinters; and Commodore Stevens was wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball fired by a French officer, who was seen taking a deliberate aim. In both these engagements Pococke's force was inferior, and d'Aché, after the experience he had had, felt no desire to wait till reinforcements, which he believed were expected, should give the English a superiority of force, or replace two of their very bad ships by two good ones. And it was all in vain that d'Estaing entreated, and Lally reproached and threatened:—he insisted that he had done all that could reason-

ably be expected from him, and that he must be gone. Having left Karical and crossed the Coleroon, Lally quitted the army, and with an escort rode rapidly to Pondicherry, where he arrived on the 28th of August, and instantly summoned a council with the view of stopping the anxious admiral. The council agreed with him that the success of the intended expedition against Madras must depend in good part on the co-operation of the squadron, and joined him in appeals and remonstrances: but d'Aché declared that his ships were greatly disabled, and his crews much reduced by the combats and by sickness; and on the 2nd of September he took his departure for Mauritius.

The ill-humour of Lally, always attended by violence and imprudence, was heightened by his continual want of money, and by the squadron having failed a few weeks before in intercepting two of the company's ships that were bound to Madras with a good round sum on board. To obtain the nerves of war he resolved, before proceeding on his grand object, the siege of Madras, to make a predatory excursion to Arcot, which was defended only by a few English sepoys and some detachments of Mohammed Ali's cowardly cavalry. But, to make his journey the surer, Lally, by means of the son of the late Chunda Saheb, made a bargain beforehand with the commander of the native troops, who agreed to deliver up the place for 13,000 rupees and employment with the French army. Capturing on his way three or four minor forts, Lally reached Arcot on the 4th of October, and, finding that capital of the Carnatic open to him, he entered with his accustomed pomp and parade, in the midst of long salvos of artillery, wherein was wasted much gunpowder, which, in the state of his finances, he ought to have husbanded. But fresh disappointments awaited this gold-seeker;—all the merchants and wealthier inhabitants had departed before his arrival, and even the poorer sort had concealed their money and most valuable effects. "His late acquisitions," says Orme, "had not hitherto reimbursed the expenses of the field, nor established his credit to borrow; so that his treasury could barely supply the pay of the soldiers, and could not provide the other means of putting his army into motion, and all that the government of Pondicherry could immediately furnish was 10,000 rupees." On his advance he might have taken the important English fort and possession at Chingleput by a *coup de main*; but he had most imprudently neglected the opportunity, and whilst he was parading at Arcot the government of Madras found means to reinforce the place, and his want of money and of time now prevented his making any attempt on Chingleput. Distributing his troops into cantonments, Lally himself returned to Pondicherry, to blame every body and every thing except his own folly and presumption. On his first arrival in the country he had determined to be sole hero in India; and as soon as he had reduced Fort St. David he recalled M. Bussy from the Deccan, speaking contemptuously of the character and exploits of that truly remarkable man. Bussy had hitherto been left by the French court with the mere rank of a lieutenant-colonel, so that not only Lally and Soupires, but also six or seven other officers recently arrived from France, ignorant of India and its concerns, and in other essentials his inferiors, were above him in rank, and he was liable to be put under the orders of any one of them. But all these French officers were not animated by the same low spirit as Lally. "The colonels," says Orme, "sensible of the advantages that might be derived from his abilities and his experience and reputation in the country, and how much the opportunities would be precluded by the present inferiority of his rank, signed a declaration, requesting on these considerations he might be appointed a brigadier-general, in supercession to themselves, which would place him next in command to M. Soupires. The public zeal which dictated this request conferred as much honour on those who made it, as their testimony on M. Bussy. Their names, highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descent—d'Estaing, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Breteuil, Verdiere, and Crillon. M. Lally could make no objection, but with his usual asperity imputed the compliment to the influence of M. Bussy's money, instead of his reputation." Lally was a loud and bold talker, he made no secret of his sentiments, and Bussy would have been no Frenchman if he had not resented with vivacity these various attacks on his fame. Ill assorted and ill agreed, with rancorous feelings on both sides, they were to proceed together to capture Madras and root out the English power on the Coromandel coast, even as Clive had rooted out the French in Bengal.* There was slight chance of their succeeding. Lally believed that Bussy must have made an enormous fortune at Golconda, and that, like Dupleix, he might contribute to the common cause by large advances of money: Bussy protested that this was not the case, and Lally, though he did not believe him, could obtain nothing from him. But, as the army must be famished through want of money if they stayed at Pondicherry, it was resolved to move on. By contributing 60,000 rupees of his own, and setting a subscription on foot among the gentlemen of the council of Pondicherry—all very poorly provided with cash or averse to giving or lending—Lally raised 94,000 rupees; and with this insignificant treasure† and an army of 2700 Europeans and 4000 native troops, sepoys, and others, he repaired to Madras, where he arrived on the 12th of December, without money and almost without food for the troops. The English had made a good use

* In a letter to Bussy, written on the capture of Fort St. David, Lally had said, "It is the whole of British India which it now remains for us to attack. I do not conceal from you that, having taken Madras, it is my resolution to repair immediately, by land or by sea, to the banks of the Ganges, where your talents and experience will be of the greatest importance to me."

† Mill, Hist. British India.—Orme gives another account:—"The arrival of a vessel at Pondicherry on the 18th, from Mauritius, which brought treasure, together with 100,000 rupees brought by M. Moracin from Tripetti, enabled M. Lally to put the French troops into motion again."

of the time in preparing for his reception. Admiral Pococke, who had quitted the coast to avoid the monsoon, had previously landed 100 marines to be joined to the garrison: a considerable body of native cavalry, headed by an active and intelligent partisan, had been engaged to scour the country, and detachments of sepoys, posted at intervals, and communicating with these flying squadrons of horse, kept open the road to Trichinopoly, and made the roads insecure by which the French were to receive their reinforcements and supplies. Major Laurence, Clive's old superior, and Mr. Pigot, held command within the walls of Madras, where the total of the force collected was 1758 Europeans, 2220 sepoys, and 200 of Mohammed Ali's cavalry —these last being scarcely worth their rations. On the 14th of December the French took possession of the black town, which was open and defenceless; and there the soldiers, breaking open some arrack stores, got drunk and mad, and committed great disorders. As their condition was reported in the fort, a sortie was resolved upon; and 600 chosen men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Draper (afterwards Sir William) and Major Brereton, with two field-pieces, rushed into the streets of the black town. Unluckily the drummers, who were all little black boys, struck up the grenadiers' march too soon, and this gave warning to the French, who left off their drinking, plundering, and other pastimes, and running to their arms drew up at a point where the streets were very narrow and crossed each other at right angles. Those who were drunk were joined by others who were sober, till the whole number far exceeded that of the English detachment. If Bussy, who was at hand, had made one of the bold and rapid movements which he had been accustomed to make when acting on his own responsibility and for his own glory, he might have taken the enemy in the rear, and the English, blocked up in the narrow streets, must either have surrendered or have been destroyed. But Bussy remained motionless, and afterwards excused his conduct by saying that Lally, his superior, had sent him no orders to move. As the affair went, the detachment retreated to the fort, leaving their two field-pieces behind them: they had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 200 men, and had inflicted about an equal loss on the foe. Six officers were killed or mortally wounded, and among them was Major Polier, who, unable to bear the reflections which had been cast upon him for his weak and unwise defence of Fort St. David, threw away his life here to prove that he was no coward. It appears that the close street fight was extended to the interior of some of the houses, and that the rancour between the contending parties was to the last degree furious; for about twenty English soldiers were found in the houses stabbed with bayonets, and with their French antagonists lying dead beside them. Count d'Estaing, whom we have seen at a later period engaged in the American war, was taken prisoner at the beginning of the affray and conveyed into Madras. An Armenian merchant, residing in the black town, paid Lally 80,000 livres for having saved his house from plunder, and a Hindu partisan lent him 12,000 more. With this money some provisions and stores were procured, and the French began to erect some batteries. Lally said that he at first had only intended a bombardment, but that he was encouraged to undertake a regular siege by intelligence that a French ship had arrived at Pondicherry with 1,000,000 of livres. Most of his heavy artillery was still at sea, and a corps of sepoys took his only 13-inch mortar, which was coming by land. All his warlike means were as deficient as those of the garrison were perfect, and dissensions and ill-will against him increased among his officers. His condition was rendered still more desperate by the return of Admiral Pococke to the coast, and by the entrance into the harbour of Madras of two frigates and six of the company's ships, having on board 600 king's troops fresh from England. This was on the 16th of February (1759), when Lally had been two months and four days under the walls of Madras. He ought to have been gone long before, but now to stay or go was not at his option; even before the English reinforcement began to land, the officer who commanded in the trenches quitted his post without orders, and nothing was thought of but retreat and flight. And all his money, including the 1,000,000 livres from Pondicherry, and all his provisions, were exhausted; he had thrown away his last bomb three weeks before, and he had blazed away nearly all his gunpowder. Again pouring out invectives and blaming everybody but himself, Lally on the night of the 17th decamped, as silently and expeditiously as he could, with his army in a mutinous state, and his marauding hussars threatening to go over to the English. He was distressed greatly on his retreat by the want of money and provisions; the natives knowing his habits removed or concealed as much of their rice and cattle as was possible; and occasionally he had to feel in van and rear, and in straggling or foraging parties, the sharp execution of the flying columns of native horse, and the deadly animosity of the coolies and colleries, who glided like ghosts round his camp and stabbed in the dark. But as the treasury at Madras was also in a state of exhaustion, through the heavy drains made upon it during the last six months, and as several of the chiefs at Madura and other places were showing symptoms of disaffection, the English, so far from pursuing Lally immediately, did not take the field till the 6th of March. Then, with 1156 Europeans, 1570 sepoys, 1120 colleries, 1956 horse, and ten field-pieces, of which two were twelve-pounders, Major Laurence commenced his march to Conjeveram, where Lally had concentrated his forces, but was looking in vain for some small detachments which he had entrusted to the rebellious brother of Mohammed Ali—for they had all been murdered by the ally whom they had been sent to assist, and who was now anxious to renew his friendship with the

English and his allegiance to his brother, seeing that the star of Lally's fortune was becoming but a glimmering and uncertain light. For twenty-two days the French and English armies lay encamped in sight of each other. After this inactivity the English struck off for Wandewash, entered that town, and began to break ground against the fort. The French hurried to defend the place, and the English giving them the slip hastened back and took the more important fort of Conjeveram. On the 28th of May both Laurence and Lally put their armies into cantonments.

In the hour of danger or alarm the presence of Clive on the Coromandel coast had been earnestly desired by all, and the presidency had repeatedly urged his return; but Clive was equally wanted then, and continued to be wanted, in Bengal, which he wisely refused to quit until affairs should be settled. Admiral Pococke continued to cruise between Bombay and Pondicherry, with a view of intercepting a fresh squadron which the French expected from the Mauritius. Towards the end of June three of the company's ships reached Madras with 100 recruits, and the welcome intelligence that the enterprising Coote, now a lieutenant-colonel, might be shortly expected on the coast with 1000 of king's troops. But the ships brought another notice not quite so agreeable, namely, that the company intended to send out no more money to either of the presidencies till the following year (1760), as they believed that the treasures acquired in Bengal ought to suffice for the current expenses of all British India. At the end of July the first division of the promised troops arrived at Negapatam, where Admiral Pococke lay with his squadron. On the 20th of August Pococke bore away for Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, where he discovered his old adversary, M. d'Aché, with eleven ships of the line (three of which were fresh from Europe) and three frigates. The English squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, one frigate, two of the company's ships, and a fire-ship; their entire number of guns being 174 less than that of the French. Pococke determined on an immediate action, but the currents, the wind, and the weather prevented the close meeting of the fleets till the 10th of September, when, after a sharp action of two hours' duration, the careful Frenchman once more retired before the flag of Pococke. From the usual difference in their modes of firing, the English suffered most in their rigging, and the French lost the greater number of men. D'Aché, having all his top-masts standing, got safe to Pondicherry—which was his object—several days before Pococke could reach Negapatam. The arrival of the squadron saved the French council from absolute despair: it brought to them only 180 men, but it brought what was more needed than soldiers, it poured into the empty coffers at Pondicherry specie to the amount of about 16,000*l.* sterling, and a quantity of diamonds valued at 17,000*l.*, which had been taken in an English East Indiaman. But d'Aché had scarcely landed these precious commodities, when he again intimated that he must leave the coast immediately and return to the Mauritius; his orders being peremptory to take care of his ships, whose loss France could ill afford at this crisis of a losing war in Europe, in Canada, and nearly everywhere else. But the French on shore represented that Pondicherry must be lost, that everything they had obtained on the coast of Coromandel must be sacrificed to the English fleet and army, if the ships were withdrawn; all the inhabitants of Pondicherry, civil and military, assembled in council and signed a vehement protest; but neither this nor anything else could prevail upon d'Aché to alter or delay his departure. He was, however, induced to land and leave behind him 400 Caffres who had been serving in his fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

Before the arrival of the dollars and diamonds, the French army in cantonments were reduced to an extremity of distress, and even Lally's own regiment had mutinied for want of pay. The English, who had surprised and taken the fort of Covrepawk in July, were encouraged, by the disorganized state of the enemy, to make an attempt upon Wandewash, and on the 26th of September their whole army, under the command of Colonel Brereton, marched from Conjeveram for this purpose. Their approach, however, restored the French to some discipline and spirit; they gathered within and around the menaced fort, and an assault was repelled with the loss of 200 of the English. But in other directions the French lost ground almost daily; they were in rags and half starved, and Lally's only remaining hope was, that the money received at Pondicherry was more than was reported, and that he and his troops might obtain the greater part of it. Nor were quarrels and cabals in his own camp and quarters the only bitter fruit which Lally gathered by recalling Bussy from the Deccan. The English took advantage of the absence of that prevailing man to commence negotiations with several native chiefs in the Deccan, and even with Salibut Jung himself, and Clive from Bengal had detached Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, those valuable provinces which had been ceded to Bussy. Forde, with 500 British troops, 2100 native troops, 6 field-pieces, 24 six-pounders for battery, a howitzer, and an eight-inch mortar, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam. There he landed and joined the army of Anunderauze, who had engaged to cooperate against the French in the hope that the English would secure him in sundry territorial claims, and eventually make him sovereign of the Deccan. Before starting together a treaty was agreed upon between the English colonel and the Indian rajah. In the first place all plunder was to be equally divided; all the countries that should be conquered were to be left to the rajah, who was to collect the revenues, &c., with the exception, however, of the seaports and towns at the mouths of the rivers, which, with the revenues of the dis-

tricts annexed to them, were to belong to the company; and no treaty for the disposal or restitution of the possessions of either party was to be made without the consent of both. And it was finally agreed, though not without great difficulty on the part of the rajah, that he should supply 50,000 rupees per month for the expense of the English army, and 6000 for the expenses of the officers. They then advanced to Peddapore, and there encountered M. Conflans, who had been left by Bussy in command of a French force, strong enough to have kept in awe the unwarlike Hindus, but too weak to stand against the English force now unexpectedly brought against them. In preparing for battle Forde's first care was to get his precious allies, the troops of the rajah, out of the way, for he knew that they would not fight, and could produce only confusion. In numbers Conflans's French troops were equal to Forde's, and the defensive position they occupied was a good one: their artillery was abundant, and to oppose to the English sepoys they had 6000 sepoys of their own, and 500 native horse. But M. Conflans quitted his strong ground; the French infantry got into disorder in pursuing a portion of Forde's sepoys, and then the English troops, who had been concealed by a standing crop of Indian corn, fell upon the French, routed them with a terrible loss, and took the best of their field-pieces. Conflans, further discouraged by the resolute behaviour of some of the English sepoys under Captain Knox, retreated to his camp; but notwithstanding the advantages of the ground and the fire of some heavy artillery which he had kept there, he was soon driven from the height by Colonel Forde. Some of the French threw down their arms and cried for quarter; but the greater part made a *sauve qui peut* flight. Conflans had had the forethought to send off the military treasure on two camels, but the spoils of the field were very considerable:—30 pieces of cannon, most of which were brass; 50 tumbrils and other carriages laden with ammunition; seven mortars from 8 to 13 inches, with a large provision of shells; 1000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. M. Conflans galloped from the field on a good horse; and it is said that he never drew rein until he reached, at night, the town of Rajahmundry, nearly forty miles from the field of battle. When the rout of the French began, Forde, thinking that they might then have some heart and be of some use, called up Anunderauze's 500 horse; but he might as well have called spirits from the vasty deep, for these black cavaliers, and all their infantry as well, with the rajah in the midst of them, had conveniently found a deep but dry tank, where they had remained cowering during the whole of the action, and from which they refused to move so long as there were cannon-balls and bullets flying about.* And, unfortunately, Anunderauze would no more pay than fight, so that for several weeks Forde, who had spent all the money he had brought with him, was reduced to a stand-still. The French, however, still worse off, kept retreating; Rajahmundry was abandoned, and Conflans sought refuge in Masulipatam, urging Salibut Jung to send him some assistance, and representing in strong terms to that subahdar, that the English if left unopposed would make themselves masters, not merely of the sea-coast which he had ceded to Bussy, but of the whole of the Deccan. Salibut Jung responded to these appeals by putting an army in motion, and by collecting other troops at Golconda and Hyderabad. After a mischievous delay Colonel Forde obtained a little money from the rajah, and marching through Ellore, where several native chiefs joined him, he arrived, on the 6th of March, 1759, in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, Conflans's abiding place, and the most important and strongest place the French had on that coast. The troops within were more numerous than the besiegers, yet Colonel Forde, by making an assault on three points at the same moment, induced Conflans to surrender, and after a siege of only twelve days Masulipatam remained to the English.*

The victorious flag had not been hoisted a week over the walls, when two French ships, with a reinforcement of 300 men, appeared in the offing. They went back; but the army of the subahdar, which had been marching to the relief of Conflans, halted where it was, and soon received in their camp the English commander, not as an enemy, but as a friend and ally. Salibut Jung, seeing that the English were everywhere victorious, and considering that their protection and assistance would be as valuable as that of the French had been, readily entered into a new treaty, by which he ceded a considerable territory about Masulipatam to the English, bound himself not to permit for the future any French settlement in his dominions, and to oblige the French army of observation collected at Rajahmundry to evacuate the country and cross the Kistna within fifteen days; the English on their part agreeing to support him against his enemies in general, and his rebellious brother Nizam Ali in particular. It was also stipulated that the subahdar should never more have recourse to French assistance or call in any troops of that nation; that Anunderauze should not be called to account for whatsoever he had collected out of the governments of the French, nor for the tributes of his own country for the present year. Colonel Forde, who had been received with high honours in the subahdar's camp, had the better part or the greater advantage in this treaty, as his promises were general and prospective, and the subahdar's cessions positive and immediate.†

* Orme.

* When Forde ordered the assault his condition was very critical: he had only powder for his batteries for two days; the army of Salibut Jung was approaching; a French force, nearly equal to his own, had collected again at Rajahmundry; and Conflans was expecting the daily arrival of 300 fresh troops from Pondicherry.

† In addition to Masulipatam, eight districts, as well as the jurisdiction over the territory of Nizampatam, with the districts of Codover and Wacalmaanur, were granted to the English without the reserve of fine or military service. The whole of the territory thus ceded extended eighty miles along the coast and twenty inland: the revenue was estimated at 400,000 rupees a-year.

As soon as the compact was concluded the subahdar offered to Colonel Forde for his own private account and profit a considerable district as jaghire if he would instantly join him and march against his rebellious younger brother Nizam Ali; but Forde at the same time invited the subahdar to join the English in an immediate expedition against the French at Rajahmundry, then avowedly under the protection of the subahdar's elder brother Bassaulet Jung, who had an army on foot at no great distance. The subahdar, finding Forde immoveable, quitted him and marched away into the interior in no very good humour with his new allies. As Forde prepared to march against them the French broke up from Rajahmundry, crossed the Kistna, and marched to the westward, the subahdar's elder brother having promised that he would take them into his pay in a short time. The English factories which had been swept away by the successes of Bussy were immediately re-established, and Forde with his little army remained at Masulipatam till he should receive further orders from the presidency of Bengal, or rather from Clive, who originated and directed every great measure, taking, in all cases of indecision and doubt, the responsibility upon himself, and not unfrequently treating the council with contempt. For many months he had acted as if he had been governor-general of Bengal or of all India, though his real place was on the Coromandel coast, and his rank merely that of governor of Fort St. David. The directors at home, after the catastrophe at Calcutta and the misconduct of Mr. Drake, had appointed a very absurd sort of government by rotation, but the members of this government themselves made Clive their president; and immediately after, learning the particulars of his victory at Plassey, the court of directors sent out his appointment to be governor of Bengal.*

Meer Jaffier very soon required the assistance of those who had made him nabob. Many native chiefs rebelled against him, and far and near he was almost surrounded by enemies, all eager for his throne, or for a slice out of his rich territories. Mohammed Kooly Khan the lord of Allahabad, the rajahs Sunder-Sing and Bulwant-Sing, and, most powerful of all, his neighbour Soujah Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, were united—as far as such beings could unite in one object—against Meer Jaffier; and their cause received the high sanction of the name and afterwards the assistance of the Mogul of Delhi's eldest son, the Shah Zada, who had established himself in Rohilcund, and had, at the time, a considerable army of Rohillas, half soldiers and half robbers by profession, but a hardier and a braver race than any in the lower parts of Hindustan. In a short time the Shah Zada descended from Rohilcund with an army of 40,000 men, Rohillas, Mahrattas, Jauts, and Afghans; and other forces were expected to join him on his advance. The successor of Suraj-u-Dowlah thought he had no help or hope except in Clive, and he showered letters and messages upon him, and constantly besieged with prayers and agents the new English resident at Moorshedabad—Mr. Warren Hastings—who had arrived in India as a young writer in the year 1750, as poor and as friendless as Clive, who, if not the first to discover his abilities and energy of character, appears to have been the first that gave him any important promotion. Warren Hastings, had a near view of the imbecility and confusion of the nabob's court and government—a confusion worse confounded by the intrigues and vices of the nabob's son Meeran—and he wrote nearly every day to his patron Clive that all classes confided in him, and in him alone; that without his intervention the whole fabric of government would fall to pieces by intestine broils, and Orissa and Bahar be severed from Bengal even before the arrival of the invaders from Rohilcund. Weakened by the force detached to the Circars under Forde, and by other detachments sent to Madras, Clive at this moment could only count in Bengal about 300 British infantry, 100 artillery, and 2500 disciplined sepoys. Yet with this force he not only resolved to meet the mighty confederacy which threatened Meer Jaffier, but he also sent orders to Forde to continue his conquests, and then to proceed not to Bengal, to join and assist him, but, if needed, to Madras, there to finish the Indian story of Count Lally. He informed Warren Hastings that the dissension and treachery reigning at Moorshedabad gave him far more uneasiness than the Shah Zada's army. To the trembling nabob himself he wrote:—"I would not have you think of coming to any terms with him, but proceed to take the necessary measures to defend your city to the last. On Monday the last of this month I shall take the field, and will have everything in readiness to march to your assistance if necessary. Rest assured that the English are your staunch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken part."* This letter was dated the 10th of February, 1759. A few days after Clive heard that the nabob was thinking of purchasing the retreat of the Shah Zada, and he instantly wrote to dissuade him from a measure which would only have tempted others to make similar inroads. "I have heard," wrote Clive, "a piece of intelligence which I can scarce give credit to; it is that you are going to offer a sum of money to the king's son; if you do this you will have the nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and many more come from all parts of the confines of your country, who will bully you out of money till you have none left in your treasury." And then, with a little cajolery to flatter the vanity of the poor creature he was writing to, he added:—"What will be said if the great Jaffier Ali Khan, subah of this country, who commands an army of 60,000 men, should offer money to a boy who has scarcely a soldier with him?" Clive also wrote repeatedly to the Hindu governor of Patna, Ramnarrain, whose fidelity to the nabob was much doubted, and who appears indeed to have almost concluded a bargain with the enemy to open the gates of Patna to them

* Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.

* Sir John Malcolm, Life.

as soon as they should approach it from Allahabad. On the 12th of February, Clive conjured this governor to be firm and bold, and defend the city to the utmost; and the concluding words of his letter contained a fact which was well calculated to make an impression. "I have this day," said Clive, "pitched my *tent*, and, with the blessing of God, if it be necessary, I will come to your assistance." But the strangest part of the active correspondence carried on at this juncture was a letter addressed by the Mogul's son, the Shah Zada, in imperial and oriental style, to "The most High and Mighty Protector of the Great"—*i. e.* Clive. "In this happy time," said the epistle, "with a view of making the tour of Patna and Bengal, I have erected my standard of glory at this place. It is my pure intention to bestow favour upon you, the high and mighty, and all faithful servants, agreeable to their conduct. This world is like a garden of flowers interspersed with weeds and thorns; I shall, therefore, root out the bad, that the faithful and good ryots (God willing) may rest in peace and quietness. Know you, who are great, that it is proper you should pay a due obedience to this my firman, and make it your business to pay your respects to me like a faithful servant, which will be great and happy for you. It is proper you should be earnest in doing this, when, by the blessing of God, you stand high in my favour. Know this must be done." Clive also received a flowery epistle from the Shah Zada's chief minister, and another from his chief general, Fyaz Ali Khan, who assured him that the Shah had thoughts of doing great things by his (Clive's) counsel and in conjunction with him. Apprehending that this part of the correspondence, and other matters, might come to the knowledge of Meer Jaffier, and cause great consternation, Clive enclosed all the letters to the nabob, in one of his own, wherein he said that several of the Shah Zada's agents had been with him. "They made me," he observed, "offers of provinces upon provinces, with whatever my heart could desire; but, could he give, as well as offer me, the whole empire of Hindustan, it would have no weight with the English. I am well assured, too, that he wrote to every man of consequence in these parts; which convinces me that he has designs against these provinces. It is the custom of the English to treat the persons of ambassadors as sacred, and I told the Shah Zada's agents as much; but at the same time warned them never to come near me again, for if they did I would take their heads for their pains."* Clive, however, who had received a high title of nobility from the Great Mogul, together with the confirmation of Meer Jaffier's elevation to the musnud, was well aware that the name of the descendant of Tamerlane still imposed respect on millions of the natives of India, although the power of that imperial name was now the mere shadow of a shade, and defied and set at nought even by those who paid their half superstitious, half involuntary homage to the name; and on this as on other occasions he most carefully sought to avoid giving offence to the feelings and punctilios of the country. In dismissing the last envoys of the Shah Zada, he wrote a letter to that prince, in the most respectful terms, and expressive of a still higher reverence for his father the Great Mogul, who had neither ordered the expedition of his son, nor had the power to prevent it, being in fact, even at Delhi, little more than a state prisoner in the hands of his ministers and nobles. "I have had the honour," wrote Clive, "to receive your highness's firman. It gives me great concern to find that this country must become a scene of troubles. I beg leave to inform you that I have been favoured with a sunnud [patent] from the emperor, appointing me a munsubdar of the rank of 6000 foot and 5000 horse, which constitutes me a servant of his; and, as I have not received any orders, either from the emperor or vizier, acquainting me of your coming down here, I cannot pay that due regard to your highness's orders which I should otherwise wish to do. I must further beg leave to inform you, that I am under the strictest engagements with the present subahdar of these provinces to assist him at all times; and it is not the custom of the English nation to be guilty of insincerity."* Clive began his march on the 25th of February, and arrived in a few days at Moorshedabad. Here he had a long conference with the nabob, when he endeavoured to make him sensible of his past misconduct, which, by creating internal dissension, had brought upon him the evils of war and invasion. According to his own account he must have rated Meer Jaffier very roundly, but then, to revive his spirits and to prove to the always doubting people that there was no interruption to their friendship, he rode abroad on the same elephant with the nabob, and showed a determination to support him in his administration. And when, on the 13th of March, he left Moorshedabad to advance upon Patna, he took the nabob's son with him. Just before starting he wrote a letter to the secret committee, telling them that the enemy from the north had reached the river which divides Oude from Bahar, and were expected soon to be at Patna, the capital of the latter province; but he added, in a tone of perfect confidence, that with his 400 English and 2500 sepoys he would soon give a good account of the Shah Zada, although his army was estimated to be 50,000 strong. At this moment he did not know whether M. Law and his fugitive band had joined the invaders or not. On arriving at Shahabad, Clive received intelligence that Ramnarrain, the governor of Patna, had abandoned his post and gone over to the Shah. Upon this he wrote to Meer Jaffier, telling him to give over the sports and pastimes of the Hooley—the carnival of the Indians—in which the nabob was then busily engaged at Moorshedabad, and hasten to the field if he desired to preserve his country. To Ramnarrain, whom he had served on many occasions, and whom he had preserved from the treachery and rapacity of Meer Jaffier and Meeran, he wrote at

* Letters as given by Orme and Sir John Malcolm.

the same moment—"I have neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, the letter I have now received from Mr. Amyatt; nor could aught but the great confidence I have in him induce me to give credit to its contents. Have you no sense of the obligations you are under to me for all the cares and pains I have taken for you? If you had not, courage equal to the occasion, yet what could have induced you to act so imprudent a part? What power has the Shah Zada to resist the united forces of the nabob and the English? Think then what will be your fate. For God's sake reflect on the duty you owe to your master, to my friendship, and to your own safety. Turn from this bad design, and act in such a manner that your master may be satisfied with you, and the world acknowledge you worthy of the friendship I have shown you. Should you, from want of courage, forsake your city, be assured it will not remain ten days in the Shah Zada's power." The fact, however, proved to be that Ramnarrain had not run away to the enemy, but was only thinking of doing so; and when he received this letter, after some few words on the insufficiency of the means of defence, he declared that he would defend Patna, and prove true to the nabob. In effect, encouraged by the rapid marches of the English, that Hindu did prove true and steady, and the next news Clive received of him was, that he had repelled two assaults made upon the place. However, not to trust too much to Hindu valour, Clive hurried forward a detachment of his own sepoys under the command of Ensign Mathews to assist in the defence. But the dread of Clive's name alone was sufficient to disperse the invading army; and on the 5th of April, the day before Mathews could reach Patna, the Shah Zada, though he had possessed himself of some of the bastions, raised the siege, and began to retreat in the greatest disorder. M. Law with his small party joined the prince on the day of this retreat, but could not prevail upon him to halt and make another attack. While on his march from Moorshedabad, Clive had received a letter from Meer Jaffier informing him that he had the commands of the Great Mogul to seize the person of his contumacious or rebellious son, the Shah Zada. The imperial firman, which the nabob enclosed, was of course the edict of the Grand Vizier Gazee-u-Deen, against whose usurped authority the young prince had in the first instance taken up arms; it ran in these words:—"Know that you are under the shadow of my favour. Some ill-designing people have turned the brain of my beloved son, and are carrying him to the eastern part of the empire, which must be the cause of much trouble and ruin to my country. I therefore order you, who are my servant, to proceed immediately to Patna, and secure the person of my son, and keep him there. You are likewise to punish his attendants, that other people may take warning thereby. In doing this you will gain my favour and have a good name. Know this must be done." The vizier, moreover, wrote a letter of the same purport to Clive himself, who could thus quote the sanction of the court of Delhi to and for all he undertook. The "Daring in War," the "Protector of the Great," entered Patna without any parade of triumph, but there were few that saw him there but felt he was in reality the lord of all that part of India. Meanwhile the Shah Zada, continuing his precipitate retreat, had crossed the river Caramnassa into Oude. The nabob of Oude, who had prepared to join him if he had been successful, now, with true Indian faith, declared himself the enemy of the fugitive prince, who, deserted by the troops and abandoned by his followers, knew not whom to trust or whither to fly. Considering that Clive had more power and more generosity than any one else to whom he could address himself, he wrote a humble and imploring letter to him, and forwarded it by an officer who enjoyed his confidence. "I find," says Clive, in a note written at the moment, "that he wants, in his present distress, to throw himself upon the English, from a conviction that there is none else in whom he can trust. I have consulted with Ramnarrain, who is of opinion that the nabob can never be safe, should a person of his high rank be admitted into these provinces; and that his presence would expose the country to continual commotions. I have, therefore, answered him, that my connexions with the nabob were of so solemn a nature as would not allow of my affording him any protection; and on that account advised him to keep out of the way, as I was now upon the point of marching to the Caramnassa." Notwithstanding the decided answer he got, the fugitive prince, in the extremity of his distress, sent several more letters or messages to Clive, who resolutely persisted in his first determination, but, out of compassion, sent his unhappy correspondent a present of 500 gold mohurs, or about 1000*l.* sterling, to enable him to escape to some safer country. In one of his letters to the prince—apparently the last he wrote—Clive said, "I have received repeated orders from the vizier, and even from the emperor, not only to oppose your highness, but even to lay hold of your person. I am sorry to acquaint your highness with these disagreeable things, but I cannot help it. Were I to assist your highness in any respect, it would be attended with the ruin of this country. It is better that one should suffer, however great, than that so many thousands should be rendered unhappy. I have only to recommend your highness to the Almighty's protection. I wish to God it were in my power to assist you, but it is not. I am now on my march to the Caramnassa, and earnestly recommend it to you to withdraw before I arrive." The Shah Zada took this last hint, continued his flight, and was reported to be going to take refuge in the Gazipore country. Clive then directed his arms against some Rajpoot and hill chiefs of Bahar, who had invited and assisted the Shah Zada, and, having reduced them to submission, rather by policy than by fighting, having tranquillized the

whole country, by processes which seemed as rapid as magic, and having left a small force in Patna to aid Ramnarrain, he returned quietly to Moorshedabad, and thence to Calcutta.*

Great were the services he had rendered to his ally, Meer Jaffier, and, if not to that poor phantom the Great Mogul, to the grand vizier, who reigned in his name, and whose firmans were considered by the natives as the voice and will of the descendant of Aurengzebe. The vizier, as one mark of favour, informed Clive that the English might establish a factory at Delhi, the royal city; and he assured "The Daring in War" that the Mogul would show him the greatest favour, and that his honours should be increased. Meer Jaffier, who owed everything to him, gave more substantial and personal proofs of his gratitude, conferring on Clive for life, as a Jaghire, or estate, the quit-rent which the company was bound to pay to the nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta—which quit-rent was reputed to be worth thirty lacs of rupees, or about 30,000*l.* sterling, per annum. Mr. Warren Hastings had the satisfaction of drawing up, at the nabob's request, the form of the letter to be written to the council at Calcutta, to acquaint them with this splendid donation to his patron. When it was suggested to Meer Jaffier that the gift was enormous, he replied that his obligations were commensurate—that the services he had received from Clive were incalculable—and that his conduct after the battle of Plassey and on his first entrance into Moorshedabad merited the highest reward; for, when all the inhabitants expected to be laid under contribution by his victorious army, he had secured their property and their persons, taking nothing from them, and permitting nothing to be taken by his troops or by any one else.† Sir John Malcolm, who has perhaps too perfect a sympathy with the hero of his narrative, and who certainly speaks too frequently with the tone of an advocate or special-pleader, says of the great Jaghire, and Clive's acceptance of it—"Though he appears to have thought that the high titles obtained for him from Delhi should have been accompanied by a Jaghire, there exists no evidence among all the documents I have examined to show that he had any previous intimation of its amount, or that he, in any shape, compromised either his personal honour or his duty to the government he served by accepting this grant. Conscious that he had performed great services to the nabob, he received this reward as a recompense which that prince had a right to bestow, and which was one conformable to the usage of the country, and rendered more appropriate, according to that usage, from the high honour which the Emperor of Delhi had, at the request of Meer Jaffier, conferred upon him. Clive gave a complete proof of his anticipation of the approbation of his superiors in England, and of his wish to give publicity to this transaction, by accepting, as his Jaghire, an assignment of the quit-rent, or government share, of the lands farmed by the company in the vicinity of Calcutta. This arrangement, which placed his income in the hands of the company, though it presented the best possible security, would never have been consented to by a person who had not acted with a perfect consciousness that he was violating no duty and inflicting no injury on the interests either of individuals or the public. These were evidently Clive's sentiments; and the transaction, at the time of its occurrence, appears to have been generally viewed in the same light." A more recent and much less partial writer—one fresh from India, and who may have studied the subject on the spot—says, "This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant."* We shall soon find, however, that the company, a large section of the British parliament, and no inconsiderable portion of the nation, took a very different view of the whole matter; and that "Clive's Jaghire" continued to be made a theme of declamation and a subject of reproach to him till the end of his life, and indeed beyond that period. Nor was the gratitude of Meer Jaffier of a very enduring or steady kind. The nabob was made to feel every day that the power and consideration of the Englishman were far greater than his own; and that he, who had put him on a throne and defended him upon it, could at any time overthrow him, place him in a prison, or abandon him to the tender mercies of his enemies.† He looked round for some other support, and for some alliance with strength enough to curb the authority of Clive and impose on his own discontented chiefs, whose animosities, though secret, were sharp, and every day increasing through the rash violence of his son Meeran and his own insincerity and broken agreements. No native prince could furnish a force that would look the little English army in the face. As for the French power, broken by Colonel Forde in the Circars and the Deccan, and fast breaking in the Carnatic by the folly of Lally and the bravery and skill of Major Coote, it was utterly annihilated in Bengal. The old might and fame of the Portuguese was now only a tradition, nor could it be said that the Dutch

* Orme.—Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.—Sir John proves, by documents and incontrovertible facts, that a very considerable portion of Mr. Mill's account of Clive's proceedings, at this critical moment, in Bahar, is seriously incorrect.

† Evidence of Mr. Sykes before the House of Commons.

* Mr. Macauley, in Edinburgh Review.

† Clive's own account is this:—"About the month of November, 1758, a prevailing party at the Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan's durbar [court], headed by Meeran, his son, had prejudiced him to look with an evil and jealous eye on the power and influence of the English in the provinces, and taught him to think and look upon himself as a cipher, bearing the name of Subah only. From subsequent concurring circumstances, it must have been at that period, and from this cause, that we imagine a private negotiation was set on foot between the nabob and the Dutch, that the latter should bring a military force into the provinces to join the former and balance our power and sway. The Dutch, stimulated by envy at our very advantageous situation, and a sense of their own very small importance, readily embraced the overture, and hoped another Plassey affair for themselves."—*MS., entitled "A Narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal," found by Sir John Malcolm among Clive's papers.*

on the Indian continent possessed much more power than the Portuguese. Yet, in his impatience of the English supremacy, and in his total ignorance of the decline of the Dutch government in Europe, Meer Jaffier looked to this people for assistance; and, though they had been slow in acknowledging his authority, and had been guilty of several slights very offensive to his pride, he opened secret communications with the Dutch factory at Chinchura, which had witnessed, with jealousy and dread, the British conquest of Chandernagore in its near neighbourhood.* The places were only two miles distant from each other, and the near sight of the English flag was worse than a nightmare to the Dutch factory, who now wrote the most urgent letters to the governor of Batavia exhorting him to fit out an expedition for the Hooghly, in order to balance the English power in Bengal. There was at the moment no war in Europe between Holland and England; but the governors and factors of the various European nations in India seem to have been wont, whenever it suited their purposes, to adopt and act upon the principle of the old buccaneers in America—that European treaties did not extend to the regions in which they were living, and that there was no peace beyond the equinoctial line. The authorities of Batavia were as eager to send an expedition as was the factory at Chinchura to request it, and in a short time accounts were received at Calcutta that the Dutch were preparing a strong armament. It appears to have been known from the first that the destination was Bengal; but there was some doubt as to which of the Indian potentates had invited it or engaged to co-operate with it. Warren Hastings, though so quick and sagacious, was deceived for a time by the tales told him at Moorshedabad; and he (on the 29th of July, 1759) wrote to Clive that the Nabob Meer Jaffier was led to suspect that the Dutch were in league with the powerful sovereign of Oude. Even Clive himself was deceived for some time, not because he was so credulous as to place any confidence in Meer Jaffier's faith, but because he counted upon his weakness and womanly timidity. The nabob played his part well. When Clive sent notice to him of the Batavia armament he pretended to be greatly alarmed, and expressed his hope that the English, in virtue of the treaty subsisting, would join their forces to his to oppose and prevent the invasion of his dominions. He also sent Clive the copy of a strong letter he had addressed to the Dutch factory. Early in the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in the Hooghly with European troops on board. Clive reported this arrival to Meer Jaffier, who, after betraying some confusion, sent a second letter to the Dutch factory, and ordered his troops at the town of Hooghly to join the English and prevent any Dutch ships or troops from ascending the river. The Dutch solemnly protested that the ship which had arrived in the lower part of the river had been driven in by stress of weather, and that she and the troops on board would depart in peace as soon as they had obtained water and provisions. The vessel, however, continued to lie where she was, and attempts were made to send soldiers up to Chinchura by concealing them in the bottom of native boats; but Clive issued his mandate that every Dutch or native boat should be stopped and searched. The gentlemen at Chinchura remonstrated and protested against these proceedings on the part of a friendly power; but Clive continued to stop their soldiers and to send them back to their ship, telling the gentlemen of the factory that he was in Bengal in a double capacity; that as an English officer while England was engaged in a war with France he was justified by the laws of nations in searching all vessels whatever, not knowing but that they might introduce French troops into the country; and that, as an auxiliary to the Great Mogul, he was under the necessity, by solemn treaty, to oppose the introduction of any European or foreign troops whatsoever into Bengal. The Dutch, perhaps proud of their great writers on that subject, cited the laws of nations on their own side, and kept pressing their warlike preparations all the time; and the mind that can condemn Clive's conduct in this particular, and call it an attacking "without provocation the ships and troops of a nation in friendship with this country," must previously have lost its perception in the muddiest mazes of metaphysics. If Clive had seen with such organs all would have been lost. Early in October Meer Jaffier arrived in person at Calcutta, as if merely intending to honour Clive with a visit. A day or two after advices came from below of the arrival of six more Dutch ships of a large size, and crammed with troops, partly Europeans and partly Malays, from Batavia and other Dutch settlements in the islands. "Now," says Clive, or a pen that wrote for him, "the Dutch mask fell off, and the nabob (conscious of his having given his assent to their coming, and at the same time of our attachment and his own unfaithful dealings with us) was greatly confused and disconcerted. He, however, seemed to make light of it; told the governor (Clive) he was going to reside three or four days at his fort of Hooghly, where he would chastise the insolence of the Dutch, and drive them soon out of the river again. On the 19th of October he left Calcutta; and, in place of his going to his fort at Hooghly, he took up his residence at Cojah Wazeed's garden, about half-way between that and Chinchura;* a plain indication that he had no

* The nabob had entered into these intrigues with the Dutch before the invasion of the Shah Zada; and after Clive's conduct at that crisis he would willingly have broken them off. But when he saw the Dutch arrive in the Hooghly in such great force he fancied that they must triumph over the English, and that in assisting them he should be pursuing the wise policy of siding with the strongest.

* This Cojah, or Khodja, Wazeed, who was distinguished by the title of "The Glory of Merchants," was a person of great wealth and importance—a sort of second Omichund, who had lived a life of intrigue, serving and betraying all parties in turns. He had been an agent for the French, an agent for the English, but was latterly become an agent for the Dutch, and the secret medium by which they communicated with the nabob, and the nabob with them. For some time before this visit to him at his garden on the Hooghly, Meer Jaffier had

apprehensions from the Dutch, whom he received there in the most gracious manner he could, more like friends and allies than as enemies to him and his country."* In three or four days Clive received a letter from the nabob, informing him that he had thought proper to grant some indulgence to the Dutch in their trade, and that the Dutch on their part had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit. But this reference to the seasons was unfortunate, inasmuch as, at the time of his writing, the season permitted their departure with the greatest safety. Clive, from the tenor of the letter and the whole course of the nabob's conduct, felt assured that the Dutch had no intention to quit the river, and that Meer Jaffier had given his permission to them to bring up their troops if they could. This Clive was determined they should not do; and the council at Calcutta heartily agreed with him. The nabob had not ventured to withdraw the orders he had given to the English to oppose the Dutch. A very few days later, intelligence was received that the Dutch armament was actually moving up the river towards Calcutta, and that the Dutch agents were enlisting troops of every denomination at Chinchura, Cossimbuzar, and even as far up the country as Patna, and this plainly with the connivance of Meer Jaffier, and the more open assistance of his son Meeran. Clive saw that the junction of the armament from below and the troops from above with the force already collected within the walls of Chinchura would be followed by the declaration of the nabob in favour of the Dutch, and an immediate movement upon the English settlements. His force in Europeans was, at the moment, actually inferior in number to that of the Dutch on board the seven ships alone, without counting those in garrison at Chinchura; for the force from Batavia, now accurately reported, consisted of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays—the latter a far braver race of men than the natives of Bengal. There was no time to be lost—this was no season for indulging in subtleties and nice distinctions, or for turning over the pages of Grotius and Puffendorf—and Clive resolved to proceed at once against the Dutch as if they were open instead of secret enemies. At the critical moment some of the council were startled by the notion of infringing the treaties of peace existing between the United Provinces and Great Britain, and of commencing a war on their own responsibility. But Clive said that "a public man may sometimes be called upon to act with a halter round his neck;" and the Dutch by their conduct seemed to justify hostilities and to give them a merely defensive character on the part of the English, for they continued to enlist native troops more openly than ever, they denied the English the right of search, they insulted several English officers, they attempted to seduce the sepoys in English pay, and, thinking their schemes ripe for action, they vowed vengeance if Clive persisted in obstructing the passage of their troops up the river. Clive's private interests must have been in conflict with his public duty, for he had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe through the Dutch East India Company, who might have kept the money in the banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, both in revenge and in compensation. These considerations might have induced another man to avoid extremities, but they appear to have had no weight whatever with "The Daring in War," who was equally daring in policy. "Notwithstanding all that had passed," says the paper we have already quoted from, "on receipt of the last Dutch remonstrance we found our sentiments a good deal embarrassed, doubting whether we should stand justified to our country and employers in commencing hostilities against an ally of England, supposing they should persist in passing the batteries below with their ships and troops. In this situation we anxiously wished the next hour would bring us news of a declaration of war with Holland; which we had indeed some reason to expect by our last advices from England. Another strong reason which determined us to oppose them, and on which subject we had been guarded against by the Court of Directors, was, that in all likelihood the Dutch would first commence hostilities against us in India. Thus circumstanced, the Dutch themselves removed all our difficulties by beginning hostilities below, attacking with shot and seizing several of our vessels, grain-boats, &c.; tearing down our colours; disembarking our guns, military stores, &c., from our vessels to their own ships, making prisoners of the captains, officers, &c. They also began hostilities on shore in our settlements, where they tore down our colours, and burnt the houses and effects of the company's tenants in those parts."* It was not known whether the Dutch would come up the river and pass the English batteries with their ships and troops on board, or whether they would land the troops below the batteries, and march them thence by land; but Clive made the necessary dispositions against both these plans of operation, as far as comported with the smallness of his disposable force, consisting only of about 320 English, 1200 sepoys, and three of the company's ships, which were all that were then in the river. Just at this juncture Colo-

treated this "Glory of Merchants" with great favour and distinction. But the circumstances did not prevent Clive from seizing the persons of Cojah Wazeed and his son a short time after the nabob's visit when they were going to Moorshedabad. Warren Hastings had some difficulty in cooling the wrath of the nabob; but he ingeniously represented that Cojah Wazeed was the prime instigator of these troubles; that it appeared, from the long consultations held between him and the Dutch the evening before his departure, that he was going up to strengthen their cause at Moorshedabad, where the nabob must know the English had many enemies; that it was no time to stand upon the strictness of ceremony when the enemy were almost at the gates of Calcutta; and, finally, that Clive had only given orders that Cojah Wazeed should be seized on the way, but that no attempt should be made upon him if he was arrived within the district of the city of Moorshedabad.—*Warren Hastings's Letters to Clive, as given by Sir John Malcolm.*

* Account from a MS. entitled A Narrative of the Disputes of the Dutch in Bengal.

* "Amongst the vessels they attacked and seized was the 'Leopard Snow,' Captain Barclay, whom we had despatched with expresses to Admiral Cornish, to hasten his coming to our succour, which we judged would meet him somewhere on the Arracan coast."

nel Forde returned to Calcutta from his career of conquest in the Northern Circars and the Deccan: he had quitted his command on account of ill health and disgust at the conduct of the Directors, who had not confirmed his appointment, and with the intention of returning to England by the first opportunity; but at the invitation of his friend and patron Clive, who entertained the highest opinion of his bravery and abilities, he readily agreed to take the command of part of the forces. On the 19th of November Forde moved from Calcutta to the northward, took the Dutch settlement at Barnagore, on the left bank of the Hooghly, crossed the river the next day with his troops, and four pieces of artillery, and marched towards Chandernagore, to strike terror into the factory of Chinchura, and to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops in case they should land. The rest of his troops, and the best and largest proportion, with many volunteers draughted from the militia, and part of an independent company mounted as cavalry, Clive sent down to the forts on the river under the command of Captain Knox. Mr. Holwell, who had survived the black hole and the subsequent barbarity of Suraj-u-Dowlah, took charge of Fort William with the militia, consisting of about 250 English and a few Portuguese. Clive remained at Calcutta, but went and came, dividing his attention and presence between the two divisions of his army under Forde and Knox. It was noticeable that men who had been absolute cowards under governor Drake, and the other imbecilles that presided over the defence of Calcutta at the time of Suraj-u-Dowlah's siege, were now brave, alert, and confident. The three English East Indiamen which had arrived after the Dutch were lying in the lower part of the river, between that squadron and the sea; but, as the Dutch ships now began to ascend the river, these Indiamen were ordered to pass them and station themselves above the English batteries at Charnoc and Tanna, where fire-boats had been prepared to assist in destroying them. The Dutch commodore on seeing the three Indiamen coming up sent to tell Commodore Wilson that if he attempted to pass him he would fire upon him. On the 21st of November the Dutch cast anchor within range of the English cannon on the batteries; on the 23rd they landed on the Chinchura side of the river their army of 1500 men, and then dropped down with their ships to a place called "Melancholy Point"—for them appropriately so named—where the three English ships were lying ready for action. The moment the Dutch troops were landed Clive sent Captain Knox across the river to reinforce Colonel Forde, and ordered Commodore Wilson to demand immediate restitution of our vessels, subjects, and property, and, on their refusal, to fight, sink, burn, and destroy the Dutch squadron. The next day (the 24th) the demand was made and refused. The Dutch had seven ships, four of them being called "capital ships;" the English had only three, and they appear to have derived no assistance whatever either from the land batteries, which were too far off, or from the fire-boats. Nevertheless Commodore Wilson, who began the attack, ended it in two hours with the total defeat of the enemy: the Dutch commodore, who had thirty men killed and many wounded, struck, and the rest followed the example, all except his second, who cut and ran down the river as far as Culpee, thirty-three miles in a straight line below Calcutta, when she was stopped short, intercepted, and taken by the 'Orford' and 'Royal George,' which had just arrived from England, and were ascending the Hooghly as the tide and weather permitted. The 'Duke of Dorset,' commanded by Captain Forrester, and which had more immediately engaged the Dutch commodore, suffered rather severely; but the loss sustained in the other two English ships was trifling. Apparently alarmed and stupified by the loss of their squadron, the Dutch and their Malays halted and wavered on their march to Chinchura, and on the 25th, the day after the fight on the river, they blundered upon a wretched position, from which retreat was difficult and a further advance impracticable. Forde with the quick eye of a soldier saw their blunder—saw that he had them upon the hip; but there came over him a doubt and a misgiving; and, hesitating to attack the troops of a European nation not in a state of declared war, he sent a hasty messenger across the river with a note to Clive, saying, "that if he had the order of council he could attack the Dutch, with a fair prospect of destroying them." Clive, who was playing a quiet game at cards when the note reached him, took out his pencil, and, without quitting the table, wrote on the back of it—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council tomorrow."* Accordingly Forde fought the Dutch; and the engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. It took place in the valley of Bedarra, about four miles from Chinchura, part of the garrison of which place had contrived to join the Dutch, who were badly commanded by one Roussel, a French soldier of fortune, and who were put to a total rout in less than half an hour. The fugitives left on the field 120 Europeans and 200 Malays in killed; about 150, including M. Roussel and 14 other officers, were wounded; and about 350 Dutch and 200 Malays were taken prisoners. The total loss of the English was inconsiderable. From the field of his easy victory Forde marched to Chinchura, and, sitting down before that place, which he could have taken by a *coup de main*, he wrote to Calcutta for further orders. But the Dutch factory, in abject submission, implored for a cessation of hostilities. Deputies were appointed on both sides; the Dutch disavowed the proceedings of their squadron, humbly acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages; and upon these conditions an amicable settlement was arranged, and their captured ships were all restored to them. Three days after the battle of Bedarra the nabob's son Meeran, whom Clive seldom mentioned without the affix of "scoundrel," encamped within two

* Sir John Malcolm, *Life*.

miles of Chinchura with about 6000 or 7000 horse. If the Dutch had proved victorious, he would have joined them in plundering and destroying the English; but, now that the English had obtained a complete triumph, he hoped to be allowed to share with them in the spoils of the Dutch. The terrified factory instantly applied to Governor Clive, entreating him to interpose, and not abandon them to the violence of the Mussulmans. Clive, losing no time, crossed the river to tell the young nabob what he might and what he might not do, and to save the factory from the chances of a black-hole, or some other atrocity. Under his dictation Meeran agreed to a treaty, and then withdrew.*

The few remaining months of Clive's present stay in India were devoted to various arrangements and precautions for securing the tranquillity of the country, and maintaining the always tottering authority of the pusillanimous nabob. When his intended departure was announced it filled Meer Jaffier, Warren Hastings, and every one else interested in the continuance of peace, with doubt and alarm; for by all these men Clive was considered as the only Atlas that could prop up the ponderous and crazy machine. The old nabob was expecting every day that the young nabob would cut his throat in private, or carve his way to the musnud through open war and revolution. Meeran had surrounded himself by all the chiefs that most hated his father or the English, having for his chief counsellor Roydullub, whom Clive described as "an aspiring, ambitious villain." Hastings, Holwell, Sykes, and Amyatt, the resident at Patna, entreated the governor to remain some time longer. "I own," wrote Hastings from Moorshedabad, "I learned with great concern that your resolution is fixed to return to Europe this season;" and he went on to predict many ill consequences likely to arise out of the departure of the only one who could alike keep the natives true to their treaties, and the English steady in the ways of justice, prudence, and moderation. But Clive on the other hand had great objects in view, which made him persist in his design: he wished by his presence and personal representations, and the influence he could now exercise by means of the great fortune and the fame he had acquired, to obtain from the British Parliament and government measures calculated to preserve what he had gained in India, and to extend and consolidate our other acquisitions in that country. He knew that a peace with France was in contemplation, and he earnestly wished to arrive before such peace should be concluded, lest our negotiators, through a want of local and other knowledge, should surrender by treaty advantages and prospects which had been obtained by arms; and besides other weighty reasons he desired to procure for the governors of the three presidencies commissions from his majesty as major-generals, in order that this superiority of rank might put an end to the pretensions and independent powers of the king's officers, which on several occasions had seriously impeded the public service. "If," said he, "my interest prevails, I flatter myself I shall have rendered the company more service by my return to England than by my stay in Bengal. If a peace should be on the tapis, I may be of some use likewise; for convinced I am the directors are not masters sufficiently of the subject, and will probably conclude a peace in Europe which cannot possibly be abided by in the East Indies."* He had previously announced his intention and wishes to the first great Pitt, then one of the principal secretaries of state, and one of the warmest of his admirers, who, improving, as orators do, upon Major Laurence's plain dictum that Clive was born a soldier, had called him in the British House of Commons "a heaven-born general—a man who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the king of Prussia." To excite —what seldom required exciting—the warlike spirit and imagination of the great orator, he laid before him in this letter the immense advantages and the gorgeous empire which might be obtained in the East if the English government would only send out a thousand or two of their best troops; he remitted an exact account of the revenues of Bengal, genuine and to be depended upon, as he had got it faithfully extracted from the books of the nabob's minister; and, as the English people were prematurely complaining of the amount of the national debt, he hinted that that burthen might be got rid of by means of Indian rupees. He described in a concise and forcible manner—for since his first coming as a poor uneducated clerk to Fort St. David he had learned to write as well as fight—the disorganized, distracted state of the whole of India, the mere shadowy existence of the suzerain of all, the Great Mogul, the influence and consideration the English had obtained in the court of Delhi, and the total obscuration of the French in the Deccan. "I have great hopes," said he, "that we shall succeed in extirpating them from the province of Golconda, where they have reigned lords paramount so long, and from whence they have drawn their principal resources. Notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions made in sending out M. Lally last year, I am confident before the end of this they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic." Having prepared his way in this and in other quarters, having called that most able officer Major Calliaud from the Carnatic to Bengal, and having paid a farewell visit to Meer Jaffier at Moorshedabad, Clive sailed from India on the 25th day of February, 1760. He had provided for the future to the extent of his means, information, or foresight, and he left brave and experienced men, trained by himself, behind him; yet, nevertheless, "it appeared as if the soul was departing from the body of the government of Bengal."

Clive's prediction as to the result of the war in

* The Dutch bound themselves never to meditate war, introduce or enlist troops, or raise fortifications in the country; to keep up 125 European soldiers, and no more; to send their ships and remaining troops out of the country forthwith; and to satisfy themselves with their trade and commercial privileges. A breach of any one of these articles was to be punished with total expulsion from Bengal.

* Letter to Mr. Pigot.

the Carnatic was justified by the fact, and by the fall of Pondicherry to English arms, an event which took place within a year after his departure. While the French army was cantoned in the country round about Wandewash, and Lally and Bussy quarrelling more violently than before, Colonel Coote with the last division of his regiment arrived on the coast, and on the 21st of November (1759) proceeded to Conjeveram, where the rest of the English troops were cantoned. As rapid as Clive, Coote fell upon the fort of Wandewash, carried it by storm on the 29th, marched to Carongoly, and took that place also by the 10th of December. Having obtained the services of a considerable body of Mahratta horse, Lally, by some artful movements, surprised and took Conjeveram, but he was disappointed in his expectation of finding there magazines and provisions for his half-famishing people. He next attempted to recover the fortress of Wandewash, where the breaches they had made were still open, and where the English had hardly any artillery. But while he or his engineer officers were formalizing as to the proper construction of the battery of assault, Coote reached the spot and compelled the French to retreat. Lally's pride, however, forbade his retreating far, and he drew up in order of battle near the walls of Wandewash. He had with him 2250 Europeans and 1300 sepoys; but, as for his Mahratta allies, they kept aloof. Coote had only 1900 Europeans, but he had 2100 sepoys, 1250 black cavalry, and 26 field-pieces.* The French were more thoroughly defeated than ever they had been up to this time. Bussy, who gallantly put himself at the head of a regiment to try a bayonet charge, was abandoned by his men and taken prisoner. Lally escaped, protected by a small body of French cavalry. He collected his shattered army at Chitteput, but he could make no stand there, and, without reinforcing the garrison in the place, he retreated still farther to the strong hill fortress of Gingee. Instead of following him, Coote resolved to strike across the country to recover Arcot, where Lally some short time before, and with much theatric pomp, had proclaimed the son of Chunda Sahib Nabob or Subahdar of the Carnatic; and the very day after the battle of Wandewash, which was fought on the 22nd of December, he hurried forward a detachment in that direction. On the 1st of February, 1760, Coote himself arrived at Arcot, and on the 5th he began to cannonade the town from three batteries. On the 6th he commenced making approaches, and by the morning of the 9th the sap was carried to the foot of the glacis, and by the hour of noon on the same day two small breaches were made. Not three men in the garrison had been killed; the breaches were impracticable, and yet a flag of truce was held out, and Arcot was surrendered. Lally soon found it impossible to remain on the strong but barren hill of Gingee, and he retreated, with what remained of his half-naked famishing army, to the vicinity of Pondicherry. Repairing himself to that city, he quarrelled anew with the council and all the authorities there, blaming them for the destitute state of his troops, and calling them embezzlers and peculators; and they, retorting with true Gallic vehemence, accused him of folly, imbecility, treachery, and even cowardice. During these unseemly altercations the French flag was struck down from nearly every place where it yet floated: Timery surrendered, Devi-Cottah was evacuated, Trinomaly surrendered, Permacoil and Alamparva were taken by storm, and the whole country between Alamparva and Pondicherry was laid waste by fire and sword. Carical, the most important place on the coast next to Pondicherry, was soon invested by an armament sent from Madras, and by a detachment which descended from Trichinopoly; the garrison made a miserable defence, and surrendered on the 6th of April, before a relief dispatched by Lally could reach the place. The fall of Valdore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore followed in rapid succession.

By the 1st of May the English, who had been reinforced, encamped within four miles of Pondicherry; and the French, who had received no succour from their impoverished mother country, were in a manner cooped up in that strong town, looking with a faint, declining hope for the arrival of a squadron, or some ship with some help, from the Mauritius, or Bourbon, or some other quarter. But he must be a bold and fortunate seaman that should now escape the vigilance and power of the British naval force; for Admiral Cornish had been three months on the Coromandel coast with six ships of the line, Admiral Stevens, who had succeeded Pococke, had now come forward with four more ships of the line, and was followed in a day or two by another ship of the line bringing three companies of the Royal Artillery. In his extremity Lally turned his eyes towards the country of Mysore, where Hyder Ali, who was afterwards to fill a wider scene, had established his authority by force of arms, and by force of intrigue and treachery. To bring Hyder on the back of Coote, Lally offered him present possession of the fort of Thiagur, which commanded two passes into the Carnatic, and future possession of Tinevelly and Madura—that is, when Lally and Hyder should turn the tide of war and dispossess the English of those two places. A bargain was concluded, Hyder agreeing to send droves of bullocks to feed the French, and troops to fight for the French. A detachment sent by Coote to stop the march of Hyder's people was too weak for the purpose, and sustained a defeat; but, when the Mysoreans obtained a nearer view of the English army, and a correcter notion of the real and deplorable condition of Lally's forces, they thought their bargain a bad one, and, breaking it with the ordinary Indian unscrupulousness, they marched back to their own country, troops, and bullocks. Shortly before their departure six of the English company's ships

* Coote's black horse, however, did no more for him than Lally's Mahrattas did for the French;—they kept out of the reach of shot, and would not even pursue when the enemy were routed.

arrived at Madras, and there landed a reinforcement of 600 men. More and more force continued to pour in, and still not a ship, not a man, not a barrel of beef or biscuit arrived to sustain the French in Pondicherry. In the course of the month of October, the English fleet was raised to seventeen sail of the line, and a picturesque regiment of kilted men from the bleak highlands of Scotland were disembarked to try their mettle and their power of enduring heat in the lowlands of Hindustan. By means which are not explained, and which are difficult to understand, as the French had neither money nor credit, and as Hyder Ali had done little for them in that way, Lally succeeded in obtaining some supplies of provisions. On the night of the 4th of September he made a sortie, in the hope of surprising the English camp; but his troops no longer acted with concert or spirit; one of his divisions lagged behind, and the whole plan failed. Unfortunately the directors in Leadenhall-street had sent out by the last ships their orders that Colonel Coote should return to Bengal, and that Major Monson, the officer next under him, should take the command on the Coromandel coast. Although on the very point of completing his brilliant campaign by the reduction of the French capital in India, and although he and all men felt that the company could not know months before, when their orders were dated, what had happened, and of what honour they were depriving him, Coote, without murmur or complaint, submitted to the instructions of his employers. Nor did his magnanimity stop here—his own regiment, one of the best in India, was to proceed with him to Calcutta; the council of Madras were thrown into consternation; Major Monson declared that if that regiment were removed he could not and would not undertake the siege of Pondicherry—and thereupon Coote most generously consented that his regiment should remain to gain laurels for another.* But the chances of war overset or postponed the execution of the directors' orders: Major Monson was dangerously wounded in an attack upon some of the outward defences of the French, and, being for the time incapable of duty, he joined the council in entreating Colonel Coote, who, luckily, had not yet sailed for Bengal, to resume the command, and Coote remained; and the siege of Pondicherry, after the cessation of the rains at the end of November, was pressed with great vigour. Several batteries played against the town from the 8th to the 30th of December; and on the 12th of January, 1761, the trenches were opened, and the place was reduced to extremity. The stores which had been procured had not been husbanded with proper care, and the provisions remaining on hand would not suffice for more than two days longer; the best part of the army, the gallant regiments of Lorraine and Lally, were reduced to a small number, and these worn out with famine, disease, and fatigue; the rest of the troops were little better than a mutinous rabble. Nothing therefore was left to the fiery, proud man who had arrived in India with the confident hope of extirpating the English and realising the grand schemes of Dupleix, but to seek conditions, and surrender. And, on the 14th of January, a commissioner from Lally and a deputation from the council of Pondicherry entered the English camp, and made an unconditional surrender to Colonel Coote. As soon as the French flag was struck, Mr. Pigot, as governor of Madras, made a formal demand that Pondicherry should be given up to that presidency, as the conquest and property of the company. Coote and a council of war, consisting of the English admirals and the chief officers both of the army and the navy, decided that the place ought to be held for the king. Upon this, Pigot resolutely declared that, unless Pondicherry were given up to the presidency, he would stop all supplies, and furnish none of the money which was so much wanted for the subsistence of the king's troops and the French prisoners. After a reference to the company's charters, and upon other considerations, Coote and the council of officers yielded the point; and, by order of the council of Madras, immediate preparations were made for levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground.* The white flag of the Bourbons still floated over the hill-fort of Thiagur, fifty miles in the interior of the country—the place which Lally had promised to Hyder Ali—and over the other strong hill-fort of Gingee, about thirty-five miles north-west from Pondicherry; but the garrisons, isolated and without any hope of relief, soon surrendered; and by the beginning of April the French had not so much as a single military post in all India. M. Bussy, upon being taken prisoner at the battle of Wandewash, had been instantly liberated upon parole by Coote, who respected his abilities as a soldier and his character as a man: all the English treated him with kindness and consideration; for, unlike Lally, who had made war like a savage, he had invariably treated his English prisoners with humanity and courtesy; and when the hero of Golconda returned to France he was received, at least by the public, with the honour due to a brave and able commander, and with the interest which a military people always attach to hazardous and romantic adventures.† But far different was the fate of the miserable Lally, who was regarded with aversion

* Mill.

* The instructions from the court of France to Lally had been intercepted, in which he was directed to destroy such of the British settlements as fell into his power; in consequence of which the court of directors gave orders to retaliate the same measures upon the French settlements.—*Orme.*

† When our ally and nabob of the Carnatic, Mohammed Ali, heard of the capture of Bussy, he wrote in a rapture of joy to the governor of Madras, saying that that incident alone was an advantage equal to the greatest victory that could have been obtained, and gently suggesting that he should be put into his hands, when the Frenchman would be taken good care of! Mohammed had learned nothing of the best parts of civilization, though he had been so long connected with the English; he was astonished that they did not put their dangerous prisoner to death, and he thought them bereft of their senses when they allowed him to go at large on his parole and received him with feasts and entertainments at Madras before his departure for Europe.

Bussy carried home, or rather remitted from the Deccan and the Circars some time before he went home, a very considerable fortune. Shortly after his return to France he married a niece of the Duc de Choiseul, which raised him in favour and consideration at court.

and contempt by his conquerors, who left Pondicherry amidst the insults and reproaches of his own countrymen, and who, upon his arrival in France, was hooted by the people, and thrown into the Bastille by the government; and lay there till, the Bastille being considered too honourable a place of confinement for such an offender, he was removed to a common gaol. The French government of the day, borne down by a long succession of failures and defeats, were glad to avert the popular indignation from themselves by making Lally their scapegoat; and the accusations brought against that rash and violent man, not merely by his old antagonists of the council of Pondicherry, whom he had so often treated as swindlers and embezzlers, but by every Frenchman that returned beggared and desperate from India—his own glaring abuse of authority, misconduct in the field, and most indisputable failure—and the popular feeling raging against him everywhere—facilitated, and even gave a patriotic colour to, their ungenerous scheme: for, after all, unwise and bad as the conduct of Lally had been, it was difficult to prove him guilty of offences calling for more than deprivation of his military rank, contempt, and oblivion; and the abuse of authority, vexations, and exactions of which he was accused, were not capital crimes by the existing laws of France. Yet the ministry determined to prosecute him unto death, for they felt that a scene and a sacrifice was wanted, and that the enraged people and the French East India Company would not be satisfied with less than the public execution of the man who had lost all India. And thus they charged their victim with high-treason, which deprived him of the aid of counsel—they charged him with base treachery to his country and companions in arms—they charged the man whose innermost and most lasting passion was a hatred of England and of everything English with playing into the hands of the English East India Company and its officers—they charged him, in order to crown his monstrous iniquities, with selling Pondicherry, which he had defended to the last extremity;—and the grand tribunal of the nation, the then base, truckling, and subservient parliament of Paris, allowed the trial to be conducted so as to satisfy ministers and gratify the mob. Lally had never been destitute of personal courage, and, though an old and worn out man, his conduct throughout the protracted trial was firm and proud. He expressed the greatest indignation at most of the charges made against him; he proved some of the facts alleged to be utterly impossible; and it is said he anticipated an acquittal. When sentence of death was read to him in his foul dungeon, he threw up his hands to Heaven and exclaimed, "Is this the reward of forty-five years' service!" and seizing a pair of compasses, with which he had been measuring a map of the Coromandel coast, he struck at his proud, indignant heart; but his arm was held or caught by one of the functionaries in attendance, and the blow did not penetrate deep enough to kill. He then poured forth a torrent of accusations and execrations against his accusers and judges, apparently involving many facts deemed unsuitable for the public ear. With indecent, atrocious haste they executed him that very afternoon. To prevent him from speaking to the spectators they put a large gag into his mouth before removing him from his cell. He was dragged through the streets of Paris in a dung-cart to the Place de Grève, and was there beheaded.*

In the meanwhile Clive had been received with all honour in England. The fortune he had accumulated, even without counting the Jaghire conferred upon him by the nabob, amounted to 300,000*l.*, the Jaghire rendered from 27,000*l.*, to 30,000*l.* a-year, and he had credit for being even far richer than he really was. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Clive of Plassey, and was flattered by the prospect of a speedy elevation to the English peerage, which would give him a seat in the British House of Peers. For the present he took his seat in the House of Commons, where his wealth and his influence filled several other seats, and commanded votes besides his own. All parties courted him; but his admiration for Pitt increased on a personal acquaintance, and he steadily adhered to him till he was driven from office by the accession of George III. and the brief preponderance of Lord Bute. When Bute made overtures to him Clive rejected them; and when this most unpopular minister precipitated his negotiations for a peace with France he avoided consulting Clive as to the Indian clauses and conditions. The conqueror of Bengal was the more incensed at Bute's conduct in this important respect, as he knew that M. Bussy was constantly consulted by the French ministers and negotiators. The subject, however, was too near the heart of Clive to permit the indulgence of offended pride, pique, and resentment, and he transmitted a memorial to Bute, conveying ample information on all that related to our eastern possessions. In this paper he dwelt upon the principles recommended by Dupleix, and acted upon by the French. "Dupleix," said Clive, "engaged in the contentions of the princes of the country, and had at one time, in a great measure, obtained his aim. There remained nothing to complete it but the expulsion of the English out of Hindustan. We were at that time wholly attached to mercantile ideas; but undoubted proofs of M. Dupleix's projects obliged us to draw the sword, and our successes have been so great that we have accomplished for ourselves, and against the French, exactly everything that the French intended to accomplish for themselves and against us." He foresaw what would follow the restitution of Pondicherry and other places; he expressed a wish that the French should be limited as to the number of men they were to maintain on the Coromandel coast; and, above all things, he

* Orme.—Col. Wilkes.—Mill.—Mémoire pour le Comte de Lally.—Voltaire, Fragmens Historiques sur l'Inde, et sur la Mort du Comte de Lally.

recommended, and strenuously urged, that under no circumstances they should ever be allowed re-admission into Bengal except as merchants. Bute graciously thanked him for this memorial; and, impatient as he was for the conclusion of peace, he abided by several of the suggestions the paper contained; and the treaty, though far indeed from satisfying Clive, was less unfavourable to the British interest in India than otherwise it might have been.* Unable to gain Clive, the Bute administration leagued themselves with Mr. Sulivan, and other directors of the East India Company, who entertained a personal animosity against Clive, and aimed at diminishing both his wealth and his reputation. As yet neither these personal enemies nor any one else raised a breath of scandal or reproach about his conduct towards Suraj-u-Dowlah and Omichund, or against his acceptance of the treasure from Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassey; but what Sulivan and his colleagues challenged as objectionable and criminal was Clive's acceptance of the Jaghire, and his insisting on payment of those quit-rents from the company. In the opinion of the best English lawyers of the day, the grant of rent which Clive had received was valid; had been made by exactly the same authority from which the company had received their chief possessions in Bengal; the company had acquiesced in the grant for more than two years, and, in attempting to prove that Meer Jaffier had no right to confer the Jaghire on Clive, they must equally prove that that nabob had no right to confer what he had conferred upon the company. It was in every respect unwise to enter upon a too nice and close examination of any of these Indian rights and titles; yet the hostile directors, in their anxiety to appropriate 30,000*l.* a-year, which they were bound to pay to the nabob before his transfer of the rent, and in their envy and hatred of Clive, who had treated some of them very superciliously, persevered in their attempt, and actually confiscated the Jaghire, or, which was the same thing, they stopped payment of the rents, and put the money into their own coffers. Clive indignantly, and without an hour's delay or hesitation, filed a bill in chancery against the court of directors. The court of directors, guided by the inveterate Sulivan, endeavoured to protract the judgment of chancery by such stratagems or delays as the forms of judicial proceedings might permit; but it is said that, discouraged by the opinions given them by Mr. Yorke, the attorney-general, Sir Fletcher Norton, the solicitor-general, and other eminent lawyers, they had no hope of obtaining a decision in their favour. At the same time Clive had written to his agents at Calcutta to institute a suit at law against the company there, and to transmit a very exact account of all proceedings, that they might be taken up in England. But while "The Daring in War" was thus involving himself in the mazes of law, and the company were battling with the man who had re-established their declining power, and gained provinces equal to kingdoms for them, news arrived that the garrison and all the English residents at Patna had been massacred, that revolutions, undertaken and made by the council at Calcutta, had proved miserable failures, and, in short, that everything in Bengal was falling into confusion and ruin. It was felt immediately, even by the most violent of his enemies, that Clive, and Clive alone, could remedy these evils, and overtures were made to him for his instant return to India. The proprietors of East India stock, who elected the directors, and who were now determined that those directors should not through pique and party commit their property and future hopes of gain, called a meeting, and at a very full general court Clive was unanimously solicited to return. At the same meeting the proprietors proposed to the directors the instant restitution of the Jaghire; but Clive, who was in court, not thinking it right to take advantage of this sudden feeling, and to carry merely by his popularity a case depending at law, rose and requested they would not put this proposal to the vote; adding, however, that from a sense of the impropriety of going to India while so valuable a part of his property remained in dispute he would make certain proposals for a compromise to the court of directors, which would, he trusted, lead to an amicable adjustment of that affair. But there was another great obstacle in the way of his departure and future usefulness; and he declared, in his decided and emphatic manner, that he would never undertake the management of affairs abroad unless Mr. Sulivan were removed at home from his influential post as chairman. He said that it would be in vain for him to exert himself as governor and commander-in-chief if his measures were to be thwarted and condemned at home, by a court of directors under the influence of a chairman whose conduct had evinced his ignorance of East India affairs, and who was also known to be his personal and inveterate enemy—that he cared not who filled the chair provided Mr. Sulivan did not, but that for the sake of his own reputation and the advantage of the company he would do nothing if that gentleman continued to have the lead in Leadenhall-street.* A violent tumult followed his speech, but Sulivan, lately so prepotent, could scarcely obtain a hearing, an overwhelming majority of the proprietors being on Clive's side, from the double conviction that he alone could save Bengal, and that he would do nothing if his will were not complied with. Sulivan wished to try the result of a ballot upon the question; but by the by-laws of the company no ballot could take place except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors; and though upwards of 300 were present, nine could not be found to sign their names to such a requisition. Clive was in consequence nominated governor and commander-in-chief of the British possessions in Bengal, with the express understanding that no other officer of whatever rank should

* For the heads of this treaty, see ante, vol. i. p. 22, 23. Clive joined Pitt and his opposition phalanx in condemning and denouncing the peace with France.

* Clive's MSS. as cited by Sir John Malcolm.

have the power of interfering with his command there. But he still refused to enter on his office till the event of the next annual election of directors should be known. On the 25th of April, 1764, a hot and obstinate contest took place, and ended in the triumph of Clive. Though his friend Lord Bute was no longer minister, Mr. Sulivan succeeded in bringing into the directory just half his number, but his own election as a director was only carried by one vote; and in the subsequent contest for the chair, he was completely defeated. Messrs. Rous and Boulton, two stanch friends of Clive, were nominated chairman and deputy-chairman. After these transactions the court took the subject of the Jaghire into consideration, and soon agreed to the proposals which Clive himself made: —*i. e.* they confirmed his right to the full amount of the Jaghire rents for ten years, if he should live so long, and provided the company should continue during that period in possession of the lands round Calcutta charged with those rents.

Clive then sailed for the third and last time to India. He reached Calcutta on the 3rd of May, 1765, and found everything in confusion and a disorganization more fearful than he had anticipated. Mr. Warren Hastings had been but too correct in his anticipation, that the folly and excesses of the Europeans would prove as mischievous as the intrigues and vices of the native great men. "Alas!" wrote Clive to a friend, "how is the English name sunk! I cannot avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrecoverably lost, I fear." He called the council together and told them that he had come out to effect a thorough reform in their conduct, the source of most of the mischief which had happened; that it was his full resolution to effect a thorough reform, and, for that end, to make use of the whole of the ample authority civil and military which had been entrusted to him. Johnstone, one of the worst or boldest men in the council, made some show of opposition; but Clive knitted his brow and raised his voice, haughtily demanding whether he meant to question the powers of the new government, and Johnstone, cowed, replied that he never had the least intention of doing such a thing: "upon which there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, and not one of the council uttered another syllable."*

But these gentlemen of the council and the weak and incompetent governor, Mr. Vansittart, had, during Clive's five years' absence from India, done deeds fitted to make other men's faces pale and red alternately. At the period when Clive had taken his departure for England it was rumoured that the Shah Zada had collected another army and was again advancing against Patna; but it was conceived that a body of troops sent under that excellent officer Colonel Calliaud would enable Ramnarrain, the Hindu governor of Patna, to repel the invasion if really made. Ghazee-u-Deen, the vizier and master at Delhi, against whom the Shah Zada pretended in the first instance to have taken up arms, murdered the Great Mogul in a fit of desperation, and after this tragical event the Shah Zada took the state and title of emperor, and conferred the office of vizier upon Sujah-Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, who had shown no great devotion to his person or fortunes the year before, when as the rebellious son of the emperor he was flying before the arms of Clive and Ramnarrain. Shah Alum—"King of the World"—was the name which the new emperor chose for himself. With the assistance of the nabob of Oude, he soon collected a numerous army and began his march to the Caramnassa. Crossing that river he advanced to Patna, and defeated Ramnarrain, who came out of the city to meet him with a very inferior force and with only seventy Europeans and one battalion of English sepoys under the command of Lieutenant Cochrane, Colonel Calliaud being at the time engaged in some important operations on the left bank of the river between Patna and Moorshedabad. In this affair Ramnarrain was wounded, and the sepoys were cut to pieces; but most of the English fought their way to the city, the enemy not daring to resist them, but opening to the right and left to let them pass. And, Colonel Calliaud having soon come up with his 300 English and 1000 sepoys, and with a native army commanded by Meeran, Shah Alum was completely routed and compelled once more to retire from before Patna. As, however, Meeran would not pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong body of Mahratta horse joined the other side, the young emperor, instead of retiring towards Benares, took the route of Moorshedabad, being also joined at this time by the erratic M. Law and his small body of French. But being soon pursued Shah Alum set fire to his camp, and fled towards Oude. Encouraged by the junction of the naib or sub-governor of Purneah, who after many intrigues threw off the mask and repaired to the imperial standard with a considerable army, Shah Alum, doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to Patna, which had been left almost without troops. Mr. Fullerton, an English surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were repulsed by the gentlemen of the English factory in Patna; part of the wall was demolished and the rampart was scaled by the French; the French were again beaten back; but a renewed assault in greater force was expected, and hope was abandoning the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox, who had marched from Moorshedabad, in the hottest season of the Bengal year, with extraordinary rapidity, appeared in the neighbourhood, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works. A few days after Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoys, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna, and completely defeated the naib of Purneah with his army of 12,000 men. The unlucky naib retreated with all speed towards the north, but he was soon followed by

* Clive's letter to Major Carnac, dated 6th May.

Colonel Calliaud's fresh troops and Meeran's cavalry, who crossed the Ganges, and moved on the more rapidly from the belief that he was carrying all the treasure of Purneah with him. Being overtaken the naib put the treasure and the richer part of the baggage upon camels and elephants, skirmished for a short time to give those useful animals a start, and then ran after them, leaving his artillery and his heavy baggage to the pursuers. On the 2nd of July, the fourth day of the pursuit, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and at night the tent of Meeran was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendants on the spot. After this evil omen Meeran's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna, where he arrived on the 29th of July. He quartered the Europeans and the sepoys in English pay in and round about that important town; but Meeran's people made the best of their way to Moorshedabad, where they surrounded the palace and threatened the life of Meer Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of their arrears. Nearly at the same time other bodies of men took up arms against the old nabob, whose coffers were empty, and whose former friends were nearly all alienated from him, partly on account of his poverty and partly because he had made several treacherous attempts against them; and the weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Mahrattas, who destroyed even more than they plundered. On the other hand Mr. Vansittart, the new governor at Calcutta, found the treasury empty, and the English troops and sepoys almost mutinous through want of pay; and he was induced to acquiesce in all the notions and schemes of Mr. Holwell, who had come to the conclusion that Meer Jaffier, by his treachery, cruelty, weakness, and extravagance, was the cause of all these evils, and that the English, who had made him nabob, ought, not less for the good of the natives than for their own benefit, to unmake him without loss of time. And in effect on the 27th of September (1760), before Mr. Vansittart had been two months at Calcutta, a treaty was concluded with Meer Cossim Ali, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier and general of his army,* engaging that he should be invested with full power as nabob or ruler of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon condition of his making over to the company the fruitful provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. Governor Vansittart, though a mild, formal man, and one that paid homage to rules and conventionalities, went in person to Moorshedabad with the modest intention of persuading Meer Jaffier that he was unfit and unworthy to be nabob, and that he ought at once to resign his power into the hands of his more competent son-in-law. The old nabob stared with astonishment and chafed with wrath; but the quiet, peace-loving governor had brought 180 English soldiers, 600 sepoys, and four pieces of cannon to second his persuasions, his own army had declared for Meer Cossim, many of his own chiefs were seeking his life, and there was no help for him. Mr. Hastings had received orders to arrange the new government with the ministers and functionaries at Moorshedabad, and Colonel Calliaud was commanded by Vansittart to surround the palace with troops. Hereupon the helpless old man sent out the seals to his son-in-law, and offered to resign if the English would only be security for his life. This was agreed to, and a meeting took place between Calliaud and the nabob. "You English," said Meer Jaffier, "placed me on the musnud: you may depose me if you please. You have thought proper to break your engagements—I would not break mine. My son Meeran forewarned me of all this. I desire you will either send me to Sabut Jung (Clive), for he will do me justice, or let me go a pilgrim to Mecca; or, if not, let me go to Calcutta, for I will not stay in this place. You will, I suppose, let me have my women and children; therefore let me have budgerows [boats] immediately."* Accordingly the old man, with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, where alone he could be safe, and Meer Cossim Ali was proclaimed nabob, with a firing of guns and a beating of drums and tomtoms, and other ceremonials that would suit the winding up of a melo-drama in a playhouse. But Messrs. Vansittart and Holwell, and the other gentlemen of the council, who had driven on this revolution, had committed a capital mistake in assuming that the new nabob would suit their purpose better than the old one. Meer Cossim soon let them know that he had a will of his own, and that he had abilities and a kind of courage which for Bengal might be called heroic, but which was accompanied with cruelty and ferocity. At first, however, his professions of gratitude and dependence, and submission to their wills, were all that the council could wish; and having procured some money he paid the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, and sent six or seven lacs of rupees to Calcutta.

In the month of January, 1761, Major Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Calliaud in the command of the company's troops in Bahar, advanced from Patna against the Emperor Shah Alum, who was once more making head in that province. Meer Cossim placed some of the troops which had belonged to Meeran under the orders of Carnac, who, being also joined by Ramnarrain and his forces, gained an easy and complete victory over the Mogul. In this affair M. Law, who had been so long flitting from place to place, seated himself cross-legged on one of his guns, and in that curious attitude surrendered to Major Carnac and Captain Knox. The French, his companions, tired of the wandering life they had led with him, deserted him when the retreat began and followed the em-

* When the mutinous troops were threatening Meer Jaffier with instant death, his loving son-in-law Meer Cossim Ali advanced some money to pay part of their arrears and keep them quiet, but not until he had obtained from the nabob the command of the army which Meeran had held, and the promise of the succession which Meeran's death left open.

* Letter to Lord Clive from Mr. Lushington, who was linguist or interpreter to the army, and an eye-witness and ear-witness of what passed.

peror, who retired towards Delhi, and shortly after sent the new nabob Meer Cossim Ali his investiture as Subahdar or Nabob of Bengal, &c., Meer Cossim agreeing, in consideration of this acknowledgment, to pay him an annual tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees. At the same time Shah Alum offered the English the dewannee, or receivership, of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, if they would send an army into central India to secure him in possession of Delhi and of a throne that was tottering as it had been for generations. The project was entertained by the council at Calcutta, but they had been obliged to send a great part of the money they had received from the new nabob to Madras, to enable that presidency to prosecute the siege of Pondicherry, not yet brought to a close. Meer Cossim was incessantly called upon for more money; but he had given in presents to the governor and council for his elevation upwards of 200,000*l.*;* in ceding to the company the countries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, he had given away a third part of his revenues; the company's servants of all sorts, by the abuse they made of the dustucks or permits, exempting goods from the payment of duty, stopped another source of revenue; and he was soon as poor as his predecessor. Casting about him for some great prey, his greedy eye fell upon Ramnarrain, the celebrated governor of Patna, whose treasury and life had been aimed at by Meer Jaffier, but preserved and declared sacred by Clive. Mr. Vansittart, being warned of Meer Cossim's designs, at first instructed Major Carnac to afford every protection to Ramnarrain, who had received so many pledges from the English, and who had recently rendered them such valuable services in repelling the attacks of the Mogul. But it appeared to be the fate of Mr. Vansittart never to persevere in any one line of conduct, good or bad, honourable or dishonourable: he listened to the suggestions and promises of Meer Cossim, he took great offence at the free and spirited language of Major Carnac, and he sent Colonel Coote, now returned from the conquest of Pondicherry, to supersede the Major at Patna. But Coote had as high a sense of honour as Carnac, and, upon seeing what was expected from him, he refused either to be an active agent in, or a passive spectator of, the betrayal and ruin of the Hindu governor. Vansittart and the council then recalled Coote, and Ramnarrain was left to the mercy of the new nabob, who pretended that he merely meant to call him to account for the receipts of his government, and get from him arrears which neither he nor his father-in-law had ever been able to obtain. Ramnarrain was thrown into prison, his house was broken open and plundered, his friends and servants were tortured in order to make them confess where lay his hidden treasures—for the money actually found was a mole-hill instead of a mountain. The disappointed tyrant, fearing the indignation of the English, did not put his prisoner to death immediately; but two years later, when he had drawn the sword against those who had made him nabob, he murdered Ramnarrain, together with several other chiefs, both Mussulmans and Hindus.*

The immediate consequence of this base abandonment of Ramnarrain was the cessation of all friendly correspondence between the English and the native nobility, who could no longer repose confidence in the government of Calcutta. Both Hindus and Mussulmans, thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabob than trust to the foreigners, made offers of their money and their services, and Meer Cossim, encouraged by their adhesion and by the general and increasing unpopularity of the company, flattered himself that he might soon be in a position to defy the English authority. He began by complaining and protesting against the abuses made of the dustucks or permits, by which he was deprived of his revenues; and, soon proceeding from words to deeds, he stopped goods protected by the dustucks, and he even stopped and searched boats going up the Ganges, not merely with the dustucks, but also with the company's flag. In nearly every instance he found salt, or betel, or tobacco, or some other of the articles prohibited or reserved to the nabob in the treaty; and in many instances he ascertained that the servants of the company had sold the dustucks to natives—to his own subjects, who had no right to them. Frequent acts of violence accompanied these measures, for the English, and the natives in their service or under their protection, would not easily submit to any search, and it was not in the nature of men like the officers and troops of the nabob to exercise the right of search with gentleness and moderation. To remedy these evils Mr. Vansittart negotiated a new treaty, which, while leaving some advantages to the servants of the company, made a surrender of others. But this inept governor had not the faculty of enforcing obedience on the wilful, rapacious crew at Calcutta and the other English factories, and Meer Cossim had neither the power nor the will to make the treaty be observed on his side. "In truth," says a dispassionate observer, "it soon became a personal quarrel. Meer Cossim, in the orders issued to his officers, distinguished between the trade of his friends and of those who opposed him, treating individuals with indecent reproach."† By a change made by the court of directors in the supreme council at Calcutta Vansittart was left in a minority, and his intentions, even when they happened to be wise and good, were frequently

* The following is a list of the presents acknowledged to have been received:—

	Rupees.	£.
Mr. Vansittart	500,000	58,333
Mr. Sumner	240,000	28,000
Mr. Holwell	270,000	30,937
Mr. M'Guire	180,000	20,625
Mr. Smith	134,000	15 354
Major Yorke	134,000	15,354
General Caillaud	200,000	22,916
Mr. W. M'Guire	75,000	8,750
		£200,000

* Vansittart's Narrative.—Reports of the Committee.—Scott, Hist. of Bengal.—Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.—Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.
† Verelst, View of the English Government in Bengal.

defeated. The vacillation and infirmity of purpose that arose out of these circumstances led the nabob to despise what he and all Bengal had feared. Throwing down the pen, and writing no more letters of complaint, he called the boldest of his officers round him, seized two of the company's boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and made preparations for getting Patna into his own hands, and destroying the English detachment there. Apprised of this latter intention, the majority of the council—it is difficult to apportion the blame—remitted orders to Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to anticipate the nabob's design by seizing upon the citadel, if he should think proper or see reason to believe that the reports concerning the nabob were true. Knowing that Mr. Ellis hated the new nabob, and that he was a violent and inconsiderate man, Governor Vansittart, Mr. Warren Hastings, and Mr. Smyth had voted against giving him such discretionary power. But they were overruled by the majority; and Ellis no sooner got the order than he acted upon it by surprising and taking the citadel of Patna by night on the 24th June, 1763.* On receiving the news of this event Meer Cossim's rage knew no bounds. Exclaiming against the treachery of the English, he murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna, he murdered two Hindu bankers supposed to be attached to the English interests, threw forward a great army to Patna, drove the English from the town to their factory outside of it, and from the factory to their boats. These English troops, who had behaved as disgracefully as the supreme council at Calcutta had behaved unwisely, fled up the Ganges to Chuprah, where they were surrounded, deprived of provisions, and reduced to lay down their arms. They were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found for their companions their countrymen from Cossimbuzar, which factory had been attacked and plundered by the nabob. In the mean time the supreme council at Calcutta had entered into new arrangements with Meer Jaffier, and had determined, as the best mode of checking the career of his son-in-law, to let him loose upon him, and set him again upon the musnud from which they had so recently pulled him down. The old nabob, passive as a nine-pin, confirmed the grants of territory made by Meer Cossim, granted an exemption to the company's servants from all search, and from all duties except upon salt, and engaged to pay to the company thirty lacs of rupees for the expenses of this new war against his son-in-law, and to maintain at his own charge an army of 24,000 men, horse and foot. Having issued his mandates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, as rightful and indisputable nabob, he joined the English, who were now taking the field and advancing upon Moorshedabad. Meer Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were completely routed; but they made head again near Geriah, whither Meer Cossim sent the greater part of his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoys, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by an European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, though he is generally called a German, and is known to have first gone to India as a sergeant in the French army.* On the 24th the English dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabad without opposition; and on the 2nd of August they gave battle in the plain of Geriah. Their force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1500 sepoys, and some squadrons of native cavalry. The number of Meer Cossim's army was as ten to one; it was supported by an immense train of artillery; the sepoys under Sumroo were perfectly well trained, and most of the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered. Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours, and some daring and almost successful movements were made under the eye of Sumroo. But at last the nabob's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon and of 150 boats that lay close by in the Ganges laden with provisions. They fled to an intrenched camp which Meer Cossim had formed on the Oodwa. That nabob, after executing some of the chiefs who were in the English interest, and sending his family and treasure to a strong fort, left Monghir in person with the avowed intention of throwing himself into the camp at Oodwa; but when he came near that scene of danger he halted, wavered, and turned back. Yet so strong was the position at Oodwa that *it detained* the English for three whole weeks. At length, however, on the 5th of September, the camp was carried after some hard fighting, and the whole army of the nabob was scattered. Murdering one or two more chiefs, Meer Cossim fled towards Patna, and was followed by such portions of his disheartened troops as still kept together. The English advanced and laid siege to Monghir, which had been carefully fortified, and which was defended by 2000 sepoys disciplined by Sumroo. After nine days of open trenches the garrison, early in October, surrendered. Meer Cossim, who had made Monghir his capital, in preference to Moorshedabad, the old residence of the nabobs or subahdars of Bengal, who had expended large sums

* Previously to this decisive step blood had been shed in the neighbourhood of Patna. Mr. Ellis, perceiving that desertion was becoming unusually prevalent among the English sepoys at Patna, attributed the cause of it, and we presume correctly, to Meer Cossim, whose people occasionally defended the deserters by force of arms. Some of the fugitive sepoys took refuge in the fort of Monghir. Ellis sent a body of troops with orders to search the place. The nabob's officer in command refused to give admission to the party, alleging that Monghir was not only one of the nabob's fortresses, but a royal residence that could not be searched. Ellis, in a fury, ordered the English officer to hold his ground within a mile and a half of the place.—*Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig.*

* Sir John Malcolm says that he was told by a well-informed friend that he was not a German, but a Frenchman or Swiss, of the name of *Sombre*, which, perhaps, had been his *nom de guerre* when in the French service.

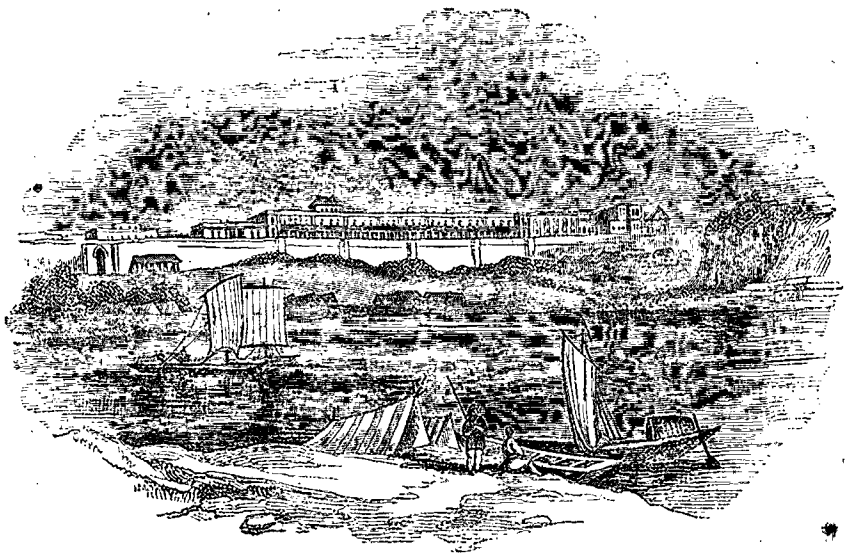
in fortifying it, and who had entertained the hope that it could repulse the English army, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the news of the surrender, and his fury vented itself in ordering the execution of all the English who had been taken at Patna, with Mr. Ellis the chief. The European adventurer Sumroo undertook the execution, and directed the massacre of 150 Englishmen; every soldier and every servant of the company being brutally murdered, with the single exception of Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon. After this bloody deed Meer Cossim abandoned Patna to the care of one of his chiefs, and retreated towards the Caramnassa. The British army took Patna by storm on the 6th of November, and then continued their march to the Caramnassa, which they reached early in December, but too late to catch the flying nabob, who had crossed that river some days before, and had gone with Sumroo to seek the protection of the nabob of Oude. Soujah Dowla, the powerful ruler of Oude, and recently appointed vizier to the young emperor, was at Allahabad, and Shah Alum was with him. He had previously concluded a treaty with the ejected nabob, and, pretending to be earnest for his restoration, he marched his army to Benares, and encamped not many miles from the English. He was still accompanied by the young Mogul, who had some troops under his orders, and, as a considerable portion of the troops trained by Sumroo had followed that adventurer, the entire force collected was imposing.

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp, many of the sepoys deserted to the enemy, and whole companies of Europeans, chiefly French, or Germans, and Swiss who had been formerly in the French service, marched off for Benares with their arms and accoutrements. Major Carnac, who now arrived to take the command, thought it prudent to retreat to Patna, for provisions had grown scarce and the mutinous spirit still continued. The major was soon followed by Soujah Dowla, Meer Cossim, and Shah Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on the 3rd of May, 1764, by an overwhelming force, foremost in which was the devil Sumroo, with the best of the disciplined infantry. But the spirit of disaffection and mutiny had vanished at the sight of the enemy; the sepoys in English pay rivalled in bravery and steadiness the native English troops; attack after attack was repulsed; and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants, whose loss had been tremendous. Almost immediately after this reverse the nabob of Oude opened a correspondence with Meer Jaffier, the restored nabob, and offered to support him in Bengal and Orissa, if he would only cede to Oude the whole country of Bahar; and nearly at the same time the Emperor Shah Alum sent a private message to Major Carnac, offering to abandon both the nabob of Oude and Meer Cossim for English protection and alliance. These negotiations, however, came to nothing for the present, and the two nabobs and the emperor retreated together from Bahar into Oude. In the month of May, 1764, Major Hector Monro reached Patna with a considerable reinforcement of British troops, and assumed the command of the whole army. To put a stop to the mutiny of the sepoys, whom he found clamouring for higher pay, Monro blew twenty-four of their ringleaders from the mouths of his cannon. This extreme measure was attended with complete success: there was no more mutiny from that day forward.* As soon as the rainy season drew to its close Monro led his reformed army against the enemy, and on the 22nd of October, having crossed the Sona, he gave them a defeat which entirely broke the power of the nabob of Oude, the only Mogul prince that the English had to fear. One hundred and thirty pieces of artillery were left on the field by Soujah Dowla, who, cursing his allies, fled towards Lucknow. Shah Alum immediately repeated to Major Monro the overtures he had before made to Major Carnac, complaining that Soujah Dowla treated him more like a state prisoner than an emperor. Monro wrote to the presidency at Calcutta for instructions, and he was soon afterwards authorised to treat with Shah Alum, who, in the mean while, with such troops as adhered to him, kept close to the English army. When Monro arrived at the city of Benares Soujah Dowla sent to offer him twenty-five lacs of rupees for the company, twenty-five lacs for his army, and eight lacs for himself, if he would consent to a peace and quit the country of Oude; but the major refused to treat unless the nabob previously delivered to the English Meer Cossim and Sumroo. Soujah Dowla, who had already quarrelled with the ex-nabob and seized the treasure he had with him, urged that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Meer Cossim to abandon all thoughts of sovereignty and flee to a distant country, where he could give no umbrage to the company or to Meer Jaffier. As for the European Sumroo, he was not so scrupulous, proposing to invite him to a feast, and there have him murdered in the presence of any English gentleman Monro might choose to send to witness the punishment. These proposals were not relished in the English camp, and the negotiation with the nabob of Oude was broken off. The treaty with the emperor was then hurried to a close, Shah Alum, as Mogul and lord of the whole, granting to the English the country of Gazzipore, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, and the English agreeing to put Shah Alum in possession of the city of Allahabad and the remainder of the dominions of Soujah Dowla. As a last and perilous expedient, the nabob of Oude, who was thus to be deprived of all his dominions, made application to Ghazee-u-Deen, vizier and murderer of the late

* The twenty-four victims were selected out of a whole battalion of sepoys, who, after threatening the lives of their European officers, were marching off by night to join the enemy. They were tried by a field court-martial composed of their own black officers, who found them guilty of mutiny and desertion.

emperor, Shah Alum's father; and this chief of Mahratta race, being joined by Mulhar-Row-Holkar, descended into Oude with a great army of Mahratta horse. With these allies Sujah Dowla once more tried his fortune against the English, who had taken possession of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and of Allahabad, the strongest fortress of the country. On the 3rd of May, 1765, a battle was fought near Corah, the English being again under the command of Major Carnac (now General Carnac). The Mahrattas were quickly dispersed by the English artillery, and the whole of the confederate army was broken and driven across the river Jumna.

In the mean time Meer Jaffier had again vacated



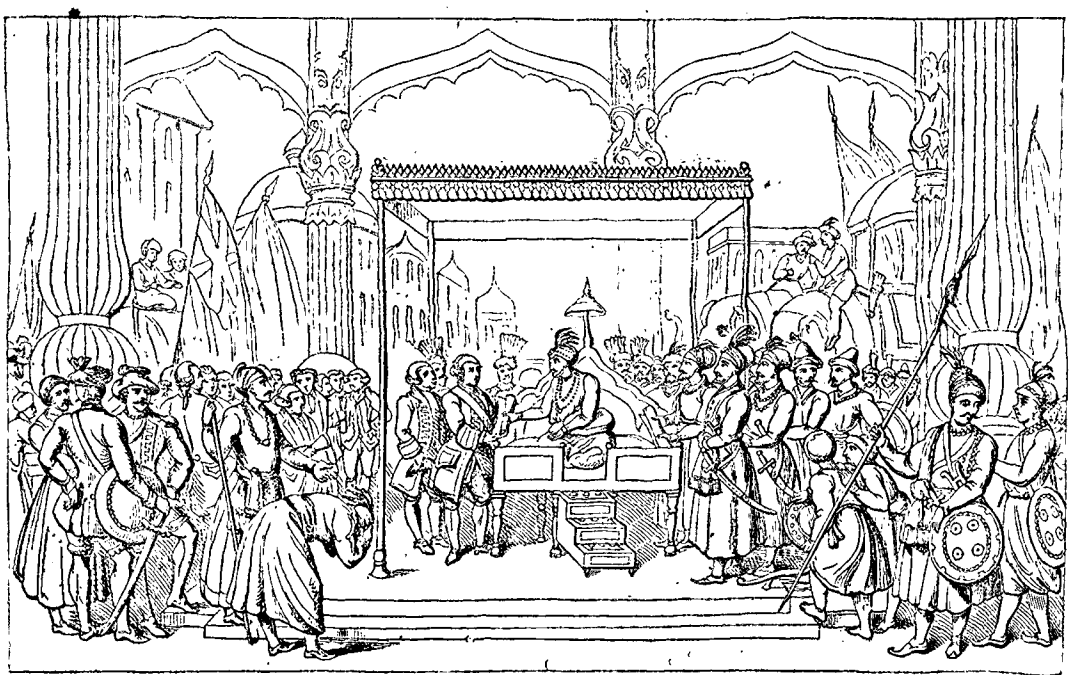
PALACE OF SUJAH DOWLA AT LUCKNOW. From a Drawing in the British Museum.

the musnud, and this time for good, for it was death, and not the supreme council at Calcutta, that had removed him. The council had recalled him from the army to Calcutta in order to obtain money from him. Having no longer any money to give, and being harassed and fretted into a fever by importunities and menaces, he was allowed to repair to Moorshedabad, where he breathed his last in January, 1765, about four months before General Carnac's great victory. Moreover, on the very day of that victory, Clive had arrived at Calcutta with powers to set right all that had been done wrong during his absence. Before mentioning his bold proceedings in council, we may relate the conclusion of the operations in Oude; a conclusion which was not come to without his intervention. A few days after his defeat at Corah, Sujah Dowla, having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy and magnanimity of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac, who received him with much distinction. The nabob assured the general that Meer Cossim had fled into Rohilcund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oude; that he was more capable of defending those territories than Shah Alum, to whom they had been promised by the recent treaty; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans. As soon as he heard of these events, which was almost as soon as he arrived at Calcutta, Clive set off for Allahabad to take the negotiations into his own management, and to conclude a settlement with Sujah Dowla and the emperor, with or without the aid of General Carnac.* His lordship, however, found important business to settle at Moorshedabad, where affairs had fallen into a chaos of confusion; and it was not till the end of July that he reached the English camp at Allahabad, which then contained the persons both of the Mogul of Delhi and the Nabob of Oude. The new treaty was then taken up with earnestness, the old one with the emperor —if we can call old what had been made only a few months before—being torn up as waste paper; and it was agreed that Shah Alum must rest satisfied with the possession of Allahabad and Corah, and that all the rest of Oude should be restored to Sujah Dowla, who was to continue vizier to the emperor, and never on any account to employ or give shelter to Meer Cossim or Sumroo. Sujah Dowla engaged to oppose the Mahrattas and defend the frontiers of Bengal, and the English bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion. Shah Alum, in right of the imperial authority, which would have been a name and a shadow without the presence of the armies of the company, granted to the English the dewannee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and

* Mill.—Sir John Malcolm.

Orissa, in return for which he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad and Corah, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewannee—which, in fact, constituted the company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant—the young emperor confirmed the right of the company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India.

On the death of Meer Jaffier the supreme council at Calcutta, after some deliberation, had conferred the nominal sovereignty of Bengal on his surviving son, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, a spiritless incompetent youth, who agreed that the English should take the military defence of the country into their own hands, and appoint a naib subah, or sub-nabob, who was to manage the revenues and all other matters of government. The council appointed Mohammed Reza Khan, a Mussulman, and an honest honourable man, to this post of naib, but the new nabob was desirous that the place should be filled by Nuncomar, one of the very worst of the Hindu chiefs, who had alternately served and betrayed the English and the late nabob Meer Jaffier; and, as Mohammed Reza Khan was kept in his high office, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah timidly expressed his dissatisfaction. But Clive, on his arrival, came to the conclusion that Nujeem was no more fit to be nabob than Nuncomar was to be naib, and the young man was soon compelled to retire from all business on a pension of thirty-two lacs of rupees. The dictator in India—for such Clive now was—disapproved in the strongest manner of the first revolution effected by the company in deposing Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his own making, and he considered that the violence and rashness of the majority of the council, and the excessive license allowed to the servants of the company, and to the still more insolent and rapacious native agents of those servants, had precipitated the revolution against Meer Cossim, who, in Clive's opinion, having once been elevated to the musnud, and made to pay for that elevation, ought to have been maintained upon it, and kept in the right way by a mixture of conciliatory and restrictive measures. He had no confidence in the steadiness or good faith of any of these native chiefs or princes; but he conceived that it was possible to manage them, and monstrous in the English to be always making and breaking bargains with them, and keeping the country in a continual state of uncertainty, revolution, and change. Before his departure from England he assured the Court of Directors that the English, by this kind of conduct, had lost all the confidence of the natives. "To restore this," he added, "ought to be our principal object; and the best means will, in my opinion, be by establishing a moderation in the advantages which may be reserved for the company, or allotted to individuals in their service. . . . During Mr. Vansittart's government all your servants thought themselves entitled to take large shares in the monopolies of salt, betel, and tobacco (reserved by treaty to the nabob), the three articles, next to grain, of greatest consumption in this empire. The odium of seeing such monopolies in the hands of foreigners need not be insisted on; but this is not the only inconvenience; it is productive of another, equally, if not



Shah Alum presenting the Grant of the Dewannee to Lord Clive. From the Picture painted by *Benjamin West*.

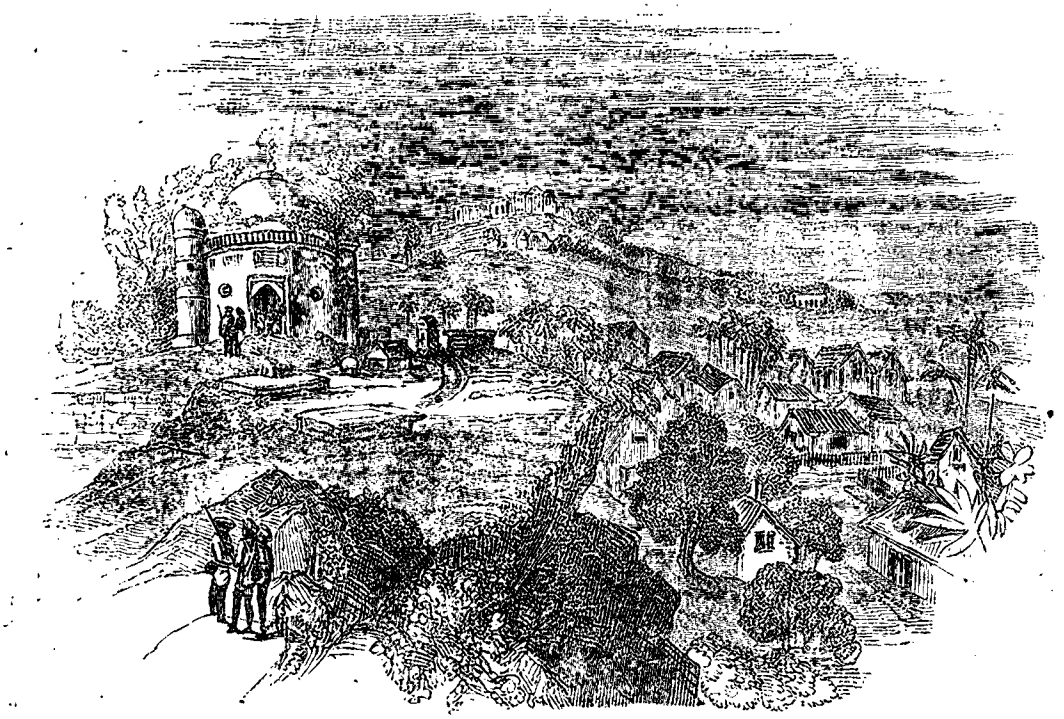
more, prejudicial to the company's interests; it enables many of your servants to obtain, very suddenly, fortunes greater than those which in former times were thought a sufficient reward for a long continuance in your service. Hence these gentlemen, thus suddenly enriched, think of nothing but of returning to enjoy their fortunes in England, and leave your affairs in the hands of young men, whose sanguine expectations are inflamed by the examples of those who have just left them." These servants of the company looked to the India House as a kind of lottery-office, and their impatience was disappointed if they were not enabled to make a fortune in two or three years. With the most exaggerated notions of the resources of Bengal, they seem to have considered all means as fair and justifiable that tended to turn the stream of gold into their own pockets. We believe that there is no exaggeration in the eloquent warmth of the following passage:—"The immense population of his (the nabob's) dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him. The servants of the company obtained—not for their employers, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with perfect impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents, who ranged through the provinces spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the company thicker than the loins of Suraj-u-Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource:—when the evil became insupportable, they rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil genii, rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of the English breed—the hereditary nobility of mankind—whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate."* Clive had come out to put an end to this state of things; but the task he had undertaken was not an easy one. Most of the members of the council had been partakers in the spoils and profits of the system; many of the servants who had been most oppressive and rapacious were strong in their patronage at Leadenhall-street—were brothers, sons, cousins, nephews, or otherwise near connexions of great shareholders and potent directors. Moreover, nearly every European in the country looked to India as an estate in *usu fructu*, which they were to make the most of for themselves, without caring for those that might come after them, and without any regard to the lasting advantages of the company or of the mother-country. It has been well said that this was a battle harder than that of Plassey, the whole settlement being set as one man against Clive and his proposed reforms. At first the more powerful of the ravenous wolves threatened and protested, and quoted Clive's large fortune as a justification of their own. Several, confident in their patronage at home, refused to act with or under him; upon which he declared that, if he could not find support at Calcutta, he would procure it elsewhere; and he actually sent for some civil servants from Madras, and turned the refractory out of their offices. Then recourse was had to the gentler ways of flattery and entreaty, arguments, persuasions, and prayers; but they would have been as hopefully and as profitably employed in bidding the monsoons to forget to blow at their fixed seasons, or in commanding the Ganges to roll back its waters from its many mouths on the ocean to its sources among the eternal snows of the Himalaya mountains. Nothing could turn Clive from his purpose. He put down the private trade and dangerous privileges of the company's servants; and he rigidly prohibited the extorting or receiving presents from the natives. But he also adopted measures which might give the servants of the company a proper maintenance and a fair chance of acquiring fortunes by application and perseverance. Hitherto the pay of these servants was miserably low—so low, indeed, that the salary of a member of the council of Calcutta was only 300*l.* a-year. "Yet it was notorious," says the eloquent writer we have just quoted, "that such a functionary could hardly live in India for less than ten times that sum; and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest of Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, but could do little harm in any other way. But the company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were, in truth, proconsuls, proprætors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service, and by the im-

* Edin. Rev.

plied permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means; and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power, and to expect that they would be content to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be effectual which should not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the company." The directors, he knew, would not sanction any increase of salaries out of their own treasury, and he had to look only to some disposable revenue on the spot. The monopoly of salt, which had been for ages a principal head of Indian revenue, and which was now, by the last arrangements pensioning off the young nabob, in the hands of the company, seemed to him the readiest and best source; and he accordingly appropriated it to the proper pay and support of the servants of all kinds, carefully dividing the proceeds according to a scale. His conduct in this particular was misrepresented at the time, and was afterwards placed foremost in the list of his offences—a list drawn up by implacable men, who, for very obvious reasons, would have passed over without censure or comment several of his deeds that were most open to obloquy. The measure, however, has been defended as wise and just by many recent writers, and by none more earnestly than by the distinguished author of the article in the Edinburgh Review. "The monopoly of salt," says that gentleman, "had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born; it continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue, and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly but surely acquiring a competence."* But, after settling with the civil servants, Clive had to struggle with the bolder men who held the power of the sword, and to encounter—what is always difficult to bear—the ill will and reproaches of old companions in arms. The directors had ordered him to make sundry retrenchments; and Clive himself felt the necessity of doing away with or limiting the practice of giving additional pay, or, as it was called, "double batta"—a practice first introduced after the battle of Plassey by the nabob, Meer Jaffier, who, according to treaty, was to pay the expenses of the war. Clive at that time warned the army that this "double batta" was to be considered as an extraordinary indulgence on the part of the nabob, and not as a regular emolument to be paid by the company every time they took the field. Since then the court of directors had issued the most positive orders that "double batta" should be abolished; but Vansittart and his council had listened to the remonstrances of the army, and had not ventured to carry these orders into execution. On the 1st of January, 1766, Clive and the select committee issued an order that "double batta" to the European officers—the only class that now claimed it—should cease, except at Allahabad, where the troops were considered as being actually in the field; and generally the troops in Bengal were put upon the same footing as the troops on the Coromandel coast, by whom no "batta" was drawn, except when actually marching or serving in the field. The officers remonstrated; Clive quoted to them the positive and peremptory orders of the company; and on the appointed day the reduction took place. Forthwith two hundred English officers, who had expected the blow some time before, engaged in a confederacy, or conspiracy, binding themselves by an oath to secrecy, and to preserve, at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any comrade that might be condemned by a court-martial. Thinking that they should thereby evade the charge of mutiny, they refused their usual pay. Each officer confederating bound himself in a bond of 500*l.* to throw up his commission, and never accept it again unless "double batta" were restored. On the day appointed all these officers, who are said to have been supported and encouraged underhand by several of the civilians at Calcutta, resigned, apparently in full confidence that Clive would be frightened out of his resolution, as, at that very moment, the country was threatened with a new invasion by a Mahratta army. But they mistook the force of Clive's character. Stern and unmoved, he wrote to the council:—"Such a spirit must, at all hazards, be suppressed at the birth;" and he desired them to write to Madras, in order that every officer and cadet that could be spared from that presidency should be held in readiness to embark for Bengal at the shortest notice. Further, he desired them to acquaint the presidency of Fort St. George with the mutiny and with the approach of the Mahrattas; and he concluded by stating that the committee at Calcutta must adopt the absolute determination that no officer now resigning should ever again hold any place or station in the company's service. He had still a few officers near his person on whom he could rely, and, having very good reason to know that a young writer or clerk might soon be turned into a good soldier, he gave commissions to several young men in the mercantile service. When informed by one of his colonels commanding at Monghir that the sum of 16,000*l.* was said to be subscribed for the mutinous officers by gentlemen at Calcutta in the civil service, he requested the council to take immediate steps for discovering and punishing the civilians who were thus encouraging the most dangerous of mutinies; and he sent orders to Monghir to arrest a number of the officers till a

* "Seventy years ago," says this writer, in another part of the same brilliant article, "*much less money was brought home from the East than in our time;* but it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons."

court-martial of field-officers could be summoned. "The ringleaders of this affair," said he, "must suffer the severest punishment that military law can inflict, else there is an end of discipline in the army, and of authority in the East India Company." He was well backed by General Carnac, Colonel Smith, Sir Robert Barker, Mr. Robertson, the field-adjutant, and other superior officers; he knew that the common English soldiers were steady, and that the sepoys would stand by him in any extremity. Having sent forward such trustworthy officers as he had been able to collect at a short notice, he quitted Moorshedabad, where he had been arranging matters of trade and finance, and advanced fearlessly and with a small escort to Monghir, declaring that he must see the soldiers'



MONGHIR—VIEW WITHIN THE FORT. From a Print by Salt.

bayonets levelled at his throat before he could give way an inch. In the mean time the council had resolved that all resignations tendered should be accepted, and the officers tendering them immediately sent down to Calcutta.* The officers who had been sent forward, on their arrival at Monghir, told those who were in the confederacy that Clive was coming, determined not to yield to them, reminded them of their ingratitude towards a person who had recently given up 70,000*l.* to form a fund for their invalids and widows, and made use of other arguments likely to lead them back to a sense of their duty: but their answer was that they had gone too far to retract.† Immediately on his own arrival Clive addressed the soldiers, explaining the crime of their officers, mentioned his own donation to the European part of the army, and ordered double pay to be issued to the sepoys for two months—regretting that he should be obliged to place that confidence in the black troops which he had, before the recent conduct of their officers, reposed in the English. To the sepoys he committed the care of escorting a number of the conspirators to Fort William. In a short time the ringleaders were all arrested, tried, and cashiered; but, as some legal doubts were entertained as to the powers granted by the Mutiny Act for the company's service, not one of them was sentenced to death, though Clive, in the first heat of his passion, had threatened to have them all shot. Repentance and humiliation—expressed in many instances to Clive even with tears—now became general; nearly all who had resigned begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations: the objects of their combination were defeated,—their dangerous league was broken,—and those who were restored were compelled to sign a contract to serve the company on its own terms

* "On applying to the free merchants," says Sir John Malcolm, "to come forward and do duty as officers on the present emergency, two only would accept commissions, which confirmed the suspicion that the greater part of them approved the conduct of the officers, even if they had not entered into a subscription to support the combination."

† A legacy of 70,000*l.* was bequeathed by Meer Jaffier to Clive, who paid it into the company's treasury at Fort William to lie at interest for the support of European officers and soldiers who might be disabled or decayed in the company's service in Bengal, and for the widows of officers and soldiers who might die on service there. The company afterwards extended this provision; and the fund, which still bears the name of Clive, owes its origin to this his princely donation.

for three years, and to give a year's notice of any intention to quit the service. Clive treated the younger offenders with lenity; and, when his indignation was cooled and the danger over, he scorned to take any personal vengeance for personal wrongs and insults. When told that one of the conspirators had planned his assassination, he stopped the charge by saying—"No, the officers are Englishmen, not assassins." He forthwith adopted several wise regulations to restore the strictest discipline and subordination, and to check that luxury and extravagance, that gambling and dissipation, which had been the main cause of the late troubles. In the course of a very few weeks he could announce that everything was as quiet and as well regulated as could be wished.

Clive, satisfied with the large fortune he had previously made, had voluntarily declared on accepting his reforming mission that he renounced all claim to the commercial or other advantages then attached to the post of governor—that he wanted no more money—that he wanted nothing but a thorough reform, which in the end would prove equally beneficial to the oppressors and to the oppressed—to the poor natives, to the servants of the company of all classes, to the company itself, and to the British nation. It is not often—perhaps a similar case never occurred—that a man has so scrupulously adhered to such a resolution under such temptations: the servants of the company would have enabled him to double or treble his fortune if he had consented to connive at their misdoings; the neighbouring princes of India would have paid any price for his assistance; the ruler of Benares offered him diamonds of inestimable value; Sujah Dowlah, the vizier and nabob of Oude, offered him a large sum of money and a casket of jewels; but these and other temptations he firmly resisted, making no merit of his refusals, which did not come to light till after his death. He always affirmed that this his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.*

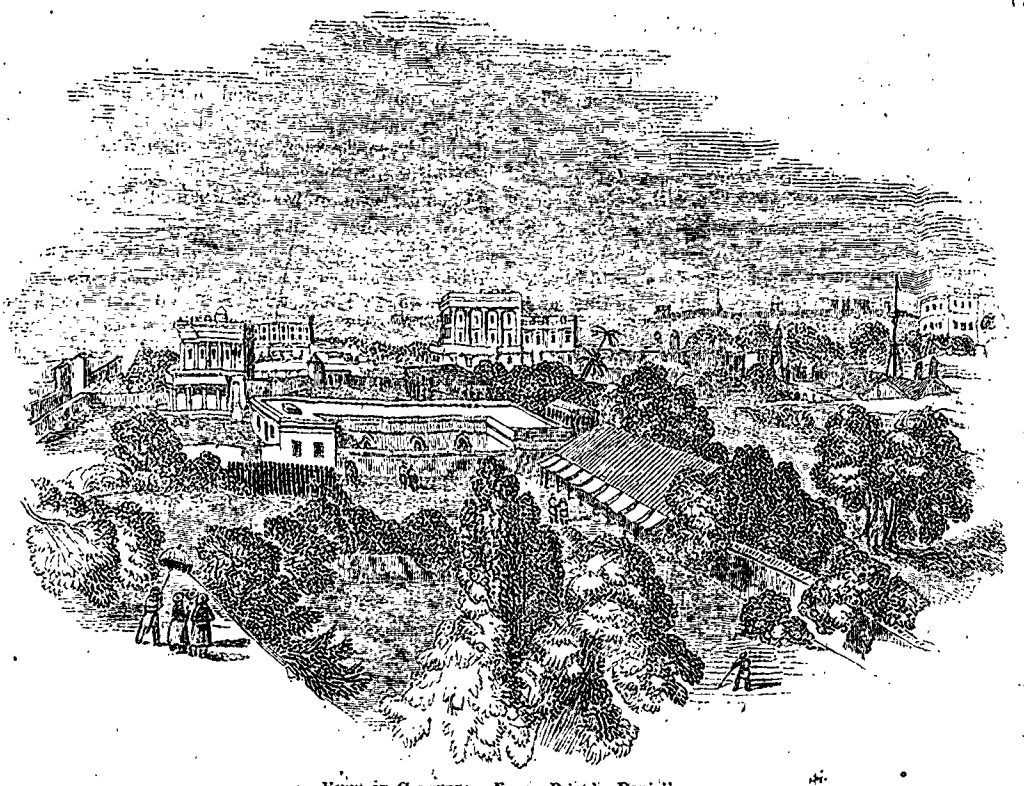
The power of the English in Bengal, hitherto undefined and in constant and inevitable collision with that of the nabob, was fixed, and became, in fact, a real and sole sovereignty, by the bargains he had concluded with Shah Alum and the son and successor of Meer Jaffier. Clive, however, thought that the name of a nabob might still be of some use, particularly in dealings with the other European nations, like the Dutch and Danes, who retained their possessions in Bengal, and the French, who had obtained repossession of theirs, though bound not to fortify them, by the recent treaty of peace. But the phantom he left at Moorshedabad, surrounded by guards and silver maces, was, in fact, a mere pensioner of the company, alike incapable of doing either good or evil in the political affairs of the country. Having, as he considered, done all that he had come to do, Clive was anxious to return home, for his health was again seriously affected. The company, it appears, tempted him to remain a year longer, by offering to make his jaghire perpetual; but he said that he saw no necessity for staying; that he could render the company more essential service at home; and that he was not to be tempted even by the bait of the jaghire. In fact, the nervous malady to which he had been a prey from time to time ever since his youth was now accompanied by the bodily and mental horrors that arise from bile and a diseased liver; and he was occasionally attacked by spasms which thus early endangered his life or his reason. These attacks could not break the iron energy of his will, or put a stop to his labours so long as there were important objects to pursue; but that incessant toil, turmoil, and excitement wore out the weakly body.* On the 16th of January, 1767, he attended for the last time a meeting of the select committee at Calcutta. In his farewell address he told them that he could now leave the country in peace and in a flourishing state; but he strongly advised them not to be over anxious to increase the revenues, especially where increase could only be effected by oppressing the native landholders and tenants. He candidly expressed his great apprehension that their empire in the East might still be exposed to danger by the revival of rapacity, corruption, and insubordination, which he had put down with so much difficulty. He read them a good lesson on the necessity of reflecting well on their orders before they issued them, and of permitting no obstacle to their execution when once issued. He strongly recommended a most delicate regard to the trade, the property, and general well-being of the people of the country. In ending, he said—"I leave the country in peace: I leave the civil and military departments under discipline and subordination: it is incumbent upon you to keep them so."† A few days after—at the end of January, 1767—he took his final farewell of India, embarking for England in the "Britannia." He arrived at London in the month of July, was hailed with acclamations by the court of directors, was received with unusual regard by George III. and Queen Charlotte, to whom he brought letters and presents from the nabob of Oude,‡ and was then carried by his family

* Sir John Malcolm, Life.—Edin. Rev.

* On the 30th of December, 1766, he wrote to a friend in England—"The court of directors have been very strenuous in soliciting me to continue another year in India. They have loaded me with compliments, and given me as much additional power as I could have wished. But the situation of the company's affairs does not require that I should sacrifice another year in this climate; and, even if it did call upon me to make such a sacrifice, it would be vain. The very severe attack of bile that I have been struggling with for many weeks puts it beyond a doubt that I could not survive and be of use to the company in India another year."

† Sir John Malcolm, Political Hist. of India.—On the 23rd of January he wrote an earnest letter to the select committee with other rules or recommendations for their conduct. In this letter he said, "The people of this country have little or no idea of a divided power; they imagine all authority is vested in one man. The governor of Bengal should always be looked upon by them in this light, as far as is consistent with the honour of the committee and council. In every vacant season, therefore, I think it expedient that he take a tour up the country in the quality of a supervisor-general. Frauds and oppressions of every sort, being by this means laid open to his view, will, in a great measure, be prevented, and the natives preserve a just opinion of the importance and dignity of your president, upon whose character and conduct much of the prosperity of the company's affairs in Bengal must depend."

‡ In the chronicle of the Annual Register for the year 1767 the



VIEW OF CALCUTTA. From a Print by Daniell.

and friends to Bath, to seek a cure or an alleviation to some of the worst ills that flesh is heir to—spasms, indigestion, loss of sleep, and hypochondriasis. The next time we shall meet Lord Clive will be as a criminal put upon his defence—as the most unpopular or the most abused man in the three kingdoms.

In the course of the year 1767 the Afghans created some alarm in Bengal by marching upon Delhi; but after devastating several provinces the invaders returned to their mountains. The presidency made a feeble attempt to restore the rajah of Nepaul to his dominions, which had been seized by a neighbouring chief of Ghurka. The country of Nepaul, almost surrounded by mountains, was found too difficult of access by the small force sent against it; and the officer in command of the expedition thought proper to return, after a vain application for reinforcements, which the government at Calcutta could not spare, as they had been obliged to send several large detachments to the Carnatic, where the flames of war were rekindled by Hyder Ali. This great adventurer, who became one of the most formidable of our opponents in India, had, since his expedition to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, as the ally of M. Lally, greatly increased his army, which was originally formed out of the freebooting bands and tribes that abounded in Western India, and that sought no other reward than the right and privilege of plunder. Instead of paying them, Hyder, in a manner, received pay from them—for, in enrolling under his banner, they engaged to give him half of the booty they might make. By degrees he acquired more horses, camels, and elephants, more money, and the command of more men, than his benefactor and nominal master, the rajah of Mysore; and he accordingly made war upon the rajah, whose court and army had the usual number of disaffected chiefs and traitors, defeated him, took him prisoner, and, as a climax to his gratitude, kept possession of all his dominions, and pensioned him off with three lacs of rupees per annum. At the end of the year 1761 Hyder's authority seemed firmly established in Mysore. But his own disposition and the habits of the marauders in his service led him to look to an extension of dominion, or to the plunder of the neighbouring states; and the success which attended his banner, and the high notions entertained of his ability and lucky star, attracted others of the loose tribes that owned no sovereign, and no law or right save that of the sword. His abilities were undoubted—they were altogether surprising, considering the circumstances of his life and his total want of education—and they improved by practice, age, and experience. Still, however, he remained a barbarian, and the plaudits bestowed upon him by many European writers are

following entry occurs:—"July 20th. We hear that Lord Clive has brought over and presented to his majesty a fine sword set with diamonds, and a fine pearl necklace for her majesty; both of very considerable value. He has likewise brought a fine diamond, as a present from the nabob to his majesty, of *immense* value, and many curiosities of that country." We need scarcely mention the malicious inferences which were drawn from these presents.

exaggerated and absurd. That such a man could ever have extended his sway over the greater part of India, or, at least, that he could ever have rendered that sway durable, appears to us a most fantastic dream; and that a character stained by the darkest treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty should have found admirers in historians pedantically moral and severe in their estimates of other actors in these wars and revolutions, must be attributable to a love of paradox and contradiction, or to the predetermined plan of praising all that prevented, and blaming all that promoted, the establishment of the British empire in India—that great result, not unattended with faults and crimes, which no conquest ever yet was, but admirable in its general operation, as conferring more happiness upon many millions of people than they ever had enjoyed, or could ever hope to enjoy, under their native Mohammedan or Hindu rulers.

The rajahs and polygars of Sera, Balapoor, Gooty, Harponelly, Chitteldroog, and other districts, who had set the power of his predecessor on the throne of Mysore at defiance, were presently reduced to submission by Hyder Ali. Then, pretending to take up the cause of a young impostor, a sort of Indian Perkin Warbeck, he marched to the conquest of Bednore, and kept that rich and prosperous country for himself. The booty he made was immense, for Bednore, situated among lofty mountains, had for a long time escaped the visitations of war. This conquest allured him on to others, and furnished him with the means of prosecuting them. Soonda, on the northern frontier of Bednore, was overrun, nor did he cease until he had extended his dominion almost to the banks of the Kistna. But here his career was checked by Madhoo Row, the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who crossed the Kistna with an immense army all of horse, defeated him in many encounters, deprived him of some of his recent acquisitions of territory, and compelled him to pay thirty-two lacs of rupees.* Notwithstanding these serious checks, he soon undertook and achieved the conquest of the province of Malabar, and kept that country quiet by cutting off all the nairs or Hindu chiefs. Soon, however, he was recalled to the city of Seringapatam, which he had made his capital and had already strongly fortified, by intelligence that a league had been formed against him by the English, the Mahrattas, and the ruler of the Deccan. The Deccan was no longer in the hands of Salibut Jung, the old ally of M. Bussy, and then of Colonel Forde. Fresh revolutions had been effected at Golconda and Hyderabad; Salibut Jung had been made a prisoner by his brother, Nizam Ali, who occupied his throne, and respected his life until the arrival of the treaty of Paris, which recognised and acknowledged Salibut as lawful sovereign, and which induced Nizam Ali to order his immediate murder. At first the new Subahdar, or, as he is more generally called by our writers, the Nizam, seemed unfavourable to the English, and he actually had invaded the Carnatic and made war upon Mohammed Ali in the most barbarous and destructive manner: but he had fled before Colonel Campbell and a small British force, and since then he had concluded a treaty with the company, confirming to them the conquests which Colonel Forde had made in the Northern Circars, on condition of their paying a small tribute or quit-rent, and holding in readiness a body of their troops for his service whenever he might want such aid. By this latter engagement, and by their conviction that it was necessary for their own safety to stop the career of Hyder Ali, the English were carried into the confederacy with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and into the war with Mysore. The first of the confederates to take the field was the Peishwa, who covered the high table-lands of Mysore with his Mahratta cavalry. Colonel Smith, after a visit to Hyderabad, followed with a small English corps and the large but disorderly army of the nabob of the Carnatic. He was joined by another large force raised by the Nizam of the Deccan, but before he could arrive near the Mahrattas the Peishwa had listened to a Brahmin, dispatched to him by Hyder Ali, and had consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees, to quit the country and break all his engagements with the Nizam and the English. This defection rendered success doubtful, and Colonel Smith was soon obliged to think of his own safety by the important discovery he made, that the Nizam himself was privately negotiating a treaty with Hyder, the main scope of it being the expulsion of the company from the Carnatic, from the Circars, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast. Colonel Smith instantly separated from the Nizam's army, and hastened to defend the Carnatic by taking possession of the ghauts or passes leading through the mountains into that country. He received some reinforcements from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, but he could not secure all the passes against three numerous armies, and his rear was soon threatened by the rapid Mahratta cavalry. Smith retreated for Changama, a town about sixty miles from Madras, but before he could reach that place he was attacked by the three armies of Hyder Ali, the Peishwa, and the Nizam. His well-disciplined infantry stood their ground and repulsed their countless assailants; but the marauding Mahrattas got at their rice-bags and carried them off, and, to avoid starving, Smith's force were obliged to continue their retreat, and to march day and night until they reached Trinomalee, a town strongly situated on a hill and well supplied with provisions. Plundering, burning, and destroying all the open country, the enemy followed closely upon the steps of Colonel Smith, who, receiving reinforcements of sepoys, did not long remain inactive at Trinomalee, but, issuing into the open country, he endeavoured to save it from the scourges and firebrands. His efforts were not very successful, as he had scarcely any cavalry. Seizing a favourable moment, Hyder Ali detached

* Colonel Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India; and Hist. of War in Mysore.

his son Tippoo, then a youth of seventeen, to beat up the neighbourhood of Madras with 5000 horse. Tippoo's advance was so secret and rapid that he nearly succeeded in seizing the members of the presidency and the chief and richest of the English in their country houses without the town. The fortress of Madras itself, which had repulsed Lally and a French army with battering cannon, had little to fear from Mysorean cavalry; but the town, the black town, the magazines or warehouses, villas, gardens, villages, all things in its vicinity, were ransacked or destroyed, the country was laid as waste and bare as a desert, and an immense loss was sustained by the English and the poor natives, their tenants or dependants. Tippoo retired as fast as he had come, and with considerable booty; but his father and his allies were not left long unmolested, being attacked and routed by Colonel Smith near Trinomalee. The Nizam of the Deccan, who was the first to recommend this pitched battle with the English, was also the first to flee. By this time he had had enough of the war and of his new alliance, and he lost no time in signifying to Colonel Smith that he was exceedingly anxious to be restored to peace and to the friendship of the English. After very little negotiation the Nizam agreed to separate his troops from the Mahrattas and the Mysoreans, leaving the Peishwa and Hyder Ali to shift for themselves. Bolder and more persevering than he, Hyder and

HYDER ALI. From a Hindu Miniature.

the Mahrattas resolved to try the chances of another pitched battle; and in the month of December they took the field and posted themselves near Amboor, a town in the Carnatic, about 108 miles from Madras. Colonel Smith met them there and gave them another defeat, more decisive and complete than the preceding one. Hyder and his ally fled to Caverypatam, on the river Panaur, and the Nizam, who had waited the event of the battle before he entirely forsook the confederacy, drew off all his troops and concluded his separate treaty with the English, for which he was the more impatient from his fear that during his absence from the Deccan another loving brother might do by him as he had done by Salibut Jung. By this new compact, signed on the 23rd of February, (1768,) the company recognised the titles and rights of the Subahdar or Nizam, and agreed to assist him whenever required with two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery properly served, the Nizam agreeing on his side to re-confirm the possession of the Northern Circars to the company, and to reduce the tribute for those territories from nine lacs per annum in perpetuity to seven lacs per annum for the space of six years only; and also to grant the dewannee of Balaghaut, a country in the possession of Hyder, to the English, subject to a payment of seven lacs of rupees per annum to himself, and to the payment of chout* to the Mahrattas.

Encouraged by their successes, by the departure of the Peishwa with most of his troops, and by the despondency of Hyder, the presidency at Madras determined to carry the war into the very heart of his own dominions; and Colonel Smith, who had displayed so much bravery, rapidity, and skill, received orders to march into Mysore. Unfortunately, the civilians took it into their heads that they could direct the campaign from their sofas and easy chairs at Madras, and, instead of leaving the plan and conduct of the war to Colonel Smith, they prescribed rules for him to follow. Smith, apparently in no very good humour, informed them that in the barren territory around Bangalore, to which they ordered him to advance, he could not possibly subsist his army; and that the better mode of proceeding would be to occupy in the first instance the fertile country, not in the interior, but on the frontiers of Mysore. The president and council, obstinate in their new functions, would not give up their own plan, but, to pay some deference to the opinion of the soldier, they resolved to adopt his plan also, and they sent Smith orders to march upon Bangalore, and Colonel Wood, who was to be detached from Smith's force, orders to confine himself to operations on the frontiers. This union of two plans was worse than their first bad one, as it divided an army already of the smallest for such an enterprise; and, to make matters worse still, they sent to the army two members of council as field deputies, who were to act in concert with the presidency, and keep the war entirely under their control. Functionaries like these are sure to ruin what they meddle with. The presence and interference of the two civilians disgusted alike officers and men, and from the moment of their arrival in camp the spirit of the army seemed to evaporate.†

* A tribute, commonly consisting of a fourth part of the revenues.

† Clive, in a letter to Smith, strongly expressed his sense of the absurd conduct of the presidency of Madras, whose mismanagement had spoiled everything. "Whoever may have been to blame," he

To favour its operations the presidency of Bombay sent a force to the western coast to fall upon Hyder's recent conquests in Malabar and Canara. This force, favoured by the Hindu natives, captured Mangalore, Onore, and other places, and drew Hyder down to the western coast. This enabled Colonel Smith to arrive in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and Colonel Wood to overrun the fertile country near the frontiers. But Hyder, having succeeded in the west in expelling the English force from Bombay, returned rapidly to the east to face them there. He made overtures for a peace, but they were rejected by the two field-deputies. At this juncture the presidency, moreover, dissatisfied with Colonel Smith because he treated the deputies or their opinions in war with little respect, and because he had not taken the strong city of Bangalore, recalled that able officer to Madras, and entrusted the entire command—always, however, subject to the benumbing influence of their deputies—to Colonel Wood, who, in a very short time, was compelled to call in all the advanced forces, to abandon every place which had been taken, and to retreat before Hyder Ali. He even allowed himself to be surprised, beaten, and deprived of all his baggage. The presidency then discovered that Wood was not the man to conquer Mysore, and they superseded him by Major Fitzgerald, who arrived just in time to save the flying and confused army from annihilation. Wood was put under arrest, and sent down to Madras. By the end of the year Hyder recovered every inch of territory he had lost; and in the month of January, 1769, carefully avoiding a battle, and marching rapidly by some of the less frequented ghauts or passes, he poured down again into the Carnatic, laid waste the English provinces of Madura and Tinevelly, and penetrated into the district of Pondicherry, where the French flag was again flying, and where there were many Frenchmen indulging in the hope that time and fortune might restore their power in that part of India. As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded as the best friend of the French, and several adroit and experienced men quitted Pondicherry to join the Mysorean chief, and to give him the benefit of their advice. These Frenchmen confirmed him in the opinion he had already formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in rapid light cavalry to cut off their detachments, and plunder, burn, and destroy the country from which they and their nabob, Mohammed Ali, drew their supplies. Pursuing this scheme, Hyder surprised several English posts, took a considerable number of prisoners, whom he sent off to Seringapatam, where they were barbarously treated, and devastated all the country through which he passed. Having scarcely any cavalry, the English could neither come up with him nor intercept him: while they were wearing themselves out by forced marches on their own legs, his people on horses flitted from place to place, being seldom seen, and even seldom heard of, until they had plundered and burnt some town or village. The presidency of Madras, becoming sensible of some of their follies, now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled the two deputies, who had long before arrived at the conviction that their proper place was not the camp or the field, but the council-chamber. They could not, however, improvise regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm Smith's operations were for the most part impeded or frustrated. Smith did all that an able officer could do: he covered and protected several rich districts, he checked the career of many of the flying squadrons; but he could not move with sufficient rapidity to prevent the execution of a plan which Hyder had formed after paying two visits to Pondicherry, and conferring with the French there. The Mysorean, having previously sent off all his plunder and heavy baggage, made a rush upon Madras with 6000 horse, and appeared, sudden and unexpected as a cloud in the Indian summer, upon the heights of St. Thomas, which overlook Madras. Fort St. George had lost none of its strength, but the town and the black town, the warehouses, the country-houses, the villages all round about, were as weak and defenceless now as at the time of Tippoo's visit, and a large amount of property lay at the mercy of Hyder, who might have destroyed or carried off everything before Colonel Smith could possibly arrive. The presidency, being, moreover, dispirited by the course the war had taken, eagerly proposed terms of peace, or listened to terms proposed by Hyder, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward before Smith should draw near Madras. Negotiations were begun and finished in a very few hours. It was agreed that Hyder should restore whatever he had taken in the way of territory from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him; that he should assist the English in their future *defensive* wars, and that they should assist him, not in any offensive war, but in the defence of Mysore if it should be invaded by any of his neighbours. The treaty, concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the Mahrattas, whose alliance with Hyder was as little binding and of as short a duration as Indian alliances usually were. The Peishwa Madhoo Row, whose cavalry was as rapid as Hyder's and far more numerous, swept everything before him, and, burning towns, and cutting off noses and ears, this savage seemed to threaten Mysore with a far more extensive ruin than that which the Mysoreans had recently inflicted on the Carnatic. Hyder called

says, "no impeachment can be laid against you. I need not enter into reflections upon the fundamental errors of the war. For the honour of the nation and the company, I wish they could be for ever buried in oblivion, or at least remembered only by ourselves, to warn us upon any future occasion. The measure of sending field-deputies has justly been condemned by everybody. *Gentlemen in the civil service may be very properly employed out of the presidency in the collection of the revenues; but nothing can be more absurd and pernicious than sending them to a camp, where they can only embarrass or obstruct plans and operations which they do not understand.*"

upon the presidency of Madras for the assistance agreed upon in the late treaty; but the presidency —and apparently with perfect truth—affirmed that Hyder had brought the war upon himself by making preparations to invade the territory of the Peishwa, and by leaguing himself with some disaffected Mahratta chiefs;* he was not, they said, engaged in a purely defensive war, and, therefore, they were not bound to send him aid and succour. As his difficulties increased, Hyder offered money and endeavoured to work upon the fears of the English by representing what turbulent and dangerous neighbours the Mahrattas would prove to them—and near neighbours they must be, if allowed to conquer and occupy Mysore. The war, he said, was now purely defensive on his part. Still the English evaded his demands, not directly refusing compliance with them, but declining to send a single gun or a single sepoy. At this moment there was as mischievous a splitting of authority and opinion in the council at Madras as there had recently been in the camp of Colonel Smith. From the opinion entertained of his address and abilities, Warren Hastings had been appointed second in council at Madras in March, 1769, and he had arrived at Fort St. George in the autumn of that year. He remained at Madras till the beginning of 1772, but his time appears to have been chiefly occupied with the subjects of the nabob of Arcot's debts and the investments of the company. He was not in the country when some of the worst things were done; and his opinion was overruled in many things while he was there. The English ministry had sent out Sir John Lindsay (in 1770) with some frigates "to give countenance and protection to the company's settlements and affairs;" the company themselves had put all their vessels of war in the Indian seas under the command of Sir John, who was further appointed, by commission under the great seal, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, with powers to negotiate and conclude arrangements with the sovereigns of India in general.† With all these appointments and powers, Sir John Lindsay assumed an authority to which the presidency very unwillingly and very imperfectly submitted; quarrels arose, and each party determined to see as black what the other saw as white. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas, forgetting how short a time had elapsed since he broke his treaty with the English and the Nizam, and laughed in the face of Colonel Todd, who was dispatched to remonstrate and to prove the sanctity of such engagements, courted a new alliance with the English, and intimated to Mohammed Ali that the Carnatic should be swept by the Mahratta cavalry from end to end, and from the ghauts to the sea, if he and his friends the English did not agree to an immediate treaty. Sir John Lindsay embraced the opinion of Mohammed Ali that the Mahrattas should be gratified; the president and the council insisted that the English ought to remain neutral, and refuse the alliance proposed by the Peishwa. Violent altercations ensued, but Sir John was unable to enforce his will, and the Mahrattas and Mysoreans were left to fight out their own battles. Hyder and his son Tippoo were defeated in several encounters; once the father owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, and once the son saved himself by putting on the disguise of a beggar. Seringapatam, their capital, was surrounded and besieged, but could scarcely be taken by an army of horse without battering cannon and without the skill to use them. On the loud complaints of the presidency of Madras and the directors in Leadenhall-street, ministers recalled Sir John Lindsay, and sent out Sir Robert Harland, without restricting his powers. Harland, who is described as rather more violent and headstrong, took up the plans, notions, and prejudices of his predecessor. He represented the state of neutrality as disgraceful and highly dangerous; and, as in the month of November, 1771, shortly after his arrival on the coast, the Mahrattas seemed in possession of all Mysore except Seringapatam and some of the strongest forts, and were certainly pressing upon and plundering the frontiers of the Carnatic, Harland hotly urged the presidency to conclude the alliance the Peishwa demanded. But the president and council of Madras, supported by the other presidencies, steadily refused to take part in the war against Hyder, or to form any new treaty with the Peishwa. The king's commissioner could not dispose of the company's land forces. The presidency sent an army towards the frontiers, and the Mahrattas, who had only entered upon the skirts of the Carnatic in small plundering squadrons, withdrew altogether from that neighbourhood. Afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder, distressed by want of provisions in the country which he had ravaged, and now not unfrequently harassed or defeated by the Mysoreans, who had recovered heart, the Peishwa listened to the mediating voice of Mohammed Ali, accepted some money from him, and finally agreed to make peace with Hyder. The treaty was concluded in the month of July, 1772: the Mahrattas obtained a considerable portion of the more northern and inland provinces of Mysore, together with fifteen lacs of rupees in hand, and the promise of fifteen more. For a time Hyder remained humbled and quiet. During the war between him and the Mahrattas the rajah of Tanjore attempted to seize some territory belonging to, or claimed by, Mohammed Ali, who called upon his allies, the English, for assistance and vengeance. The rajah then courted by turns Hyder and the Peishwa. The

* It appears, indeed, that Hyder's first application to the English was to aid and assist him in an offensive war against the Peishwa.

† The appointment of Sir John Lindsay proceeded in part from a conviction in the mind of George III. and his ministers that a mercantile body like the company ought not to be vested with the right of keeping up diplomatic relations with sovereign princes in India, and in part from the representations and intrigues of the Nabob Mohammed Ali himself, who for a considerable time had had a party and a sort of agency in London, where his enormous debts both to the company and to individuals were a subject of almost daily discussion, long before they attracted the notice of parliament. Mohammed Ali was generally called in Europe—from the name of his capital—the Nabob of Arcot. "The debts of the Nabob of Arcot" became a cuckoo-note in England.

nabob of the Carnatic, after inducing the presidency to make some hostile demonstrations near the Tanjore frontier, became apprehensive that the English might conquer that country for themselves, instead of conquering it for him. He offered to give the company a good round sum for the dominion; and after some hesitation his offer was accepted, and an agreement was concluded by which Tanjore was to be annexed to the Carnatic, to which by nature it certainly belonged. An army assembled at Trichinopoly was ready to march on the 12th of September (1771); but it was found, upon inspection, that Mohammed Ali's own son, who had been intrusted with the department of provisions, had betrayed his trust, and that there was not rice in the camp for the consumption of a single day.* By extraordinary exertions supplies were procured, and the army, being put in motion, crossed the Tanjore frontier, gained possession of Vellum, one of the bulwarks of the country, and by the 23rd encamped before the city of Tanjore, on the very ground on which Lally had been so unfortunate. As the place was still very strong and numerously garrisoned, it was necessary to besiege it in a regular manner. On the 27th of October the English engineer officers reported that the breach would be practicable next morning. But on that very day another son of the nabob of the Carnatic—not his second son, who had played false with the rice, but his eldest son, Omdut-ul-Omrah, called by the English the young nabob†—who had accompanied the expedition, signed a peace with the rajah of Tanjore, who engaged to pay an immense sum of money, to surrender the districts which the nabob claimed, and which were assumed to be the original cause of the quarrel, to defray all the expenses of the expedition, to aid the nabob with his troops in all future wars, and to demolish, if required, the fortress of Vellum.† The presidency of Madras were incensed at these proceedings, and they sent orders not to evacuate Vellum or withdraw the batteries from Tanjore until the rajah should have made good one of his promised payments in money and jewels. They foresaw that the rajah would not be punctual; and when the paying time was past it was declared that he had broken the treaty. To prevent the renewal of hostilities the rajah consented to leave the fort of Vellum to the English, and to cede to them two districts in the neighbourhood of Madura. But these confessions of weakness soon tempted another attack; and in the month of March of the next year (1772) another army marched from Trichinopoly to reduce the polygars of the Marawars, who paid the rajah a doubtful allegiance, as they had formerly done to the nabobs of the Carnatic. The invading force consisted of 520 British, infantry and artillery, three battalions of the company's sepoys, six battering cannon, some of the nabob's horse, and two battalions of sepoys in his pay. Omdut-ul-Omrah, the young nabob, accompanied the expedition, having previously been bound by the English not to make any more treaties without their knowledge and consent. By another bargain, however, he was to be allowed the plunder of the towns taken, upon contract, *i. e.* he was to pay a fixed sum to the troops. Ramanadporam, the capital of the greater Marawar, was taken by storm early in April, and in it was captured the polygar, a boy of twelve years, with his mother and his treasury. By the middle of June the troops of the nabob of the Carnatic were put in possession of all the other forts in that country. But the conquest of the lesser Marawar was a work of greater difficulty, and the inhabitants, being dispossessed of their lands and barbarously treated both by the troops of the company and the troops of the nabob, continued their resistance after their polygar had been betrayed and killed. The whole war in the Marawars left a dark stain on the reputation of the English. Before it was finished Mohammed Ali, greedy for more conquests, complained to the president of Madras that the rajah of Tanjore had violated the recent treaty, by delaying payment of money, by applying to the Mahrattas and to Hyder Ali for assistance, and by encouraging the Cooleries to descend from their hills and ravage the frontiers of the Carnatic. He offered ten lacs of pagodas and other advantages, if the English would only assist him in another expedition against Tanjore. The president and council soon concluded that the existence of the rajah of Tanjore was incompatible with their own safety; that it was dangerous to have such a power in the heart of the Carnatic; that the rajah, in case of a war, would be sure to join the French; and, finally, "that the propriety and expediency of embracing the present opportunity of reducing him entirely, before such an event took place, were evident." They then engaged that Mohammed Ali should provide all the money, stores, and provisions necessary for the expedition, and pay the presidency for 10,000 sepoys instead of 7000. The nabob again bargained with the troops for the plunder; and on the 3rd of August, 1773, the army marched from Trichinopoly to the often assailed city of Tanjore, which was taken by assault on the 16th of September, though defended by 20,000 fighting men. The unfortunate rajah and his family were made prisoners, and were allowed to be treated in a barbarous manner by the son and the people of the nabob of the Carnatic, in whom was now vested the long-coveted sovereignty of Tanjore, although the company, by the treaty of 1762, had given the rajah security for his throne.*

In all these transactions the presidency of Madras had proceeded on their own responsibility, without orders from the court of directors in

* Colonel Wilks.—Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

* Letter of Colonel Smith, as cited by Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

† Before putting an end to hostilities in this way, Omdut-ul-Omrah had had a serious quarrel with his English allies. He was informed that, by the usages of war, the plunder of places taken by storm belonged to the captors, and it was the prospect of this very plunder that had allured him to Tanjore. He offered a fixed sum of money to the troops in lieu of it; but it was considered a Jew's bargain; the offer was rejected, and violent altercations took place.

Leadenhall-street, who were not informed of their plans and projects until after their execution. Yet, even when duly informed of all that had taken place in Tanjore, the directors seemed to feel no anxiety about the matter; and it was not until the beginning of the year 1775 that, in the course of electing a new governor of Madras, attention was called to the subject. In the court of directors a small majority carried the nomination of Mr. Rumbold; but it was afterwards voted at a court of proprietors, also by a small majority, that the directors should be recommended to appoint Lord Pigot, who had signed the treaty of 1762, and who disapproved of all that had been done in infraction of it. Pigot, the correspondent and friend of Clive, had held the post of governor down to the year 1763, when he had returned to England with wealth, consideration, and influence, which had raised him first to a baronetcy and then to an Irish peerage. He wished to reform the presidency of Madras, which certainly cried for reformation, as his friend Clive had reformed Bengal. His election was secured, and before he departed for India the court of directors passed sentence of condemnation on the policy which had been pursued by the presidency, and declared their opinion that, on account of oppressions constantly exercised by the nabob of the Carnatic, the Tanjoreans would submit to any power rather than to his. Lord Pigot arrived at Fort St. George on the 11th of December, 1775; and, though obstructed by all kinds of difficulties and intrigues, he proceeded forthwith to undo what the presidency had done, and to arrange the restoration of the rajah. The English garrison that remained in Tanjore was reinforced; the rajah and his family were set at liberty; and in the month of April, Lord Pigot having repaired in person to that city, the rajah was re-proclaimed in his capital. But in this new shuffling of the cards each party accused the other of foul play and of personal and the most interested motives. Fierce quarrels ensued, and some of the revolutionary tricks which they had been playing in the divans of nabobs and rajahs came to be repeated in their own council-chamber. The end of all this was, that the council deposed Lord Pigot, arrested him in his carriage, and placed him in confinement, suspending at the same time every member of the council that had voted with him.* These summary proceedings excited not merely the courts of directors and proprietors, where not a few approved of them, or at least disapproved of the policy and conduct of Pigot, but they also raised a storm in both Houses of Parliament which was heard in long echoes through every part of the country. After various proceedings, difficult to describe with brevity, and difficult to be understood if given even in the fullest detail, the company recalled the members of the council who had displaced and imprisoned Lord Pigot, and restored his lordship to his office, but commanded him at the same time to return to England immediately, and deliver over the government to his successor, Rumbold, his old opponent. But before these orders reached Madras Lord Pigot was in his grave: his imprisonment had preyed upon his health and spirits, and he had died about eight months after his arrest.* Sir Thomas Rumbold, a most money-making man, arrived at Madras in February, 1778, and took the civil government upon himself, Major-General Hector Monro having the chief command of the forces. By this time the Carnatic was again threatened by the arms of Hyder Ali, and of his now close allies, the French: but, before bringing the Mysorean through the ghauts, with his 100,000 men, it will be necessary to narrate some important proceedings in other parts.

Shortly after Clive's return to England the affairs of the company attracted universal attention, and the territorial acquisitions made in India, being exaggerated even beyond their real extent and importance, were forced upon the serious consideration of the ministry of the day, whose chief business for some time past had been the John Wilkes war. In April, 1769, an act was passed confirming to the company the revenues of the countries they had obtained in India for five years to come, upon consideration of their paying the British government 400,000*l.* per annum, and exporting to India certain quantities of British manufactures, &c. At the same time the court of directors resolved to send out to Calcutta three supervisors, to complete the work of reformation, and to put the revenues and finances of Bengal under better management. The three individuals selected were, Mr. Vansittart, who had so miserably misgoverned Bengal before; Mr. Scrafton, whose abilities and local knowledge and acquaintance with the language of the country were of inestimable value; and Colonel Forde, who had conquered the Northern Circars and disposed of the Dutch at Bedarra. Government was applied to for two ships of the line and some frigates, and ministers gratified them with two frigates and a small squadron to check piracy in the Persian Gulf. Messrs. Vansittart and Scrafton and Colonel Forde took their departure in the 'Aurora,' one of the frigates, which is supposed to have foundered at sea with every soul on board, for she never reached Bengal, and was never heard of anywhere else after leaving the Cape of Good Hope.†

* Admiral Pigot declared in the House of Commons that his brother had been offered a bribe, amounting in English money to 600,000*l.*, if he would only defer the reinstatement of the Rajah of Tanjore.

* In April, 1779, Admiral Pigot, the brother of his lordship, moved and carried a series of resolutions in the House of Commons, among which was an address to the throne for the prosecution of four of the members of the Madras council, who had returned to England. The delinquents were tried in the courts of law, but only for a misdemeanor; and the verdict of a special jury was obtained against them. When brought up for judgment their only punishment was a fine of 1000*l.* each, which, to men so wealthy, was scarcely a punishment at all—was not so severe as taking 5*s.* from a poor man for being drunk and disorderly.

† In a letter written to a friend at the time the supervisorship was appointed Clive says, "The severe blow given the old directors last year, by the admission of Sulivan and so many of his party, has been the occasion of all that has happened; and we were obliged to compound with Vansittart for his being supervisor jointly with Scrafton and Forde, to prevent his going out governor to Bengal, or governor-general, which was the thing aimed at. Mr. Vansittart received

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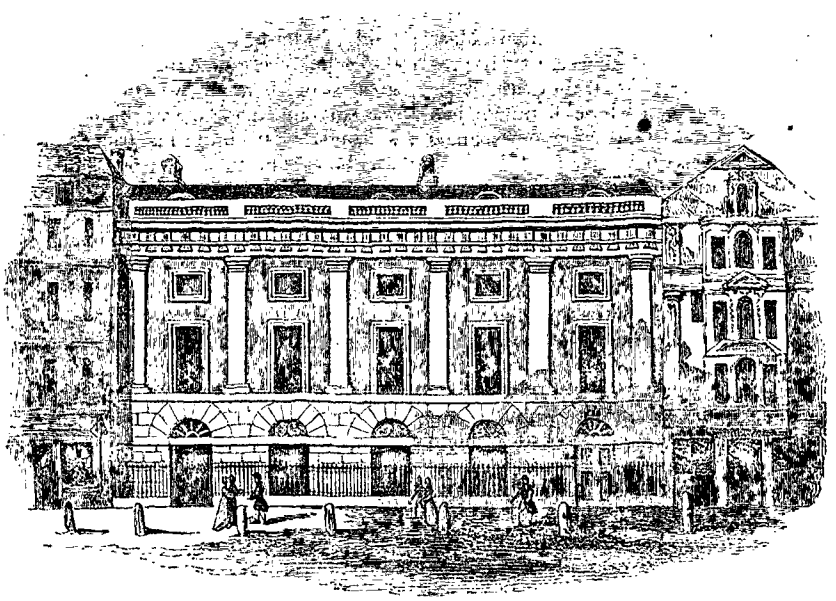
Without supervisors, the government of Bengal was left in the hands of Mr. Cartier; but in less than two years it was notified by the court of directors to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had continued to rise in estimation, that he was nominated to the place of second in council at Calcutta; and that, as soon as Mr. Cartier should retire, it was their wish that he should take upon himself the charge of government till further orders. The transactions in India, which for a long period were regarded with indifference, or with the feeling that it was impossible for people in England to comprehend them, were now daily attracting more and more attention. Orme, the friend of Clive, who had himself taken no inactive or unimportant part in those affairs, had published the first part of his History of the Military Transactions in Hindustan, and had spread the renown of Clive, the real hero of the romantic story, making known at the same time the vastness and importance of that Indian world. Other works of less name had treated the same subject, and many pens and tongues had been engaged in demonstrating that the glory acquired by British arms was now tarnished by abuses and corruption; and that the splendid fabric, like a Fata Morgana, was disappearing faster than it had risen. Moreover, few men not holders of India stock could reconcile themselves to the anomaly presented in Leadenhall-street, nor possibly conceive how a dozen or two of plain citizens called directors, and some hundreds of shareholders called proprietors, could be competent to the management of 15,000,000 of people at the distance of many thousands of miles. Nor was there much faith

all the support which the ministry, the court, and the princess dowager could give, and was very near succeeding in his ambitious designs." It was through the influence and exertions of Clive that those two able men Scrafton and Forde were joined with Vansittart.

A few days later, writing to another friend in India, Clive, who seems to have been pretty equally disgusted with the weak government in Downing-street and the government in Leadenhall-street, says—"Anarchy and confusion seem to have pervaded every part of the British empire. 'In vain can we expect our affairs shall flourish abroad when all is going to ruin at home. The directors are so divided among themselves, and so much taken up in struggling for power at every general election, that they have quite lost sight of the company's interest, which is daily sacrificed to their own views and the views of particular proprietors, to answer their purposes."



Old East India House, Leadenhall-street.

in the disinterestedness or moderation of a body so constituted, nor any confidence that their uncontrolled power could be exercised upon pure principles of right and wrong. People heard the court of directors accused of ignorance and obstinacy, fraud and rapacity, cruelty and gross injustice; and they were disposed to give credit to the worst of these reports.

Indeed, in opening the session of parliament in January 1772, the speech from the throne had, by implication, recommended to attention the subject of India, as being among the dependencies of the empire of which it was said that "some of them, as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, are so peculiarly liable to abuses and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the legislature for their protection may become necessary." And about two months after this speech, and about four months before the first application of the directors to the Bank of England for money, Clive's old antagonist, Mr. Sulivan, then deputy-chairman of the court of directors, moved in his place in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill "for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in

Bengal." Sulivan's principal object in the speech with which he introduced and supported this motion, was to shift all blame from the court of directors, and to throw it wholly and solely upon the servants of the company abroad. He did not spare the great Clive himself; but pointed at him more or less directly as the fountain-head of mischief. There was little danger in pursuing this course, as Sulivan well knew that the conqueror of Bengal was hated at the India House, was now unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided parliament, was considered too proud and unbending to procure the support of the court and ministry, and was rendered by various arts and practices an object of popular odium and detestation. These practices had begun on the same day with his stern reforms at Calcutta, and they had been kept up ever since by many heads, hands, and purses. His old enemies at the India House—the Sulivan party—always powerful, had been reinforced by men still more violent and implacable. "The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors, from whom he had rescued Bengal," says the writer in the Edinburgh Review, "persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock merely that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him; and the temper of the public mind was then such that these arts, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression. The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who had never quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connexion, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the advantages which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquis. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned 'the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth.'"* According to the same able sketch of what the rich men of the East were, or rather what they were considered to be, in their palmy days, the nabobs, whose exploits and services were little understood in England, were universally odious: the humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, and the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it; they were accused of raising the price of everything where they settled, "from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs,"—the latter a commodity in which they dealt largely; they were hated by the class from which they had sprung, and by that into which they attempted to force themselves;† the foibles of comedy, the extravagant absurdities of farce, and the darkest crimes of tragedy, were mixed up in the popular conception of a nabob; and writers, the most unlike in sentiment and style—methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons—joined in decrying the whole class, filling sermons and jest-books, essays, farces, and novels, with denunciations, satire, strictures, lampoons, and every kind of abuse directed against them. Such was the popular estimate of nabobs; and Clive, the greatest of them all, was held to be the worst. It was in vain that he was kind and liberal to his servants, bountiful to his friends, generous on all occasions, affectionate to his family, kind-hearted and hospitable; men persisted in considering him as an incarnate fiend, laying to his charge all the bad acts of all the English in India—acts committed when he was absent, nay, acts which he had manfully put down, and severely punished—and believing every story that could be invented against him. The peasantry in the neighbourhood of Claremont, in Surrey, where he had raised one stately mansion, were perfectly convinced that the devil would one day carry him away bodily, in spite of his strong, thick walls; and that they could hear, in the wind that sighed among the park trees, the

* Art. on Malcolm's Life of Clive.

† It is to be noticed, however, that not a few of these men from the East, called, and treated as, *parvenus*, could boast good stock and lineage. The family of Clive, for example, though fallen upon poverty and evil days, was ancient and of good repute in Shropshire, where they had possessed the estate of Styche (the hero's birthplace), in the parish of Moreton-Say, near Market Drayton, for many generations. It is said that the first establishment of the Clives in those parts dates from the reign of Henry II. The family of Warren Hastings claimed a still more ancient descent. His own grandfather, who is said to have been an antiquary of no mean reputation, pretended to trace back their pedigree to Hastings, the Dane, and to a period long preceding the Norman conquest—the starting point of most of our proudest genealogies. This may have been a mere dream of the old antiquary; but it is said to be certain that the Hastings held the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, in the reign of Edward I. But Clive's father, having a family of six sons and seven daughters, and much less than 500*l.* a-year to support them (the estate not being worth more than that thirty years after, when the value of such property had risen, and when the fortunate soldier had paid off certain mortgages and incumbrances), betook himself to the study of the law, and practised as a country lawyer for many years. As for Hastings, his family estate had been alienated or reduced to wreck and ruin during the great civil war: his grandfather, the antiquary, was a poor country parson, and his father, Pynaston Hastings, who married in his sixteenth year, was, as might be expected, still poorer than his grandfather. The future governor-general of Bengal was indeed cradled in wretchedness, and brought up in squalor and poverty, until an uncle, who had a place in the Custom-house, took charge of him, got him admitted a king's scholar at Westminster-school, and afterwards procured him the appointment of writer for Calcutta.

moans of the Indian princes he had tortured to get at their treasure.

Sulivan and his party, which had now become the stronger in Leadenhall-street, were alarmed and exasperated by reports, not unfounded, that the premier, Lord North, and Lord Rochford, then secretary of state for the colonies, had invited Clive, through his friend Wedderburn, to aid them with his counsel and experience in settling some plan for the better government of India; and it was no secret that Clive on all occasions insisted that the cause of what was wrong lay rather in the court of directors than in their servants abroad; that all attempts at reformation abroad, until a thorough reformation took place at home, could only be temporary, and in the end futile; that if an able, honest, and independent court of directors could not be procured at home, there was no salvation for the company.* Under these feelings the directors had recently put every engine in play to blacken his reputation; and about a fortnight before the opening of the present session of parliament they had, by the company's secretary, informed him that the court of directors had lately received several papers containing charges respecting his management of affairs in Bengal, and that copies of these papers were enclosed. These charges were signed by no one, and they were vague as well as anonymous. Clive proudly replied, that upon the public records of the company, where the whole of his conduct was stated, they might find a sufficient confutation of the papers they had transmitted to him; and that he could not but suppose, that if any part of his conduct had been injurious to the service, contradictory to his engagements, or even mysterious, four years and a half since his return to England would not have elapsed without his being called to account. These charges, however, were known to the public before parliament met, and Sulivan in his speech hinted at them. Clive, who was in the House, rose to speak in his own defence, and he delivered a speech which astonished every one, by its strong sense, high spirit, and even high eloquence. He had seldom spoken before, and on those few occasions in a brief and homely, or negligent, manner; but this time he had prepared himself for the defence of his honour and his property, which were equally aimed at, and he convinced the most practised and most applauded speakers that he might easily have made himself a great orator. The first Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and he declared that it was "one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in that House." "The House," said Clive, "will give me leave to remove evil impressions, and to endeavour to restore myself to its favourable opinion. Nor do I wish to lay my conduct before this House only; I speak likewise to my country in general, upon whom I put myself, not only without reluctance but with alacrity." He rapidly sketched the history of his proceedings during his last mission to Calcutta, which the directors, after all their plaudits, had selected for their hostile charges; he told the House how he had cleansed that Augean stable, and how this conduct had raised him a host of enemies. "It is that conduct," he exclaimed, "which has occasioned the public papers to teem with scurrility and abuse against me ever since my return to England. It is that conduct which has occasioned these charges. But it is that conduct which enables me now, when the day of judgment is come, to look my judges in the face. It is that conduct which enables me to lay my hand upon my heart and most solemnly to declare to this House, to the gallery, and to the whole world at large, that I never, in a single instance, lost sight of what I thought the honour and true interest of my country and the company; that I was never guilty of any acts of violence or oppression, unless the bringing offenders to justice can be deemed so; that, as to extortion, such an idea never entered into my mind; that I did not suffer those under me to commit any acts of violence, oppression, or extortion; that my influence was never employed for the advantage of any man, contrary to the strictest principles of honour and justice; and that, so far from reaping any benefit myself from the expedition, I returned to England many thousand pounds out of pocket." One of the charges in the anonymous papers was, that during that mission he had made money by monopolizing cotton. To this he replied, in evident irritation and pride,—"Trade was not my profession. My line has been military and political. I owe all I have in the world to my having been at the head of an army; and, as to cotton, I know no more about it than the pope of Rome." Another of the charges was, that he had monopolized diamonds. After observing that at that period there were only two ways by which a servant of the company could remit his fortune to England—by bills on the company, or by diamonds—that, in consequence of his exertions, the treasury at Calcutta was so rich, that it would not receive money for such bills, and that therefore he had sent an agent into a distant and independent part of India to invest his money in precious stones; he added—"Those diamonds were not sent home clandestinely. I caused them to be registered; I paid the duties upon them; and these remittances turned out three per cent. worse than bills of exchange upon the company. This is all I know of a monopoly of diamonds." By a surprising boldness, on the part of those who made it, another charge was that he had occasioned the late famine in Bengal by establishing "a monopoly of salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and other commodities." "How," said Clive, "a monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, in the years 1765 and 1766, could occasion a want of rain and scarcity of rice in the year 1770 is past my comprehension. I confess I cannot answer that part of this article; and as to the *other commodities*, as they have not been specified, I cannot say anything to them." He

* Clive's Letters, in Life by Sir John Malcolm.

defended the appropriation of the salt trade to the payment of proper salaries, and his acceptance of Meer Jaffier's legacy, of which he had made a donation for improving the company's military service, and for providing for the unfortunate. From defending his own conduct he proceeded to attack the conduct of others, and to throw back the blame on his accusers. "I attribute," he said, "the present bad situation of affairs to four causes; a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts!" He argued that all the evils were aggravated by the system of annual elections at Leadenhall-street; that one-half of the year was employed by the directors in discharging obligations contracted by their last election, and the second half of the year spent in incurring new obligations for securing their election the next year by clandestine bargains with proprietors and others, and the daily sacrifice of some interest of the company. Hence, he said, the orders sent out to India had been so fluctuating, and in many instances so unintelligible, that the servants in the country, who, to say the truth, had generally understood the interests of the company much better than the directors, had in many instances followed their own opinion rather than their orders.*

One effect of this remarkable speech was that Clive's enemies changed their mode of attack, and, leaving his last administration in India as unassailable, turned their arms against the events and deeds of his earlier life. Sulivan obtained leave to bring in the bill without a division, but, although it was afterwards read a first and second time, and also committed, it was ultimately dropped. Meanwhile, on the 13th of April, three days before the bill was brought in, it was represented by the opposition that the suspicions of the country were excited, and that a full inquiry into the past ought to precede any legislation for the future, and a motion was made and carried for the appointing a select committee to make the necessary inquiry. The members of the select committee, thirty-one in number, were appointed by ballot, and Colonel Burgoyne, who had proposed it, was chosen chairman. Burgoyne, who was distinguishing himself as a debater, and giving that trouble to ministers which is said to have led to their employing him in America a few years after, was exceedingly hostile to Clive, and exceedingly anxious to collect materials for a grand opposition speech. Governor Johnstone, another leading orator in the house, and brother to Johnstone the member of council at Calcutta, whose face Clive had made pale and long, was also a member of the committee, and took a leading part in their proceedings. There were other men in it almost equally hostile to Clive; but his lordship himself was a member, as was also his friend and dependant, Mr. Strachey, who had accompanied him in his last mission to Calcutta. The most violent personal feelings instantly showed themselves; instead of inquiring, in the words of Burgoyne's motion, into the nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies generally, the select committee directed their inquiry almost exclusively to the conduct of Lord Clive, carefully shunning his last administration, and going back fifteen years to the dethronement of Suraj-u-Dowlah. But, notwithstanding an evident disposition to hurry over the business and to receive any evidence against Clive, the committee had made little progress when parliament rose, and, though they had engaged to sit during the summer, they could seldom collect a quorum. The parliament had hardly risen when the pecuniary embarrassments of the company became too great and pressing to be concealed. On the 17th of March, in their anxiety to captivate the shareholders, the court of directors had recommended an augmentation of the dividend from twelve to twelve and a half, and the necessary votes were carried through both courts by overwhelming majorities, and this, too, though many must have known there was not money in the treasury to meet the bills that were falling due. But at the beginning of the month of July their cashier drew Mr. Sulivan's attention to this important fact. A committee of treasury was called forthwith, and, upon an estimate of receipts and payments for the months of July, August, September, and October, it appeared there would be a deficit of 1,293,000*l.* On the 15th of July the directors applied to the Bank of England for a loan of 400,000*l.* for two months, which was granted; and on the 29th of July they asked a further loan of 300,000*l.*, but only got 200,000*l.*, the bank directors being somewhat alarmed. On the 10th of August Mr. Sulivan and the chairman waited upon the minister, and announced the insolvency and ruin of the company as inevitable if they were not allowed to borrow at least a million more from the public. It happened to them as to other men when reduced to the disagreeable condition of borrowers. Those from whom they asked money thought proper to give them advice, and to interfere in their affairs. They were in a manner at the mercy of ministers, and ministers soon determined to remodel their constitution, and make several important changes, notwithstanding the letter of their charters, which had been granted under totally different circumstances—to a body of traders and merchant adventurers, and not to merchant princes, and lords and masters of provinces and kingdoms. For the present, however, Lord North received the chairman and deputy-chairman with dryness and reserve, merely referring them to parliament for the aid and assistance they wanted. By a strange perversion of reason or argument Clive has been accused of being the main cause of the company's difficulties, from his predicting to them that an immense surplus would accrue annually from Bengal,

* The speech, which, with the documents read in the course of it, fills nearly forty columns of the Parliamentary History, is there stated to be given from Clive's own corrected copy.

after his settling affairs and correcting abuses there. This sanguine promise, it is said, rendered the directors careless and extravagant, and induced them to raise their dividends, and to agree to pay the 400,000*l.* per annum into the national exchequer. But Clive's system of economy, regularity, and vigilance had been abandoned as soon as he left India, and circumstances which he could neither foresee nor control had occurred in that country. For example, the presidency of Madras, by engaging in and shamefully mismanaging the new wars in the Carnatic, had acted as a continual drain on the treasury at Calcutta; extensive fortifications and cantonments which Clive considered wholly unnecessary had been undertaken at Calcutta and other places in Bengal, the engineers, contractors, and all engaged in their construction being allowed to make the most extravagant bargains; the most nefarious abuses, which Clive would have stopped with the strong hand in an instant, had crept into the commissariat and all other departments of the public service; and finally the rich plains of Bengal had been depopulated by a terrible famine. To use a familiar illustration, Clive may be compared to a merchant who makes over a fine business to another, showing by his books that it is worth 10,000*l.* a-year, and may be made worth more by industry, intelligence, and economy. And is that merchant to be blamed if the successor in his business, by negligence, stupidity, and extravagance, by making bad debts, by allowing his clerks and servants to plunder him, by building town-houses and country-houses, starves his business, reduces its value, and then, by a fearful visitation of nature —a famine, a cholera, or a plague—finds one-third of his customers swept away, and himself in a state of insolvency?

During the recess Clive had an audience of the king upon being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Salop,* and his majesty talked with him in private upon Indian affairs for nearly half an hour, and with much interest and kindness. His lordship also saw the procrastinating premier:— "But," said he, in a letter written after the interview, "Lord North seemed industriously to avoid entering upon the subject of Indian affairs, and I do verily believe, from sheer indolence of temper, he wishes to leave everything to Providence and the directors."† These little incidents are interesting, as helping to make out the character both of the minister and the sovereign, and as showing, what is every day becoming more apparent, George III.'s confirmed habit of consulting, scheming, and acting by himself, and without the presence or concurrence of his ministers. It was no doubt on the king's own movement, and not through any impatient activity on the part of Lord North, that parliament was assembled much earlier than usual,* and that the speech from the throne acquainted the houses that he wished to give them an early opportunity of informing themselves fully of the true state of the company's affairs, and of making such provisions for the common benefit and security of all the various interests concerned as they should find best adapted to the exigencies of the case. To anticipate government, whose aid they wanted without its interference, the company had once more had recourse to the plan of appointing supervisors, with full powers for the regulation of their affairs abroad; and before the meeting of parliament they had actually named *six gentlemen* to the difficult office. The supervisors, however, had not taken their departure for India, and ministers were determined to annul their powers. On the very day on which the address was voted in the House of Commons, Lord North, who was dissatisfied with the select committee appointed in the preceding session, moved that, for the better ascertaining the distresses and the real condition of the company, a SECRET committee of only thirteen members should be appointed, with power to inspect the books and accounts of the said company. In spite of a violent opposition from the East India directors and others this committee of secrecy *was* appointed.† At the same time Burgoyne vindicated the proceedings of the select committee; declared that its inquiries would disclose such a scene of iniquity, rapine, and injustice, such unheard-of cruelties, as were never before discovered; and insisted that its proceedings ought on no account to be interrupted. Ministers were not disposed to any invidious exertion in favour of Clive; it was agreed that the select committee should be continued; and thus there were two committees of inquiry proceeding with their investigations at the same time. In a very few days the committee of secrecy recommended that the company should instantly be stopped from sending out the new supervisors they had appointed, and a bill to this effect, after another sharp struggle, was carried through both houses, to the great disappointment and vexation of the court of directors, who still pretended that they alone had the competency and the right to regulate the affairs of India. Clive, who spoke in the debate on the bill, said he regretted to find the company contending with parliament, because whenever their rights to their great territorial possessions should be examined they would be disputed, and might become the actual possession not of the company but of the crown. He regretted that the company and parliament had not agreed to share the labours and honours of the good work between them. "I consider," said he, "the interests of the company and the interests of this nation as inseparable; and, with respect to the supervisors, I was and continue to be against them. I consider this bill as an exertion indeed of parliamentary authority, yet an extremely

* In the following month of December he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Montgomeryshire. In the course of the same year he was installed a Knight of the Bath, the king having conferred the honour upon him some time before. Other honours were not wanting. The queen had stood godmother to his second daughter, Charlotte, and the University of Oxford had conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

† Letter to Mr. Strachey.

* On the 26th of November.

† See *ante*, vol. i. p. 148.

necessary one, and I could wish that the company had met this House half way instead of petitioning and quarrelling with the mouth that is to feed them. With respect to the gentlemen nominated for the supervision, they are themselves the best judges whether their abilities and integrity are equal to the important service in which they were to engage. Had they, Sir, known the East Indies as well as I do, they would shudder at the bare idea of such a perplexing and difficult service. The most rigid integrity with the greatest disinterestedness—the greatest abilities with resolution and perseverance —must be united in the man or men who undertake to reform the accumulating evils which exist in Bengal, and which threaten to involve the nation and the company in one common ruin."

The dissatisfied court of directors had still no resource but in parliament; and on the 24th of February (1773), after having reduced their dividend from 12½ to 6 per cent., a general court passed a vote that application should be made to the Commons for a loan of one million and a half for four years, at 4 per cent. interest. This demand, or humble petition, was presented on the 9th of March. Ministers, making some material alterations in the company's propositions, offered to lend 1,400,000*l.* at 4 per cent., and to give up the claim of 400,000*l.* a-year, which the company had been paying from their territorial revenues, till this debt should be discharged; but insisted upon binding them strictly never to raise their dividends above 6 per cent., until this debt should be discharged. By complying with these and some other restrictions and conditions the company were to remain in possession of all the territories they had acquired for six years to come, when their charter would expire.* The company petitioned against these terms, as harsh, arbitrary, and illegal; their orators in the House harangued vehemently; but all was of no use; they could not do without the money, the minister was determined to let them have it only on his own conditions, and everything he proposed was carried by a large majority. Nor did Lord North cease his interference here. Clive and others had represented to the minister, and also to the king, who was neither without previous information nor the previous determination or wish to un-democratize the constitution of the East India House, that the court of proprietors was a bear-garden ever full of noise, confusion, anarchy, and the lowest and most selfish intrigues, and that their mode of checking the court of directors, and the direct influence and intimidation they exercised over the directors when elected, must for ever prove an obstacle to all good and permanent management and government. As if to prepare his way by an act of kindness, the minister, on the 27th of April, granted the company that fatal leave to export tea to America duty-free—a bonus which led to the tea riots at Boston, and which, assuredly hurried on the American revolution*—and then, on the 3rd of May, he introduced a series of propositions, tending to an entire, and, as we think, beneficial change in the constitution of the company. The principal of these were:—1st. That the court of directors should in future, instead of being chosen annually, be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold their seats for longer than four years; 2nd. That the qualification stock should be 1000*l.* instead of 500*l.*; that 3000*l.* should give two votes, and 6000*l.* three votes; 3rd. That, in lieu of the mayor's court at Calcutta, the jurisdiction of which was limited to small mercantile causes, a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, should be appointed by the crown, with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the subjects of England, their servants and dependants, residing within the company's territories in Bengal; 4th. That a governor-general, with four counsellors, should be appointed to Fort William, and vested with full powers over the other presidencies. When any differences occurred the opinion of the majority was to be decisive; and this board was to be directed by the act to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the directors, who were, within fourteen days of the receipt of their dispatches, to furnish copies of them to one of his majesty's secretaries of state, to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinations which they made; and these were, if disapproved by his majesty, to become null and void. It was further proposed that the nomination of the first governor-general and members of council should be vested in parliament by the act, and should be for five years, after which the nomination to those high offices should revert to the court of directors, but still subject to the approbation of the crown. Lastly, it was to be enacted that no person in India, in the service either of the king or of the company, should henceforth be allowed to receive any presents from the native nabobs, rajahs, ministers, agents, or others; and that the governor-general, members of council, and judges should be excluded from all commercial pursuits and profits. These "Regulating Acts," as they are called, were to come into operation, in England on the 1st of October, 1773, and in India on the 1st of August, 1774.

The court of directors, the court of proprietors, and nearly all men interested in the affairs of the East Indies raised a storm ten times louder than before; and they courted and obtained the influence of the corporation of the city of London, which was then in the most determined opposition to government, and to everything done or proposed by Lord North. Remonstrances and petitions poured in upon parliament, but did not affect the votes of the large ministerial majority. It was curious to hear that anomalous body, the company, which assumed to exercise an absolute authority

* See also ante, vol. i. pp. 148 and 564.

* See also ante, vol. i. pp. 149, 155, 156.

over fifteen millions of men, and which certainly had not yet learned the slow and difficult task of exercising that authority with moderation and wisdom, and for the greater happiness of the natives, resting one of their greatest complaints on the injury that would be done by the ministerial alterations to constitutional liberty, the rights of election, &c. The raising of the qualification of the voters, by which about 1200 proprietors were disfranchised, was held up as a political enormity then, and it appears to have been considered in the same light many years after the struggle, the excitement, and the violence were over. Mr. Mill seems to deplore it as a blow struck at the power of the democracy. "In one respect," says he, "the present experiment fulfilled the purpose very completely for which it was intended. It followed the current of that policy which for many reasons has run with perfect regularity and considerable strength, diminishing the influence of numbers in affairs of government, and reducing things as much as possible to the oligarchical state."* To this lamentation may be opposed the unruly, blundering, selfish, and corrupt conduct of the court of proprietors, and the very serious facts that they, from the immediate and incessant control they exercised over the directors, were almost as much an executive as an elective body; that such a numerous executive had never been known to go right and straight; that they were as far as possible from promising to be an exception to this unchanged and unchangeable rule; and that their mistakes and faults directly affected the prosperity of thousands of individuals at home and of millions abroad. Complaints were also made that, by rendering the situation of director of four years' duration instead of one, and free for that time from the control of the court of proprietors, the influence and operation of the ministry would be great and certain: but then, on the other hand, the annual elections had been proved most mischievous; they had, as Clive affirmed, swallowed up nearly all the time and attention of the directors, and new members of that body were liable to be outvoted and turned out of office just as they were beginning to learn its duties, or to know something of the complicated machine which was to be superintended. There were defects, and of a serious nature, in the measure proposed by ministers, who do not appear to have considered it as final, but rather in the light of an experiment which might be modified and altered as time and experience should point out. Such as they were, their proposals were embodied in two acts, which were carried through both houses by immense majorities, and received the royal assent forthwith. The company continued their complaints and lamentations, but, except among the Wilkites in the city, they found very little sympathy. They had, in fact, grown unpopular as a body, and, whatever doubts may have been entertained in some quarters as to the wisdom of the new measures, or the propriety of augmenting the authority of parliament, which then signified little more than the influence of the court and ministry, the universal feeling appears to have been that some interference was indispensable, and that what was no longer a group of factories, but an empire, ought not to be trusted to the sole management of a trading company, who bought and sold fractions of principalities and powers in 'Change Alley.

In proceeding to the choice of the first governor-general of Bengal there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the responsible, delicate, and difficult post. Long experience, proved ability, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who was accordingly named by

Warren Hastings.

the new parliamentary authority. Clive, though he had not invariably had cause to be pleased with the conduct of Hastings, once his protégé, considered him the best man that could be selected, and he hastened to congratulate him on the honour of being the First Governor-General. In so doing, however, Clive expressed a doubt, in the shape of a hope, and this was, whether his colleagues in the council would act in harmony with him. It is especially deserving of observation that the principal misgiving Clive entertained with regard to Warren Hastings was, that he might err through overmuch good-nature and easiness and amiability of temper.* The four members of coun-

* Hist. Brit. Ind,

* Some time before this, when Hastings was removed from his secondary post in the council of Madras to be head of the council and governor of Calcutta, Clive said to him, in a letter full of practical wisdom and proper rules for his conduct—"From the knowledge I have of you I am convinced that you have not only abilities and personal resolution, but integrity and moderation with regard to riches: but I thought I discovered in you a diffidence in your own judgment, and too great an easiness of disposition, which may subject you, insensibly, to be *led* where you ought to *guide*." He further told him that, with a proper confidence in himself and a never-failing hope of success, he would find opportunities of making himself one of the most distinguished men of his country. All Clive's behaviour to Hastings appears to have been generous and magnanimous. Has-

cil appointed with Warren Hastings, and each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Philip Francis.

In the mean while, both Indian committees of the House of Commons, the select and the secret, had continued their occupations; and the first of the two, urged on by Burgoyne, the chairman, by Governor Johnstone, and by other men from whom impartiality and candour were as little to be expected, had taken a still more inquisitorial and personal turn. Clive was subjected to incessant examinations and cross-examinations; mutilated evidence, taken out of the company's records by the company's own servants, was received as good evidence, upon the plea that it was impossible to spare time sufficient to search for facts among the vast mass of papers at the India House. When Clive referred to the votes of approbation and the long sounding votes of thanks passed in a series of years by courts of directors and general courts, recorded and preserved in the same depôt in Leadenhall-street, he was no more regarded than if they had been passed and registered in the moon. We shall have executed our task very inefficiently if we have not impressed on the reader's mind a deep conviction of the money-getting spirit, the greed, the corruption, the jobbery of our public men, patriots included, at this low and mean period of our history; or if we have not conveyed the notion that strict honour, disinterestedness, a superiority to temptation, and an incapability of treachery and baseness were things not to be expected in so distant and so peculiar a field as India, when they had no recognisable existence in any of the high places in England. The palms of the patriots sitting in either committee must have itched at the long array upon paper of rupees and lacs of rupees; and it may be pretty safely doubted whether there was one of Clive's accusers and tormentors that would, at Moorshedabad, have rested satisfied with the large sum he took when it was so easy to make it larger, when there was absolutely no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation.* On one occasion, when irritated in the extreme, and when the scenes of the past were forced upon his mind and upon his vision as a present reality, he vividly described his entrance into Moorshedabad and into the rich treasury of the flying tyrant Suraj-u-Dowlah:—there was the new nabob, Meer Jaffier, a creature of his making, and absolutely dependent on his will; there was a populous and opulent city offering immense sums to be saved from a plunder which was never intended; there were the Hindu seits or bankers bidding against each other for his favour; there were vaults piled with gold and crowned with rubies and diamonds, and he was at liberty to help himself:—and then, bursting away from a picture as dazzling as Sinbad's valley of diamonds, he exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!" He had unquestionably been guilty in the east of deception, subterfuge, and fraud; but these practices were alien to his frank and fiery nature. Both before the committee and before the whole House he was candid, bold, open, communicative even to excess, making no attempts either at concealment or palliation, but insisting that what he had done was no more than he was bound to do under all the circumstances of the case, and that what he had received was lawful for him to take.

On the 10th of May of the following year, 1773, on the order of the day being read for taking into consideration the report of the select committee appointed in the preceding session, and also certain reports lately presented from a similar committee appointed in the present session, Colonel Burgoyne, who, as chairman, had brought them up, declared the said reports contained an account of the most atrocious and most revolting crimes. The black-hole and its horrors were all forgotten; the cruelty, the perfidy of Suraj-u-Dowlah were consigned to the same charitable oblivion; and it was represented by the military orator, who had had no friend or brother in the horrible catastrophe at Calcutta, that the dethronement of that prince was the greatest of crimes, and the real cause of all the revolutions and mischiefs which had ensued since then. Upon better ground, Burgoyne denounced the fictitious treaty with Omichund; yet he took an incorrect view of the subject of Admiral Watson's signature, and throughout the transaction laid the whole blame upon Clive, although nothing was more notorious, or more capable of proof by written and every other kind of evidence, than that the whole council had concurred and co-operated in that deception as in all other parts of the revolution of 1757. He maintained that Clive ought to be stripped of his wealth, as it had been extorted by military force, and as, like all acquisitions made from foreign powers, it of right belonged to the state; and he moved three resolutions to this effect,† winding up with the avowal

tings, after the first departure of Clive from Calcutta, had attached himself to Governor Vansittart, with whom he returned to Europe before Clive's return to Calcutta in 1765, and through whom he became, to a considerable extent, connected with Sulivan, the mortal enemy of Clive. Hastings had been so little influenced by the money-making spirit that he had not been long in England ere he found himself almost penniless. A common friend (Mr. Sykes), who had accompanied Clive to India on his reforming mission, and who had remained there as a member of the select committee, wrote to his lordship in March, 1768—"Your lordship knows my regard for Mr. Hastings.....I have now brought his affairs nearly to a conclusion, and sorry I am to say they turn out more to the credit of his moderation than knowledge of the world. *He is almost literally worth nothing, and must return to India, or want bread.* I therefore make it my earnest request to your lordship, that, even if you cannot consistently promote his re-appointment to the company's service, you will at least not give any opposition thereto." Forgetting his personal piques, Clive, more powerful then than Sulivan, who could not have prevented the prolongation of Hastings's distressing embarrassments, instantly used all his endeavours to get him out to Madras in a high and lucrative office; and it was through Clive that Hastings was made second in council at that presidency. And afterwards, when Vansittart and the other supervisors had gone to the bottom of the ocean in the Aurora frigate, it was Clive that actively recommended Hastings to be governor of Calcutta, as the man in India the best fitted for the post. It was on seeing this appointment secured that Clive wrote the remarkable letter from which the paragraph at the beginning of this note is taken.

* Edin. Review.

† The three resolutions were—"I. That all acquisitions, made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the state; II. That to appropriate ac-

of an intention not to stop here, but to compel all who had acquired sums of money in the way alluded to to make full and complete restitution to the public. Clive made another very able speech, but a speech not calculated to conciliate any party. According to one who was present, and who was friendly to him, "he laid about him on all sides;" he reprehended the court of directors past and present, the court of proprietors, the citizens of London, the country gentlemen of England, the servants of the company abroad, the secret and select committees, the opposition, the minister and ministry. He paid a compliment to the king. He declared he would support government where he could do it honourably. He offended the opposition without gaining the minister." These were not the parliamentary tactics of a mean low mind, of one to whom truckling, duplicity, and deception cost nothing when they suited his interest and purpose. He complained of the slander and abuse thrown upon him by the newspaper press, which had called him, and which kept calling him, villain, scoundrel, thief, murderer, assassin, &c.; he explained the circumstances of the revolution undertaken against Suraj-u-Dowlah, so far as he was concerned in it—for, in fact, while he was thousands or many hundred miles off, absent in England or serving on the Coromandel coast, events had occurred which hardly left any other alternative than the deposition of that nabob or the retreat and flight of the English from Bengal; and, if there were anything wrong or impolitic in the conduct of the English there previous to Suraj-u-Dowlah's march and siege, he had as little to do with that conduct as Burgoyne or any other member of the House of Commons; he defended the legality of the presents he had accepted of, both in point of law and of justice; he once more referred to the honours he had received, not merely from the company but also from the crown, in consequence of the very exploits and acts for which they were now arraigning him like a culprit and felon; and he concluded by saying—"If the record of my services at the India House,* if the defence I have twice made in this House, and if the approbation I have already met with, is not an answer to the attack that has been made upon me, I certainly can make none."† His friend Wedderburn, who was at issue with Thurlow, the attorney-general, but backed by the other great lawyers, made an eloquent and argumentative speech against Burgoyne's resolutions, representing that they were founded in envy and illiberality, narrow, pointed at individuals, and not at that future reformation of our management of Indian affairs which ought to have been the grand object of the committee's inquiry; and that, above all, the evidence on which some of the facts rested was indecisive and defective, and the conclusions drawn from other facts erroneous and unjust as far as concerned Lord Clive personally and without the council. Thurlow, who is said to have been previously consulted, and to have recommended the spoliatory process as a good means of making up part of the deficiencies in the Leadenhall-street treasury, replied as a lawyer to Wedderburn; and in the end Burgoyne's resolutions were carried without a division. Just one week after this—on the 17th of May,* 1773—Burgoyne followed up his successes by pointing his charges directly against Clive. He protested that he wished not to plunder or impoverish his lordship; yet nothing was so clear as that he must reduce him to poverty as well as disgrace, if he could command the majorities which had hitherto gone along with him. After deploring the inordinate and sinful appetite for money which had shown itself of late, and the national disgrace brought upon us by acts of plunder and injustice in the east, Burgoyne re-affirmed the principle—a principle which had never been admitted by any one Englishman in India from the commencement of our intercourse down to the time of Clive's last administration, when he manfully enforced the new order of the company to that effect—that no civil or military servant, in treating with a foreign prince or state, could lawfully bargain for or acquire property for himself. Thus the donation at Moorshedabad was to be annulled, thus the jaghire was to be made void! But it entered not into Burgoyne's law or morality, or into the notions of any of them, that the money and rents ought to be restored, or the right of the nabob to give them questioned. With a boldness which must have astonished some men in the House acquainted with the real state of the case, the orator proclaimed that Suraj-u-Dowlah's treaties merited confidence, and would have given to the English in the country all the security that was requisite, and condemned Clive's attack on the French at Chandernagore, and insisted that his capture of that place was a breach of neutrality, a breach of treaty, and an act of gross injustice and provocation to the nabob, forgetting that in that very treaty Suraj-u-Dowlah contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with the English, engaging to consider their enemies as his own; and that, before the attack on Chandernagore, the daring rhetoric, not of Clive, but of Admiral Watson, had obtained the shuffling nabob's assent. We were at open war with the French when Chandernagore

quisitions so made to the private emolument of persons intrusted with any civil or military power of the state is illegal; III. That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal, from princes and others of that country, by persons intrusted with the military and civil powers of the state, by means of such powers; which sums of money and valuable property have been appropriated to the private use of such persons."

* While Clive was on his last voyage from Calcutta—on the 18th of March, 1767—it was moved in a general court, that the important services rendered to the country by Lord Clive merited a general acknowledgment and return, and that a grant to his lordship and his personal representatives, of an additional term in the jaghire of ten years, commencing from the termination of his lordship's present rights therein, would be a proper acknowledgment and return for such important services. This was carried by 456 against 264; and on the 24th of the same month the grant for ten years was made and declared.

† According to the account in the Parliamentary History, these last words were the whole speech that Clive made on this occasion. When he rose, it is stated, immediately after Wedderburn sate down, Mr. Ongley rose at the same time, and exclaimed that the noble lord was a long speech-maker, and perhaps the House might have another speech of two hours and twenty minutes; upon which Clive assured the House that he should trouble them not five minutes—and then delivered the few sentences quoted in the text.

The Parl. Hist. says, on the 19th.

was attacked, so that that question had merely reference to the sovereign rights of the nabob: we were at peace—at least in Europe—with the Dutch, when they sent their armament up the Hooghly; but Burgoyne, not feeling himself called upon in the working out of his plan of attack to refine upon international law, acknowledged that Lord Clive in the Dutch affair had shown perfect magnanimity and disinterestedness. But everything that happened after that event and during Clive's five years' absence in England was laid to his charge. The dethronement of Meer Jaffier, which Clive would never have permitted if he had been in the country, the setting up of Meer Cossim, and then the dethroning Meer Cossim and the setting up again of Meer Jaffier,—all the blunders or worse of Governor Vansittart, all the doings and the undoings, the ravellings and unravellings, the malversations and oppressions of that council which Clive put down, in spite of Mr. Johnstone and of every cabal and opposition, were laid to his charge. Nay, more, he was to bear the blame of those very offences, and at the same time to be punished for having corrected the offenders without — as was said—a sufficient attention to the delicacies and considerations of the English law, which would have been about as applicable to the case as the British constitution would have been suitable to the atmosphere of Moorshedabad or Delhi. Burgoyne, acknowledging that he was happy and proud to be esteemed the friend of Governor Johnstone, the relative of one whose name had been mixed up in these transactions, declared that this should have no influence on his judgment—that he would not colour and conceal the conduct of that council, which he held to be unjustifiable—but then the orator, who had set all the ordinary rules of evidence at defiance in England, condemned Clive for the mode in which he had procured evidence in Bengal, compared his proceedings to those of the Inquisition, and called the letter written by Clive and the select committee acting with him, which contained the details of the delinquencies of Mr. Johnstone and his colleagues, an "infamous letter." Burgoyne concluded by moving the following resolution: — "That it appears to this House that the Right Honourable Robert Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, &c., about the time of the deposition of Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the establishment of Meer Jaffier on the musnud, through the influence of the powers with which he was intrusted as a member of the select committee and commander-in-chief of the British forces, did obtain and possess himself of two lacs of rupees as commander-in-chief, a further sum of two lacs and 80,000 rupees as member of the select committee, and a further sum of sixteen lacs or more under the denomination of a private donation; which sums, amounting together to twenty lacs and 80,000 rupees, were of the value, in English money, of 234,000*l.*; and that, in so doing, the said Robert Lord Clive abused the power with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public, and to the dishonour and detriment of the state."—Wedderburn again took an active part in the debate, strenuously opposing the motion on grounds both of law and equity. He said that the House was in danger of being led to commit rashly and inconsiderately an act of crying injustice against one of the most illustrious men of the age. He argued that the acceptance of presents by Clive was justifiable by the ancient laws and usages of India; that there was no law, order, or by-rule of the company prohibiting their servants from accepting them; and that to adopt the present resolution would be to condemn his lordship upon an *ex-post-facto* law. He treated the select committee with very little respect; said that the evidence they had gone upon was of the most unsatisfactory kind, that their report was necessarily a prejudiced one, and that for the House to proceed upon it would be an act of flagrant injustice. Mr. Rose Fuller spoke quite as freely of the select committee and its performances, declaring, as of his own knowledge, that the latter part of their report was undoubtedly not true. Lord North, in delivering a commonplace remark about the equality of justice, and the propriety of punishing great and splendid as well as mean and paltry offenders, hinted that it was very necessary to sift and examine the evidence. In the course of the debate Clive once more spoke for himself, and with the same uncompromising, unconciliating tone as on the previous occasions. He said, "After rendering my country the service which I think I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of, and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment for the public welfare and the particular benefit of the East India Company, I little thought that such transactions would have agitated the minds of my countrymen in proceedings like the present, tending to deprive me not only of my property and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me —my honour and reputation." He pointed out ably and clearly the discrepancies and inaccuracies in the reports, justified his whole conduct, civil and political, as open and undisguised, legal and above blame. He read extracts from his correspondence with Meer Jaffier and the India House, and finally the letter of the court of directors which contained their full approbation of his proceedings. He observed that, trained in the school of war and politics as he had been for twenty years, he was now improving in the school of philosophy, and, if patience was a virtue, he had no doubt of soon being very virtuous indeed. But in reality this long-enduring patience was foreign to his nature, and was incompatible with his present state of bodily suffering. Always quick and susceptible, he had become morbidly sensitive and irritable, from the continuance of mental torture and bodily disease, in reciprocal action and reaction. The insults he had received from the select committee had gone through him like an Indian arrow, and as he spoke he seemed to show the barb with the poison and his heart's blood upon it. "I have served my country,"

said he, "and the company faithfully; and, had it been my fortune to be employed by the crown, I should not have been in the situation I am in at present; I should have been differently rewarded: no retrospect would have been had to sixteen years past, and I should not have been forced to plead for what is dearer than life—my reputation. My situation has not been an easy one for these twelve months past; and, though my conscience never could accuse me, yet I felt for my friends, who were involved in the same censure as myself. Not a stone has been left unturned where the least probability could arise of discovering something of a criminal nature against me. The two committees seem to have bent the whole of their inquiries to the conduct of their humble servant the Baron of Plassey, and I have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this House."* After making some bitter reflections on the persevering animosity and unfair proceedings of the deputy-chairman of the India Company (Sulivan), and condemning some portions of the new ministerial regulations for India, he spoke again on the subject of presents. He was firmly of opinion that, as for presents, in honourable cases it was not dishonourable to receive them—they were only dishonourable or improper in dishonourable cases—they had been received uninterruptedly for the space of 150 years, and by men who sat in the direction or held high places in the company's service or in the king's service—they were a lawful part of the social system of the East. "In the early part of my life," he continued, "my labours were without emolument or laurels; and I hope this House will not think that I ought not to be rewarded for my services to my country in the latter part of it. When I was first employed by the company their affairs abroad were in a condition much to be lamented. Misfortunes attended them in every part of their settlements, and the nabobs looked with a jealous eye upon the small privileges and possessions they then enjoyed; though small, in danger every day of being wrested from them. Their fears and weakness were surrounded by dangers on every side. In this critical situation it pleased God to make me the instrument of their deliverance."† With a proper and almost unavoidable compliment to the known good-nature and humanity of Lord North, he said he was sure that, if that noble lord had foreseen the dreadful consequences that would attend them, he would never have consented to the passing of the three previous resolutions. He continued—"I cannot say that I rest easy when I find by those extensive resolutions that all I have in the world is confiscated, and that no man will now take my security for a shilling. These are dreadful apprehensions to remain under; and I cannot look upon myself but as a bankrupt. I have not anything left that I can call my own, except my paternal fortune of 500*l.* per annum, and which has been in the family for ages past." After some debate, further consideration of the motion was deferred till Friday the 21st. On that day the active Burgoyne moved that certain witnesses should then be examined. The examination was ordered, and Clive's own evidence before the committee was read; upon which his lordship said a few words, concluding with—"Take my fortune, but save my honour,"—and then retired from the House. Burgoyne's triumphant course stopped here: the House would not follow him from generalities to special facts and to individuals; would not, upon loose and defective and for the most part *ex-parte* evidence, find a distinguished man guilty, and then apply to him an *ex-post-facto* law. There was a spontaneous reaction in favour of Clive, a reaction apparently not explicable by any of the then ordinary rules of parliamentary management and manœuvre. There were no doubt hidden springs or calculated motives which had no reference to abstract notions of guilt or innocence, or to any sympathy or generous feeling; yet collectively the House appears to have been actuated by the conviction that the persecution was a malicious and most interested one; that the accusers of the hero of Plassey would never have raised a voice or a whisper against him if he had adapted himself to their views, instead of opposing them; that his conduct indeed was not free from faults, nor, perhaps, even from some shade of political crime; but that his position in India, unprecedented and impossible to have been provided for by any laws or rules, had been one of the most difficult in which a soldier had ever been placed, and his temptations the greatest to which an Englishman had ever been exposed. And, when not dinned by the flourishes of oratory, no doubt many on both sides of that House felt that the ruling passion of the day was the *auri sacra fames*, and that Clive was a prodigy of abstinence and moderation. There was also another consideration: in the very highest flourishes of that oratory, in all that virtuous indignation expressed in well-rounded and sonorous periods, there was not a hint dropped of the propriety or possibility of restoring the splendid fruits of those crimes, or of those things which were called crimes, and which, notwithstanding the temporary embarrassment of the company, had mainly tended to double within a few years the annual exports of goods from England to India, and nearly to double the tonnage of our shipping employed in that trade. "I had the mortification," says a cool listener to these long debates, "to hear the transactions in India for these last sixteen years treated, without distinction, as a disgrace to this nation, but without the smallest idea of restoring to the injured natives of India the territories and revenues said

* This, according to the Parl. Hist., is part of a speech which Clive delivered on the 3rd of May, in the debate on Lord North's motion for leave to bring in his bill for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company.

† He maintained that Suraj-u-Dowlah's dethronement was a necessary and lawful measure of self-defence; and that Omichund after all was only entangled in the meshes of the intrigue and treachery which he himself had woven. He showed—what we have before explained—that Admiral Watson had thoroughly approved of that revolution, and of the means by which it was obtained; and he read the letter signed by Watson, in common with the rest of the council at Calcutta, to that effect.

to have been so unjustly acquired."* This consideration ran contrary to any indulgence in strict abstract principles of right and wrong: it called the mind rather to reflect upon what conquests have been, are, and ever must be. Whatever were the mingled considerations, feelings, and motives of the members of the House of Commons, when the question itself came on, and the direct charges against Clive were before them, their march was quick and decisive. Mr. Stanley moved that the words about abuse of powers, evil example, dishonour, &c., should be omitted; Mr. R. Fuller seconded the motion, and then proposed that other criminatory epithets should be struck out from Burgoyne's resolution. The motion was then put to the House in a form as meek and inoffensive as a sucking dove—that is to say, it merely specified that the Right Honourable Robert Lord Clive, &c., had, about the time of the deposition of Suraj-u-Dowlah and the establishment of Meer Jaffier, obtained, at various times, as commander-in-chief and member of the select committee, rupees amounting in English money to 234,000*l.* "On this point," says the account in the Annual Register, "the grand struggle was made. Those who speculate observed an extraordinary division of those who, on all other occasions, acted together. The minister declared in favour of the words of censure on Lord Clive, and divided in the minority. The attorney-general was a principal in the attack; the solicitor-general managed the defence. The courtiers went different ways. The most considerable part of the opposition supported Lord Clive, though he had joined the administration and supported them in their proceedings against the company." In the end, the motion, as shortened and dulcified by Stanley and Fuller, was carried by a majority of sixty, the numbers being 155 against 95. Burgoyne then moved—"That Lord Clive did, in so doing, abuse the powers with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public;" but this motion was rejected.† By this time it was near four o'clock in the morning: many members had gone home to bed, and some of those who remained were nodding on their seats—dreaming possibly of rupees and jaghires; but another and the last motion was made by Wedderburn—"That Robert Lord Clive did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country;" and this passed in the affirmative. So shifting were the winds of parliament, and so sudden their changes from hot to cold. And thus terminated all these proceedings as far as Clive was concerned. But "the be all and the end all" was not there, nor could depend any further on resolutions, motions, and votes. "The Daring in War" had received his death-blow from orators' tongues, or, at the least, his mind and body had been so harassed for many months, and his cruel maladies so exacerbated, that there no longer remained a gleam of health, or hope, or cheerfulness. He had been acquitted—he had been applauded; some of the highest in the land and some of the most liberal and intellectual abroad—men like Voltaire, who had the right of genius to be the real dispensers of fame—testified their admiration and admired him the more for the ordeal he had gone through; but he could not take these flattering unctions to his soul, he brooded over the indignity of having been accused, charged in the eyes of the whole world, not only with horrible crimes, but with mean petty vices most hateful and maddening to his pride.* He sought some alleviation to his sufferings in a visit to Bath as soon as parliament rose, and then in a short excursion on the continent; but he returned worse than he went. His liver was entirely deranged, his attacks of bile were frequent and dreadful; he suffered the excruciating agonies of gall-stones, and he had long had recourse to the dangerous aid of opium, which in many cases maddens or depresses in the morning more than it soothes or exhilarates at night. He had begun the use of the drug when he first went to India, and apparently had never abandoned it, but, like all opium-eaters, had gone on increasing his dose. He had always been subject to dreadful fits of depression. In one of these, when cooped up in Fort St. George a poor moody lad, he twice attempted to destroy himself, and twice the pistol missed fire; upon which, it is added, he examined the pistol, saw that it was really well loaded, and then threw it from him with an exclamation that he must certainly be destined for something great or extraordinary. In the month of November of the year which followed his acquittal by the Commons (1774), being at his splendid town mansion in Berkeley-square, he had a violent access of his most painful malady. On the 21st and 22nd he endured extreme agony, and had recourse for relief to additionally powerful doses of laudanum: the drug did not soothe, and a paroxysm of irritability and impatience was added to the paroxysm of the disease: in the course of the 22nd he died by his own hand. He had only just completed his forty-ninth year. If ever there was a case where suicide could be accounted

* MS. notes, as cited by Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.

† So says the Annual Register; but, according to the more detailed account in the Parliamentary History, Burgoyne's motion was *carried*, after the previous question, moved by Mr. Stanley, had been negatived without a division.

* Voltaire expressed a desire to Dr. John Moore, the well-known author, and father of General Sir John Moore, to obtain the perusal of the most important papers connected with Indian affairs, with a view to celebrate the great deeds which had been done in that part of the world.—See *Letter from Wedderburn to Clive in Sir John Malcolm's Life.*

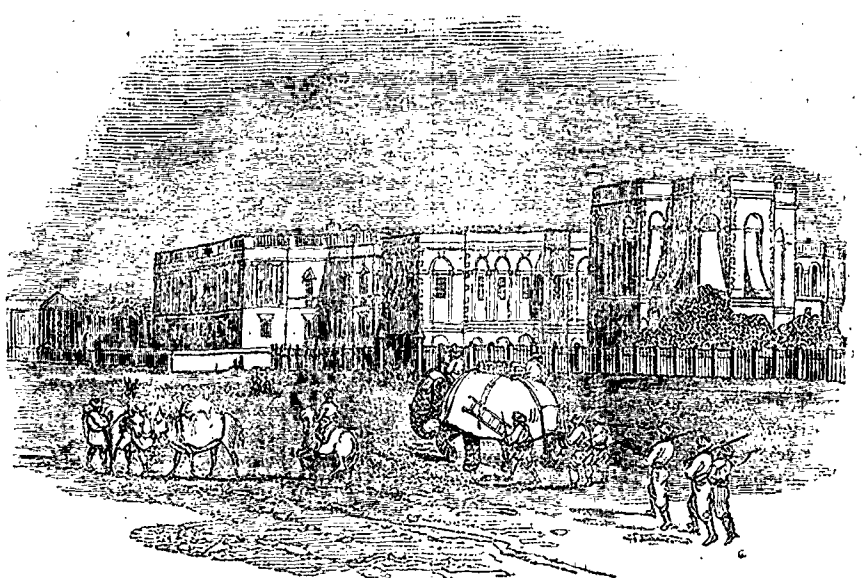
It appears to have been during the parliamentary inquiry into his conduct, or very shortly after its termination, that overtures were made to Lord Clive to accept of the chief command in America, then on the verge or rather within the verge of the revolution. Clive had declared, with his usual sagacity, at the very beginning of these troubles, that they must end sooner or later in the independence of America. But the plea of bad health was the excuse he is said to have proffered. "Had he," it has been said, "still been what he was when he raised the siege of Patna and annihilated the Dutch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the colonies would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years."—*Art. on Clive in Edin. Rev.* The wasted shadow, the mere ghost of the defender of Arcot and hero of Plassey, would assuredly have done more than the Howes, Burgoynes, and Clintons.

for by an accumulation of causes, it was this; but the world rounded off its story by assuming and insisting that Clive had fallen a victim to a guilty conscience and to the just vengeance of God. And this remained for years not merely the tale of the vulgar and uninformed, but the opinion of many preachers and moral philosophers of the highest pretensions; and, some physicians who ventured to doubt whether, if a single cause were to be assigned for the deplorable act, Clive's self-destruction had not proceeded rather from a diseased liver than from a diseased conscience, were treated as impious scoffers or downright atheists. Dr. Johnson, who might have arrived nearer to the truth by reflecting on the circumstances of his own life and unfortunate physical constitution, on his own morbid sensibility and the melancholy which had filled many of his hours with horror, though he had no blood or cruelty or serious crime upon his conscience, gave his sanction to the damning and unjust rumour by saying that Lord Clive, loaded with wealth and honours, had acquired his fortune by such crimes that his consciousness of them impelled him to cut his own throat!* This belief became a tradition and a part of the faith of the land; and it is only at a very recent date that the facts of the case have been put in their proper light, and that justice has been done to the genius and personal character of Clive. In the words of one who has done much to clear his fame—"Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and if, on the whole, the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts."*

Warren Hastings, who extended and consolidated

* "It is generally understood that he put a period to his existence by shooting himself through the head."—*Brayley's London and Middlesex*, ii. 737. Every reader of Johnson must feel that there is a strong distinction to be drawn between his opinions as set down deliberately in his writings and in the quiet of his study and his opinions as delivered in conversation, where he indulged in paradox and contradiction—his usual rule, indeed, being to oppose and contradict everything advanced by another. The opinions he delivered about Clive were conversational ones. Dr. Robertson, the Scottish historian, chanced one evening, over a dinner-table, to deliver an encomium upon the hero of Plassey, whom he described as one of the strongest-minded men that ever lived. This alone was enough to call up the incurable spirit of contradiction in the "Great Moralist," who, in spite of some pretty expressions, had small affection for the historian, or for his country or his politics, and who probably was the less careful of speaking strongly against Clive, as Clive was a moderate Whig. To Robertson's eulogium Johnson rejoined—"Yet this man cut his own throat;" and he then spoke in a facetious strain about the King of Prussia and bottles of wine, and the necessity of a man being great in great things, and elegant in little things. This table-talk is not to be taken for more than table-talk: the imputation of bad taste for making wit out of so sad a catastrophe, which was then a recent event, may rest upon Johnson; but it would be unjust to him to take it as his deliberate opinion on the case of Clive. The next time he is reported speaking of Clive was late one night, "after Mrs. Thrale was gone to bed," when Boswell was boring him with moral commonplaces, and when he was contradicting at his roundest rate, and using arguments which would scare and terrify our modern proprieties; and this was the time and the occasion on which he attributed Clive's suicide to a guilty conscience! *Valeat tantus.* The spirit of love and charity that was in him, his strength and his weaknesses, his knowledge and experience, would have dictated a very different opinion in places where there was no Robertson to contradict or Boswell to puzzle, and no auditors to be excited and astonished by his conversational powers.

* Art. in Edin. Rev. on Life of Clive.



Council House, Calcutta. From a View by Daniell.

the empire which Clive had called into existence, and whose Indian career ended in a prosecution more famous and more formal than that to which his lordship was subjected, began his administration at Calcutta under every possible disadvantage. The famine to which more than one allusion has been made occurred in 1770, under the government of Mr. Cartier, and only a few months before Hastings succeeded him. It was a tremendous visitation; the natives, and above all the Hindu portion of them, who, on religious grounds, make little or no use of animal food, perished by hundreds and by thousands, and it was calculated that, in all, from one-fourth to one-third of the teeming population of Bengal was swept away. In the summer of 1769 the rains had failed; hence the earth was parched up, the tanks for the purposes of irrigation became empty, and the rivers shrank within their beds. The same natural causes had always been attended by the same dreadful consequences, and wide-wasting dearths were frequent in India long before Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape or the name of the English was known. But natural causes did not satisfy the popular mind in England, where it was rumoured that the company's servants had created the famine by buying up all the rice of the country, and by refusing to sell it except at ten or twelve times the price at which they had bought it. "These charges," says the Edinburgh Review, "we believe to have been utterly unfounded. That servants of the company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn-factors."* A short time before the breaking out of the famine Syef-al-Dowla, the son and successor of Meer Jaffier, died of the small-pox; and his brother, Muharek-al-Dowla, a boy, was appointed to the musnud. Not a few had been inclined to apply to Syef the process of rapid curtailment and reduction which Regan applies to the household of old King Lear; and it appears to have been pretty generally thought that too much money was wasted upon a merely nominal nabob, a puppet, a man of straw—for so had Syef-al-Dowla been designated by a leading member in the Calcutta government. But as soon as the magnates in Leadenhall-street knew that Syef was dead they sent out orders for making retrenchments on the allowance of his young brother. "We cannot," said the directors, "but observe with astonishment that an event of so much importance as the death of the Nabob Syef-al-Dowla, and the establishment of a successor in so great a degree of nonage, should not have been attended with those advantages for the company which such a circumstance offered to your view. Convinced as we are that an allowance of sixteen lacs per annum will be sufficient for the support of the nabob's state and rank while a minor, we must consider every addition thereto as so much to be wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants, who will continually surround him; or at least be hoarded up—a consequence still more pernicious to the company. You are, therefore, during the nonage of the nabob, to reduce his annual stipend to sixteen lacs of rupees." It fell to Mr. Hastings to carry these orders into execution, and he was afterwards censured and condemned as if the acts had originated with himself. The saving made, however much it may have improved the morals of the young nabob's court, had no visible effect on the treasury at Calcutta, and Hastings was left to struggle through all the perplexities and cares resulting from an empty exchequer and a daily increasing debt, while every ship, every dispatch from his masters, brought demands for money—money—money. Mohammed Reza-Khan, a Mussulman, who had been appointed by English influence in opposition to the Hindu Nuncomar to administer not only the civil list or pension of the nabob, but also the revenues of all Bengal, was continued in office under the infant minor; but weighty reasons combined to induce the court of directors to deprive him of his profitable employments. In the first place, a general opinion had got abroad, and had been industriously propagated by Nuncomar and other Hindus—who had long been intriguing for his places, and who had always considered a Mohammedan minister of finance a monstrous anomaly and encroachment on the rights by prescription of the Hindus to have the sole management of the revenue and all money-matters—that Mohammed Reza-Khan must have acquired enormous wealth during the years in which the nabob's thirty-two lacs, and all the lacs raised in Bengal by taxes, duties, privileges, &c., had passed through his hands. As no Indian minister under his circumstances had been honest, it became a matter of course to accuse him of dishonesty and rapacity; and there were few customs so ancient in the East, or recommended by so many precedents, as that of making men in office disgorge all that they had swallowed, just at the moment of repletion. "When the lemon is fullest and ripest," said a Turkish despot, "I suck it and then throw away the rind." "I treat my Hindu ministers of finance," said an Indian despot, "like sponges. I give them time to absorb all that they can contain, then I press the matter out of them, and leave them as dry as a burnt stick." Adages of the same kind are common all over the East. In the second place, suspicions were entertained—and they also were suggested by Nuncomar—that Mohammed Reza-Khan, who had always been very popular, was becoming a great deal too powerful, and was entertaining the idea of turning this great power against the English. To shake his popu-

* Art. on Life of Clive.

larity and the esteem in which he had been held by the poorer classes of the people, as well Hindus as Mohammedans, the Nuncomar faction had laid to his charge every act of oppression, every misfortune and calamity that had happened in the country, and had accused him generally of cruelty and tyranny towards the poor. The terrible famine gave them the opportunity of being more specific, and they accused Mohammed Reza Khan—as pamphleteers, poets, and parliament orators in England accused the servants of the company—of having increased the calamities of the poor during the height of the famine by monopoly of rice and other necessaries of life. This charge, with all the other hints and suspicions, had been transmitted to Leadenhall-street chiefly through the active agency of one Huzzeramul, a creature of Nuncomar, who had an extensive acquaintance among the servants of the company. Nuncomar, indeed, by presents and promises, had made himself a strong party in Calcutta, and some of this party could influence the votes and opinions of some members of the court of directors. The embarrassments of the company quickened their cupidity, their cupidity countenanced their suspicion, and both together made them ready and eager recipients of the worst charges that could be brought against Mohammed Reza Khan, whose ruin was forthwith determined upon. As early as the 28th of August, 1771, the secret committee wrote to Warren Hastings:—"By our general orders you will be informed of the reasons we have to be dissatisfied with the administration of Mohammed Reza Khan, and will perceive the expediency of our divesting him of the rank and influence he holds as Naib Dewan of the kingdom of Bengal. But, though we have declared our resolution in this respect to our president and council, yet, as the measures to be taken in consequence thereof might be defeated by that minister, and all inquiry into his conduct rendered ineffectual, were he to have *any previous intimation* of our design, we, the secret committee, having the most perfect confidence in your judgment, prudence, and integrity, have thought proper to intrust to your especial care the execution of those measures which alone can render the Naib's conduct subject to the effects of a full inquiry, and secure that retribution which may be due." They proceeded to express their fear of an open arrest, and their hope that the ingenuity of Hastings would devise some means of taking Mohammed Reza Khan unawares, and of making sure of his person, without previously exciting "the resentment and revenge which he might conceive on the knowledge of the secret committee's intentions." Nor was the minister to be the only prisoner: Hastings was directed and enjoined, immediately on the receipt of this letter, to take measures and issue his *private orders* for securing "the person of Mohammed Reza Khan, together with his whole family and his known partisans and adherents;" and to bring them all down quietly to Calcutta by such means as his prudence should suggest. And the secret committee further declared it to be—in a style royal or imperial—their "pleasure and command" that none of these persons should be liberated until the minister should have exculpated himself and have made full restitution of all sums which he might have appropriated to his own use, either from the public revenues or the nabob's stipends; and until he should also have satisfied the claims of all such persons as might have suffered by any act of injustice or oppression committed while he was in office. Still further they instructed Hastings "sedulously to endeavour to penetrate into the most *hidden parts* of his administration," and "discover the reality of the several facts with which he was charged, or the justness of the suspicions they (the secret committee) had of his conduct." These, indeed, were instructions worthy of the so-called Holy Office—these duties expected at the hands of Hastings were worthy of an officer or familiar of the Inquisition. But, like the orders of the inquisitor-general, they were imperative, and left no choice to their paid servant, which Hastings was, but implicit obedience or disgrace and dismissal. Continuing in the same strain, the secret committee said, "We cannot forbear recommending to you to avail yourself of the intelligence which Nuncomar may be able to give respecting the naib's administration; and; *while the envy which Nuncomar is supposed to bear this minister may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge, we are persuaded that no scrutable part of the naib's conduct can have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetrating rival.* Hence we cannot doubt but that the abilities and disposition of Nuncomar may be successfully employed in the investigation of Mohammed Reza Khan's administration." The secret committee knew Nuncomar to be a liar and a scoundrel, and therefore it was that they expected scoundrel's work from him. They gave Hastings no hint to be on his guard against his lies and malice—that was not their cue, for they wanted evidence, and cared not of what kind—but they warned Hastings not to give the villain too much for his services, or not to promise him the office of naib dewan. "While we assure ourselves," said they in this memorable letter, "that you will make the necessary use of Nuncomar's intelligence, we have such confidence in your wisdom and caution, that we have nothing to fear from any secret motives or designs which may induce him to detect the mal-administration of one whose power has been the object of his envy, and whose office the aim of his ambition; for we have the satisfaction to reflect that you are too well apprised of the subtlety and disposition of Nuncomar to yield him any trust or authority which may be turned to his own advantage, or prove detrimental to the company's interest." As, however, they could not expect that profoundly selfish Hindu to perform the work of iniquity without some of its wages, the secret committee told Hastings that,

though they were not disposed to delegate any power or influence to Nuncomar, he might yield him "such encouragement and reward as his trouble and the extent of his services might deserve." There had been nothing open, and there was to be nothing open in these transactions. The charge about starving the people, which would have been at the head of this long letter if the secret committee had had other feelings and motives, was brought in, almost as a postscript, at the very end of the epistle. Their fears and their contrivances and subterfuges might find some excuse if Mohammed Reza Khan had been as powerful as Suraj-u-Dowlah or Meer Cossim; but the English authority was established and dreaded throughout Bengal, and the naib was in reality so weak that a single company of sepoys might at any time have seized him and carried him down to Calcutta without opposition and without any necessity of dark schemes and stratagems. It might be somewhat different farther off, at Patna; but such appears to have been the case at Moorshedabad, where Mohammed Reza Khan was residing. "In our general address," said the secret committee, "we deemed it advisable to mention only that we had received information of Mohammed Reza Khan's having increased the calamities of the poor during the height of the famine by a monopoly of rice and other necessaries of life. We were, indeed, restrained from an open communication on this subject, fearing the consequences which might ensue from the minister's revenge should he learn by whom such accusation had been brought against him; but, persuaded as we are of your secrecy and discretion, we herewith transmit to you an extract of a letter from Huzzeramul to Robert Gregory, Esq., wherein Mohammed Reza Khan is charged with a crime of so atrocious a nature, and we the rather advise you, of Huzzeramul's information, as we rely on your endeavours to obtain full evidence respecting the truth of this allegation, as well as of such others as are the objects of the scrutiny we have directed to be made into the naib's conduct."

The charge or charges thus confidentially committed to Hastings he was to keep a profound secret from his colleagues in India; and he was told that the company did him high honour by the separate trust thus reposed in him. If he rendered the signal and essential services expected of him he would prove himself worthy of their choice, and of presiding in the administration of the government of Bengal—or so said his "loving friends," the secret committee sitting in Leadenhall-street. Now Warren Hastings had several strong reasons for feeling embarrassed at the notion of inveigling, imprisoning, and ruining Mohammed Reza Khan, and courting the confidence and intimacy of Nuncomar: he had formerly concurred in opinion with Clive that Mohammed Reza Khan was the best man in the country and Nuncomar the worst, and, if he had not been a member of the council which appointed the former to his high offices, and which received presents on that account to the amount of twenty lacs of rupees, he had on many occasions, both in England and in India, personally and by means of letters, testified his esteem for the Mohammedan, and his thorough detestation of the Hindu.* Moreover Nuncomar had, long ago, in the days of Suraj-u-Dowlah and Meer Jaffier, rendered himself peculiarly odious to the English at Calcutta, who, when their time of power and vengeance arrived, had treated him as a felon, keeping him some time a prisoner in Fort William. During the administration of Vansittart, the directors, convinced by the frequent representations of Hastings, had declared their conviction that Nuncomar was capable of forgery and all other frauds and crimes, and must be kept under a constant surveillance.† Nevertheless Hastings proceeded with the task set down for him. "As your commands," says he in a letter to the secret committee, "were peremptory, and addressed to myself alone, I carefully concealed them from every person except Mr. Middleton, whose assistance was necessary for their execution, until I was informed by him that Mohammed Reza Khan was actually in arrest, and on his way to Calcutta. To have consulted the board on a point on which your authoritative commands had left me without a choice, or to have desired their assistance when I had sufficient power to act without it, would have been equally improper. But I will confess that there were other cogent reasons for this reserve. I was yet but a stranger to the characters and dispositions of the members of your administration. I knew that Mohammed Reza Khan had enjoyed the sovereignty of this province for seven years past, had possessed an allowed annual stipend of nine lacs of rupees, the uncontrolled disposal of thirty-two lacs entrusted to him for the use of the nabob, the absolute command of every branch of the nizamut, and the chief authority in the dewannee. To speak more plainly, he was in everything but the name the nazim of the province, and in real authority more than the nazim. I could not suppose him so inattentive to his own security, nor so ill versed in the maxims of eastern policy, as to have neglected the due means of establishing an interest with such of the company's agents as by actual authority or by representation to the honourable com-

* He had even accused Nuncomar of plotting against him, and seeking his life or his absolute ruin. "From the year 1759," said he in one of his letters, "to the time when I left Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man, because I judged him to be adverse to the welfare of my employers, and I had received sufficient indications of his ill will to myself."

† "From the whole of your proceedings with respect to Nuncomar," wrote the directors, "there seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring by forgery and false accusations to ruin Ram Churn; that he has been guilty of carrying on correspondence with the country powers hurtful to the company's interests, and instrumental in conveying letters between the shazada and the French governor-general of Pondicherry. In short it appears he is of that wicked and turbulent disposition that no harmony can subsist in society where he has the opportunity of interfering. We therefore most readily concur with you, that Nuncomar is a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in our settlements, and capable of doing mischief if he is permitted to go out of the province, either to the northward or to the Deccan. We shall therefore depend upon your keeping such a watch *over all his actions as may be the means of* preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public, or injuring individuals for the future."—*Letter to the President and Council, dated 22nd February*, 1764.

pany might be able to promote or obstruct his views. I chose therefore to avoid the risk of an opposition, to put the matter beyond dispute, and then to record what I had done. The same reflections occurred to me when I proposed to intrust Mr. Middleton with the execution of your commands, which might with more certainty have been effected by an order to the commanding officer of the brigade stationed at Burrampoor. But this would have been productive of much disturbance. I was convinced that I might securely rely on Mr. Middleton, and his behaviour justified that confidence." Hastings did not mention how the naib had been inveigled into captivity, but said merely "Mohammed Reza Khan was brought without delay to Calcutta, where he has been detained ever since in an easy confinement." In the same paragraph of his letter he said that he had judged it advisable and consistent with the tenor of their commands to cause also Rajah Shitab Roy to be arrested and brought down to Calcutta. This Shitab Roy had been naib dewan at Patna, and had exercised in Bahar the same extensive authority that Mohammed Reza Khan had exercised in Bengal: he also had been appointed through the English interest, and, like the khan, had stood high in the estimation of his countrymen of both religions. Shitab Roy, who had more sensibility than is common among Indians, was deeply affected by his arrest, and seemed to pine away under "the easy confinement" to which he was subjected. In his case as in that of the khan the evidence of personal rivals and bitter enemies was sought for. To meet some present murmurs raised by his colleagues, and to anticipate and defend himself against any future blame, Hastings declared that in all that he had done he had been solely guided by the several instructions of the secret committee of the court of directors. "To the service of the company," said he in one of his letters, "and to your commands, I have sacrificed my own feelings, and have combated those of others joined with me in the administration of your affairs. I claim your approbation of what I have done, not as a recompense of integrity, but as the confirmation of the authority which you have been pleased to confide in me, and of your own which is involved in it." It appears that the members of the special committee at Calcutta strongly opposed some of these measures, while they were merely points of debate, but afterwards bowed to the sanction of the council, and concurred with Hastings and co-operated in the execution of them, as if they had never dissented. But it was found easier work to arrest the two naib dewans than to bring them to trial; and months and seasons elapsed before Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy knew specifically of what they were accused. Before ordering their arrest the company had come to the determination that, innocent or guilty, they should be the last naib dewans, and that, as a completion of the company's authority, the departments of revenue and finance, together with the department of law and justice, should be managed no longer, for them, by natives, but by their own English servants. Mohammed Reza Khan's influence continued for some time to prevail generally throughout Bengal; in the nabob's household, and at Moorshedabad, the capital, it seemed scarcely affected by his disgrace and imprisonment: his favour was still courted and his anger dreaded: his agents, friends, and dependants filled every office of the dewannee and nizamut. But Hastings attacked all parts of the system at once:—the nabob's household was reformed, or at least revolutionized and changed; leading men in the capital were won over to the new system; the treasury and the courts of law were swept clean of their old occupants; and the influence of the last naib dewan of Bengal was completely broken by removing all his dependants, and placing the secondary direction of affairs in the hands of the most powerful or active of his enemies, that is to say, the agents and creatures of Nuncomar.*

Ahteram-ul-Dowlah, uncle of the young nabob, and the eldest existing male of the family, claimed or petitioned for the vacant offices of naib, which would have constituted him chief minister and guardian of his young nephew: but one so near the musnud might make plots and rebellions to get possession of it for himself; he was a man of mature years, and neither without a party nor without a certain portion of spirit and ability; and, as an inevitable deduction, Hastings concluded that Ahteram-ul-Dowlah must have no place or authority in the remodeled court.† A woman, it was considered, would be less troublesome, or at least less dangerous, and there seemed besides plausible reasons for entrusting the care of the son to his natural guardian, his own mother. Accordingly Munny Begum or Minnee Begum, a second wife, or rather a concubine, of Meer Jaffier, who had been originally a dancing-girl, was preferred to the place. The council of Calcutta thus explained and justified the nomination in one of their minutes:—"We know no person so fit for the trust of guardian to the nabob as the widow of the late nabob Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, Minnee Begum; her rank may give her a claim to this pre-eminence without hazard to our own policy; nor will it be found incompatible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of her country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the nabob's palace, and the (new) dewan will act, of course, in all cases in which she

* Warren Hastings's own Letter to the secret committee.

† Hastings himself did not rate very high either the abilities or the ambition of Ahteram-ul-Dowlah; but he thought the following sufficient reasons for keeping him or any other man of the family at a distance:—"He is indeed a man of no *dangerous abilities*, or *apparent* ambition, but the father of a numerous family, who by his being brought so nigh to the musnud would have acquired a right of inheritance to the subahship; and if only one of his sons, who are all in the prime of life, should have raised his hopes to the succession, it would have been in his power at any time to remove the single obstacle which the nabob's life opposed to the advancement of his family. The guardian at least would have been the nazim while the minority lasted, and all the advantages which the company may hope to derive from it in the confirmation of their power would have been lost, or could only have been maintained by a contention hurtful to their rights, or by a violence yet more exceptionable. *The case would be much the same were any other man placed in that station.*"

cannot personally appear."* The new dewan, who was to act in public where the lady could not appear, was Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar. In a minute signed Warren Hastings, it is said—"The president proposes Rajah Goordass *for the office of dewan to the nabob's household.* The inveterate and rooted enmity which has long subsisted between Mohammed Reza Khan and Nuncomar, and the necessity of employing the vigilance and activity of so penetrating a rival to counteract the designs of Mohammed Reza Khan, and to eradicate that influence which he still retains in the government of this province, and more especially in the family of the nabob, *are the sole motives for this recommendation.*" Goordass, of course, was to be strictly confined to the household, and to have nothing to do with the public revenues or any of the public business of Bengal; and even in the department of the household he was to be kept in check by the Begum, and to have but the partial management of only sixteen lacs of rupees, whereas his powerful predecessor, Mohammed Reza-Khan, had had the sole management of thirty-two lacs in that department alone. Nothing it appears was to be feared from Goordass, who had no "dangerous abilities;" and his father, Nuncomar, was to be vigilantly watched, and not permitted to act for him except in conformity with the wishes and views of Warren Hastings and the interests of the company. At the same time Hastings considered that Nuncomar, satisfied with his son's promotion, would remain quiet or be active only in getting up charges against his old rival. There was, however, considerable opposition in the council at Calcutta to the nomination of Goordass, which was esteemed in effect the nomination of Nuncomar. To these objections Hastings replied, that it might be indeed unsafe to trust Nuncomar, but that, as he would hold no office, and would remain a subject of the company, it would be easy to remove him and his son also without eclat, or the least appearance of violence, whenever it should be proved or even *suspected* that he had abused the trust;—that it was not pretended that the abilities of Goordass could either administer the reduced stipend of the nabob with discretion, or root out the old power and influence of Mohammed Reza Khan—"his youth and inexperience would render him inadequate to these the real purposes of his appointment, but his father had all the abilities, perseverance, and temper, requisite for such ends, in a degree, perhaps, exceeding any man in Bengal;"—and finally, that Nuncomar would be subjected in all times and places to a surveillance that would prevent his doing mischief. "I still dislike him," said Hastings in a private letter, "although I countenance him and employ him. I had secret motives in addition to those which I assigned for the promotion of his son."* The secret committees expressed their entire approbation of his conduct in this and in every other particular. "The use you intend making of Nuncomar," wrote the Machiavellis of Leadenhall-street, "is very proper, and it affords us great satisfaction to find that you could at once determine to suppress all personal feeling when the public welfare seemed to clash with your private sentiments relative to Nuncomar."† To arrange all these difficult matters, to settle the collection of the revenue and the young nabob's household, Hastings, attended by the special committee of Calcutta, made a tour in the provinces, and resided some time at Moorshedabad. The settlement of the household, and the endeavour to make a court that had been spending thirty-two lacs per annum rest satisfied with sixteen, appear to have been the most difficult part of the business, and to have called most for the personal interference and exertions of the governor and president. It had been previously resolved in the nabob's council that he should solemnly protest against these sweeping changes, which would deprive him of the last semblance of sovereignty; that he should claim the administration of his own affairs, and upon the rejection of such claim abdicate the government and retire to Calcutta. There was, moreover, a fierce feud and jealousy between Minnee Begum and another Begum of the zenana; and the boy nabob was wholly in the hands of women and eunuchs, or adherents of Mohammed Reza Khan. Yet Hastings overcame all these difficulties with great art and infinite manœuvring, but without the least appearance of violence or even of disrespect. It was impossible to dethrone a prince with more gentleness and politeness, or to deprive courtiers of half their gains with more courtesy. Not a single English soldier, not a sepoy, was called into action. "However," says

* They add in their minute—"Great abilities are not to be expected in a zenana, but in these she is very far from being deficient; nor is any extraordinary understanding requisite for so limited an employ. She is said to have acquired a great ascendant over the spirit of the nabob, being the only person of whom he stands in any kind of awe; a circumstance highly necessary for fulfilling the chief part of her duty, in directing his education and conduct, which appear to have been hitherto much neglected."

* Letter to Josias Dupré, Esq.

† Among many other tirades which Hastings made at this period against Nuncomar, are the following:—"He stands convicted of treason against the company, while he was the servant of Meer Jaffier, and I helped to convict him. The man never was a favourite of mine, and was engaged in doing me many *ill offices* for seven years together. But I found him the only man who could *enable* me to fulfil the expectations of the company with respect to Mohammed Reza-Khan; and I had other reasons which would fully justify me when I can make them known. For these and those I supported his son, who is to benefit by his abilities and influence, but the father is to be allowed no authority."—*Letter to Dupré.* "To the latter (the nomination of Goordass) I was indeed principally inclined by your commands. I hope it will appear that I have adopted almost the only expedient in *which they* could be exactly fulfilled. You directed that 'if the assistance and information of Nuncomar should be serviceable to me, I should yield him such encouragements and rewards as the trouble and extent of his services might deserve.' There is no doubt that he is capable of affording me great services by his information and advice; but it is on his abilities, and on the activity of his ambition and hatred to Mohammed Reza Khan, that I depend for investigating the conduct of the latter, and, by eradicating his influence, for confirming the authority which you have assumed in the administration of the affairs of this country. The reward which has been assigned him (through his son) will put it in his power to answer those expectations, and will be an encouragement to him to exert all his abilities for the accomplishment of them. *Had I not been guarded by the caution which you have been pleased to enjoin me, yet my own knowledge of the character of Nuncomar would have restrained me from yielding him any trust or authority which could prove detrimental to the company's interests.* He himself has no trust or authority, but in the ascendancy which he naturally possesses over his son. No attempt to abuse the favour which has been shown him can escape unnoticed. . . . The son is of a disposition very unlike the father, placid, gentle, and without disguise. *From him there can be no danger.*"—*Letter to the Secret Committee.*

Hastings, "by avoiding every appearance of violence, and by a proper address to the nabob's counsellors, he was easily induced, with a very good grace and without opposition, to give his assent to the new appointments, which were conferred in form in the presence of the committee. . . . I had the honour some time afterwards to reconcile the two ladies, and to bring about a meeting between them; an event for which I claim some merit, although I do not imagine there is a grain of affection subsisting between them."* This Minnee Begum —"a woman incapable of passing the bounds assigned her"—was left as guardian at Moorshedabad, with Goordass, whose place could no longer be considered as anything more than a mere treasurership of the household; the dewannee, or public treasury, was removed to Calcutta and placed under English management; and thither also were carried the superior courts of justice. Hastings, quite jubilant, exclaimed—"By these arrangements the whole power and government of the province will centre in Calcutta, which may now be considered as the capital of Bengal. The establishment of the courts of justice in Calcutta is almost an act of injustice, the criminal judicature being a branch of the nizamut (*which the company had agreed to leave the nabob*); but it was so connected with the revenue, and the Mohammedan courts are so abominably venal, that it was *necessary:* it met with no opposition."†

It must be borne in mind that these transactions, together with many subsequent and important ones, took place while Warren Hastings was merely governor and president, not governor-general, and many months before the new constitution by act of parliament came into operation in India. Indeed it was the object of Hastings, and the constant order of his masters or employers, the court of directors, to do the work of reform or change by anticipation, so as to show that there was no need of the interference of parliament or of the ministry—an interference they considered as destructive of their rights and power.‡ In hastening the organization of the superior courts of justice at Calcutta, Hastings's only dread was that a new judicature and a new code of laws might be framing in England, upon principles diametrically opposite to his, which were, that the laws and forms established of old in the country should be renewed, with no other variation than such as was necessary to give them their due effect, and such as the people understood and were likely to be pleased with. He maintained that, if laws and regulations were made in the English parliament by gentlemen who knew nothing of India, though good lawyers in Westminster Hall, the operation of their code would be in part disastrous and in part impracticable. Hence he pursued his task with a degree of application and intelligence of which few men not bred to the legal profession would have been capable. "If," said he, "the lord chief justice and his judges should come amongst us with their institutes, the Lord have mercy upon us! We shall be in a complete state of confusion here and we shall be cruelly mauled at home, especially if the parliament should lay hold on our code; for we have not a lawyer among us!" And, while he was codifying, erecting courts, and finding out men proper to fill them, he was also engaged in systematizing the revenue, establishing the new treasury, and finding men proper to put in it or in the important offices of district collectors; in devising means for placing both the internal trade of the country and the external trade of the company upon a better footing; in making reforms or alterations among all classes of the company's servants in India; and in preparing the trials of Mohammed Reza Khan and Rajah Shitab Roy, as he said himself, "without materials and without much hope of assistance; for, *On ne pend pas des gens qui ont une million dans leur poche.*"* As to the reforms among the servants of the company, he complained that he had received a dangerous mark of distinction in being alone intrusted with their execution, and that the effect was, his hand was against every man, and every man's against him! And to all these laborious and trying occupations were superadded the constant cares and anxieties arising out of the company's connexions with the nabob of Oude and Shah Alum, and the encroachment of the Mahrattas, who occupied or overran for uncertain seasons the whole of the interior of India from Delhi to the frontiers of Oude, from the ghauts of the Carnatic to the ghauts behind Bombay.

After a long confinement, which certainly did not appear so "easy" to them as it did to the governor, Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy were brought to trial in Calcutta; and, although the court was of Hastings's own forming, and such extraordinary means had been adopted in the beginning to prove their guilt, they were both acquitted.† This seems the more strange, as not only Nuncomar, but hundreds of natives, always indifferent about false oaths, might, for considerations, have been made to swear whatsoever was wanted on the side of the prosecution.‡ It does not appear, however, that either the secret committee or the governor, who was acting under their peremptory orders, ever desired the death of these two ministers. They had probably discovered that their wealth was far less, or had been acquired by more legitimate means, than reported; and that the squeezing of the sponges

* Letter to Dupré. † Id.

‡ Hastings clearly foresaw the high destinies of Calcutta. "By the translation of the treasury, by the exercise of the dewannee without an intermediate agent, by the present superintendency of the nabob's household, and by the establishment of the new courts of justice under the control of our own government, the authority of the company is fixed in this country without any possibility of a competition, and beyond the power of any but themselves to shake it. The nabob is a mere name, and the seat of government most effectually and visibly transferred from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, which I do not despair of seeing the first city in Asia, if I live and am supported but a few years longer."—*Letter to Mr. Sykes.*

* "Men are not hanged who have got a million of money in their pockets."—*Letter to Josias Dupré.*

† In addition to the charges already mentioned, Mohammed Reza Khan was accused of a treacherous correspondence with the Mogul and the Mahrattas. "But," says Hastings, with curious sang froid, "*this last is a new and accidental charge.*"

‡ Hastings says, in one of his letters, that there were two hundred witnesses to swear *for* Mohammed Reza-Khan, and two hundred to swear against him!

would bring them more odium than money. They may also have been satisfied with discovering that the reports of their political power had been monstrously exaggerated; for Hastings had put them down, abolished their offices for ever, and changed the whole system of law, revenue, and finance without the slightest difficulty, and not only without difficulty, but, to all appearance, to the satisfaction of the common people of Bengal. Both prisoners were enlarged, which would scarcely have happened if they had been considered as any longer dangerous. It is at least probable that both left Calcutta poorer men than they entered it. The sensitive Shitab Roy returned to Patna, where he died shortly after, it was said of a broken heart. Mohammed, being made of sterner stuff, lived on to be again and again involved in political intrigues and troubles. There is the evidence of his own letters to prove that Hastings considered that an unjust or too severe a measure had been dealt out to Shitab Roy: on his visiting Patna some time after that naib's death, he gave his son Roy-Royan a secondary but profitable post in the treasury of Bahar, declaring that he did so "from an entire conviction of the merits and faithful services, and in consideration of the late sufferings, of his deceased father."* The governor may have felt additional remorse or tenderness from the circumstance of his having taken the arrest of Shitab Roy upon himself. With Mohammed Reza Khan he had no alternative save the desperate one we have mentioned:—the select committee commanded the seizure of that chief, and the turning the infernal malice and ingenuity of Nuncomar against him; but in their memorable letter they had not mentioned the name or said one word in allusion to Shitab Roy—they had only approved and applauded Hastings's doings in this respect months after when they received his own report of what he had done. There can be no mistake or possibility of doubt as to these facts. In a letter to the secret committee, Hastings said that he had judged it *advisable, and consistent with the tenor* of their commands, to have Shitab Roy arrested and brought down to Calcutta. In a private letter to his close friend Josias Dupré, he says, after mentioning the orders he had received to arrest Mohammed Reza Khan, and to accuse him of frauds, embezzlements, &c.—"Rajah Shitab Roy, the dewan of Patna, being nearly in the same predicament with respect to the suspicion of embezzling the revenue, it was judged necessary to extend the same orders to him." Nothing, however, could be more complete than the sanction afterwards given to the proceeding by the secret committee. "The extirpation of Mohammed Reza Khan's influence," said they in a letter to their governor, "was absolutely necessary, and the apprehending of Shitab Roy equally so, as the latter had been too long connected with Mohammed Reza Khan to be independent of him; but if that had not been the case, it would have been absurd to continue a naib-dewan in the province of Bahar after abolishing that office in Bengal. . . . . The company's affairs must be put in the hands of persons who may be rendered responsible in England for their conduct in India." In other places the secret committee and the directors in general declared that nothing could have been more prompt, energetic, wise, and altogether admirable, than the self-inspired conduct of Hastings in this particular.

Clive in his treaty with the Emperor Shah Alum had guaranteed to that poor and forlorn potentate the quiet possession of Corah and Allahabad, and the annual tribute or stipend from the company of twenty-six lacs of rupees—about 260,000*l.* sterling. In the profundity of their own debts and embarrassments the court of directors and the court of proprietors at home, and the impoverished people of Bengal abroad, had long grudged this money. It appears that the lacs were at no time very punctually paid, and that for considerably more than two years payment had been withheld altogether. Hastings had good reasons to plead for stopping the stipend, though it unfortunately happened that the cases were not specified or provided for in Clive's treaty, or, as it is usually called, the Treaty of Allahabad. In spite of the disapprobation of the government of Calcutta, Shah Alum had thrown himself into the arms of the Mahrattas, and, quitting his territories of Allahabad and Corah, the only possessions he had, and which he owed entirely to the English, he, in the beginning of the year 1771, took the field with a mixed but numerous army. It is said that he was secretly encouraged by Sujah Dowla, vizier and nabob of Oude, who wished to be free of his presence, in order to recover possession of Corah and Allahabad, which had formerly belonged to Oude, and which he calculated might be restored to his dominion with permission of the English, and upon a pecuniary bargain with them. By the end of the year 1771 the Mahratta chiefs carried the poor Mogul in triumph into Delhi; but, though in the palace of Aurungzebe, Shah Alum found that he was a mere state prisoner, compelled to do whatever the turbulent chiefs required of him. He was soon hurried into the field by these Mahrattas, who were eager for the plunder, if not for the permanent possession, of Rohilcund, a country which was equally coveted by the nabob of Oude, who had for some time kept his eye upon it in the hope of obtaining it by the assistance of English troops or English-trained sepoys. The Rohillas, however, found themselves obliged to apply for the insidious aid of this vizier-nabob, and they obtained his promise not only to assist them himself, but also to procure for them the more potent co-operation of the company. At the same time he intimated to Sir Robert Barker, the general commanding the company's forces, and to the governor and council at Calcutta, that to allow any stipend or tribute to

* Letters, Minutes, &c., as given by Scott, Hist. Bengal; Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.; and Gleig, Life of Hastings.

In a private letter to Mr. Sykes, written while the trial was in progress, Hastings says, "We have entered on the inquiry of Rajah Shitab Roy, who will escape with credit. Indeed, I scarce know why he was called to an account." This is the more startling as it was Hastings himself who had called the poor Hindu to account, and who had arrested or trepanned him.

the Mogul would be only sending money to the rapacious and turbulent Mahrattas, who were deadly enemies to him, the close ally of the English, and who were, or soon would be, the most powerful enemies of the company itself. But long before this intimation, and apparently before Shah Alum

Shah Alum. From a Hindu Picture engraved in Francklin's History of Shah Alum.

marched away from Allahabad with the Mahrattas, the payment of the tribute had been suspended, upon the cogent pleas that the trade and revenue of the English provinces suffered a visible decay by this annual diminution of their specie; that the company were compelled to borrow money for their own uses at high interest; and finally, that, the provinces of Bengal and Bahar having lost nearly *one-half* of their inhabitants by the famine of 1769-70, and the survivors in many parts being unable to pay their rents and taxes to the company through the absence of purchasers and the want of money in the country, they could no longer possibly bear the annual drainage of the twenty-six lacs, which never returned into the English provinces either by way of trade or otherwise.* But, if this had been held sufficient cause to suspend the Mogul's allowance, his departure with the Mahrattas was considered as a throwing up on his part of all right or claim to English money and English protection, and the strong arguments of the Nabob of Oude had no doubt presented themselves to the mind of Hastings before he received that nabob's letters and messages.

At this critical juncture, and while the ministry and parliament at home were calling in question the territorial rights of the company, and making it doubtful, at least for a time, whether the crown, or nation, would not take those rights to itself and reduce the company to its original condition of a mere trading body, a dissatisfied English officer, who had a turn for bold projects and political intrigues, conceived a plan that evidently brought a cold perspiration upon Hastings and the council. This officer was John Morrison, who had held the rank of captain in the king's service, and of major in the company's service, but who had resigned the latter commission in 1770, and then repaired to Allahabad to try his fortune with Shah Alum, from whom he at once obtained the rank of general. When the Mogul began to complain of the non-payment of the lacs, Morrison made him understand the real nature and character of the company, which few natives, whether princes or peasants, could ever comprehend; and he persuaded him that, if he, John Morrison, were only appointed ambassador and plenipotentiary from the Great Mogul to his Britannic Majesty George III., he would obtain for Shah Alum, not only the tribute of twenty-six lacs and more, but many other advantages—and all these not from a corporation of traders and traffickers, but from a crowned head. Shah Alum gave him the diplomatic rank he required, and Morrison came down the Ganges to the Dutch settlement of Chinchura on the Hooghly, with his credentials, and the Mogul's proposals neatly written in Persian. The chief of the proposals was simply this:—The Great Mogul Shah Alum, as undoubted lord and sovereign of Hindustan, &c., and as having full right so to do, would transfer to his Britannic majesty Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with all that the company possessed in those parts, and which was all forfeited by them, upon condition that his Britannic majesty would pay the pecuniary homage of thirty-two lacs, and aid the Great Mogul with troops and arms. On arriving at Chinchura, John Morrison wrote a letter to Hastings, formally notifying his high appointment, asking whether he would receive him in his public capacity, and demanding a passage to England in one of the company's ships. Hastings, who saw through a hundred eyes and heard through a hundred ears—for the company had its agents or spies everywhere—knew the contents of Morrison's papers, and the full extent of his audacious plan, which was regarded as nothing less than treason against the company. Apparently in no very courteous terms, and with the advice of the select committee, he wrote in reply, that he would neither receive him in his public capacity of the Mogul's ambassador, nor allow him a passage in any ship belonging to the company or to the port of Calcutta. This letter was addressed to Major John Morrison, and was returned unopened, as the diplomatic soldier would not waive his claim to the title of ambassador. The next step of Hastings

* Letter from Hastings to Sir George Colebrooke, in Gleig's Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

was to prevent Morrison's embarking for England under any other flag. "At any other period," said he, in detailing these transactions to a director and friend, "such a project, and the authors of it, would have been treated with contempt; *but I confess I see so near a similitude between the offers of the king (Shah Alum), and the claims of the ministers of our own court on the government of Fort St. George, that I could not but be alarmed for the consequences with which they might be attended, and I judged it of the most essential importance to prevent Major Morrison, if possible, from arriving in England before the court of directors could be furnished with full intelligence of his errand, and take the necessary measures for obviating its effect.*"* In another letter, written to the same important correspondent in England, he said—"What I have written to you upon the subject of Major Morrison will appear trifling, *if* his project should not meet with a favourable reception from the ministry. It appears to me a direct violation of the laws, but he is said to have a warm patron in Lord North, and the grant of the dewannee of Bengal to the crown may be deemed a valid plea for dispossessing the present proprietors of it." Having ascertained that the dangerous major had engaged a passage in a Danish ship, he applied to M. Bie, a gentleman of the superior council of Tranquebar, a Danish settlement in the southern Carnatic, deputed to regulate the affairs of the Danes in Bengal, and through his means he obtained a positive order that Morrison should not be admitted into any Danish ship.† Hastings knew quite enough of law to be aware that some of these proceedings were not quite legal; but he took the responsibility upon himself, thinking it better to incur personal blame and the chances of heavy damages than to allow Morrison to get to England before the court of directors could be put on their guard. It appears that except the Dane there was no other foreign ship that could sail for Europe that season. This one embargo on the major was therefore enough —Hastings's private letters and public dispatches would be in Leadenhall-street before the Mogul ambassador could by any apparent possibility sail from India. "I do not consider it necessary," wrote he, with a moderation which cost him nothing, "to take any further steps in this business; what I have done is sufficient for the purpose which I intended. I neither wish to keep Major Morrison in India, nor indeed is it possible. . . . . As I know not what construction may be put on this detention of Major Morrison, in England, *I have taken no notice of it on our proceedings, choosing rather to hazard the consequences of it than, by making it an act of our government, involve the company in trouble by my indiscretion.*"* The major's adventure ended in smoke.

It was perfectly clear that twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum was too great a price to pay for the merely ceremonial investiture of the company in the dewannee of Bengal, over which neither the reigning Mogul nor his predecessor had ever had the least control; and the state of mutual obligations between Shah Alum and the English appears to be not unfairly described by Hastings, who taxes the Mogul with the basest treachery and ingratitude, and says—"Of all the powers of Hindustan the English alone had really acknowledged his authority; they invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory; they paid him an annual tribute, the only pledge of fealty which he has ever received." † The territory here spoken of was Allahabad and Corah; and shortly after detaining Major Morrison Hastings learned that the helpless Mogul had ceded both Corah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas, who were declaring their intention of taking immediate possession. This was considered as equivalent to a complete discharge from all the obligations of Clive's treaty. Moreover the nabob of Oude, as the faithful ally of the English, claimed their assistance in preventing the Mahrattas from obtaining a settlement in provinces that lay in the heart of his own country, and that would bring them close upon the frontiers of the company's territories. The English at once threw a garrison into Allahabad, where the Mogul's deputy or governor received them with a welcome, declaring that his master was no longer a free agent but a prisoner to the Mahratta chiefs, who were in the habit of subjecting him even to the degradation of blows and other personal chastisement when he hesitated to sign such grants, firmans, or decrees as they required. Hastings, who was most anxious for the preservation of peace, as the only possible means of restoring the prosperity and trade of Bengal, would gladly have stopped here, and for some time he was deaf to the prayers and representations of Sujah Dowla, who continued to believe, or rather to wish the English to believe, that the Mahrattas, after subduing the Rohillas, would overrun the whole of Oude, and then, descending the Ganges, spread havoc over Bahar and Bengal. As a little episode, however, Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive the Bootans, a resolute and daring people, out of Cooch-Bahar, and to annex that healthy and fertile province to the company's dominions, to which, geographically considered, it belonged. At the same time the attention of the governor was called to the inroads and devastations of the Senassie fakeers, an assemblage of men who united the several characters of saints, living martyrs, jugglers, robbers, and cutthroats, which, according to Indian notions and superstitions, were not irreconcilable. Tribes and

* Letter to Sir George Colebrooke, as given by Mr. Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

† Id. Hastings adds that he had promised the Danish agent to represent to the court of directors at London this instance of the ready attention shown by the Danish gentlemen in India to the interests of the English company. But the Danes were in no condition to refuse compliance with the will of the determined English governor, who could easily have done them many ill offices, and who knew that in their weakness and isolation they could only exist or prosecute their trade through English sufferance.

* Letter to Sir George Colebrooke, as given by Mr. Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

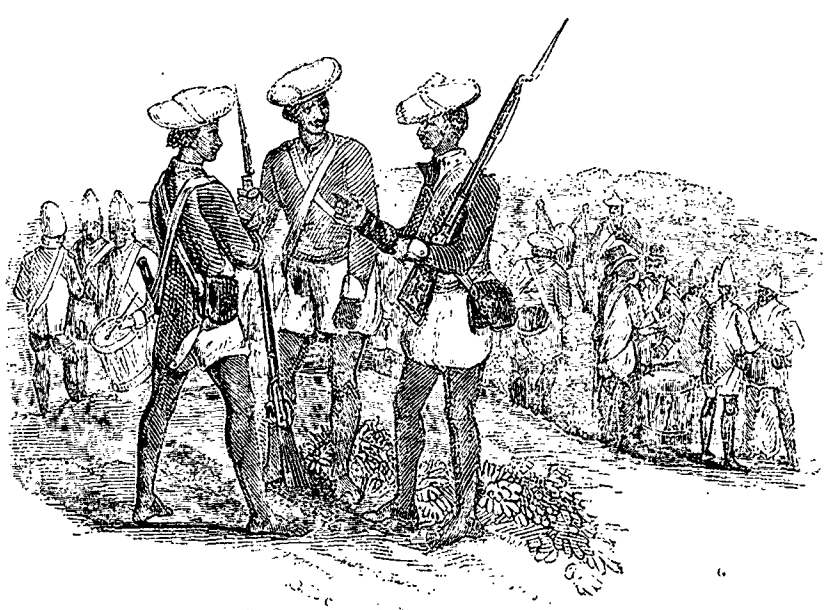
† Id. Id.

hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, murdering, and committing every act of obscenity and violence. A host of this kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurungzebe, and caused that emperor, when at the height of his power, to tremble on his throne at Delhi. They were not the least of the many scourges and curses to which the country was periodically liable under the weak and divided empire, and imbecile government of the native princes. The present swarm fell upon Bengal, rapidly and silently, like a flight of locusts. They rushed in search of their prey in bodies each two or three thousand strong, and wherever they penetrated they burned and destroyed the villages, and committed every abomination. Five battalions of sepoys were sent in pursuit of them, but they moved at a speed that defied the pursuit of any regular infantry; and Hastings, to save the company money, had discharged the greater part of the native cavalry—the only cavalry, except a troop or two, the English had in that part of India. When it was reported and believed that the marauders had crossed the Bramapootra River they turned aside and re-appeared unexpectedly in different parts of the interior. "In spite of the strictest orders issued," wrote Hastings, "and the severest penalties threatened to the inhabitants, in case they fail in giving intelligence of the approach of the Senassies, they are so infatuated by superstition as to be backward in giving the information, so that the banditti are sometimes advanced into the very heart of our provinces before we know anything of their motions; as if they dropped from heaven to punish the inhabitants for their folly." * One of these parties fell in with a small detachment of newly-raised sepoys, defeated them, and killed Captain Edwards as he was attempting to rally them. Elated by this success the fakeers extended their ravages. Another British officer, with an entire battalion of sepoys, was vigilant in their pursuit wherever he could hear of them; but to no purpose,—they were always gone before he could reach the place to which he was directed. Hastings hurried on another detachment to assist in the pursuit, and ordered another to follow the track which the fakeers usually took on their return. Yet, after every possible exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and mountains, got back to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China. Their visit and their various depredations proved a serious blow to the revenues of the company, as well from real as from pretended losses.

Soon after the departure of the fakeers, Hastings set out on a visit to Oude, for various circumstances had induced him to change or modify his pacific policy, and to give a more ready ear to the prayers, plans, and suggestions of the ambitious nabob of that country, who now earnestly solicited a personal conference at Benares, in order to arrange new bargains and treaties with the English.† The Mah-

* Another letter to Sir George Colebrooke, dated March, 1773.

† Hastings states the following as some of the motives for this journey into Oude:—"Hitherto he (the vizier-nabob) has been entirely managed by our military, who have contrived to keep him



Sepoys. From Hunter's Picturesque Views in India.

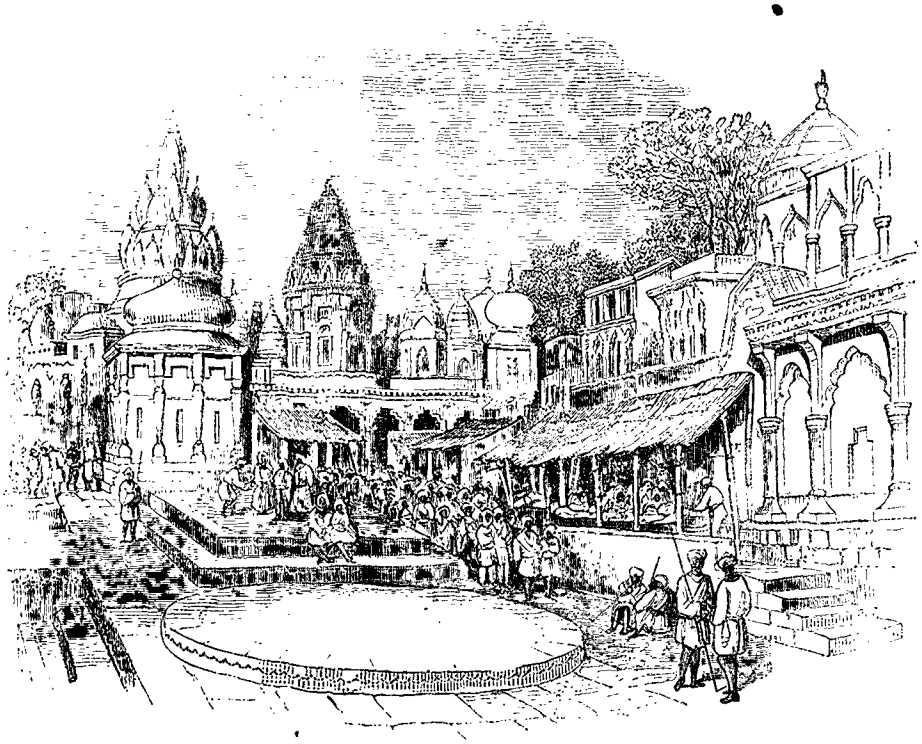
rattas too were really making war upon the Rohillas, the allies of Oude, and a considerable part of the English army, under Sir Robert Barker, had marched into Rohilcund, where they found the Mahrattas more inclined to a retreat than to fight, and the Rohillas more disposed to regard the English or the troops of the Nabob of Oude as enemies than as friends. And, in fact, the sovereign of Oude had conceived, and had some time before this communicated to the English governor at Calcutta, a plan of conquering the Rohilla country and annexing it to his dominions; and the correspondence upon this subject, more than anything else, had introduced the proposal of an interview. Hastings left Calcutta on the 24th of June, and arrived at Benares on the 19th of August, 1773. He found the vizier-nabob waiting his arrival, and eager for business. The affairs and interests to be arranged were numerous and mighty; and, though no time was lost in idleness or ceremonies, the negotiations occupied three whole weeks.* The considerations, final resolutions, and agreements were these:—

I. The Rohilla chiefs, when attacked by the Mahrattas, made an offer of forty lacs of rupees to the vizier for his assistance, and the vizier had promised to give half of this money to the company

so weak that his alliance is of no manner of use to us, but obliges us in every alarm to send our army to prevent his being overpowered by his enemies, which has been usually done at the company's expense, little being required for reimbursement, and that little paid after long delays. I wish to establish a new and more rational alliance between him and the company, and more creditable to both, and to establish his dependence on the government, instead of the military influence which has hitherto ruled him."—*Letter to Josias Dupré, dated 9th March, 1773.*

It appears that Sir Robert Barker, the general and the head of this military influence, had drawn pretty largely from the nabob of Oude's treasury, though the company had been getting little or nothing from it.

* Various Letters of Warren Hastings.—Scott, Hist. of Bengal.



BENARES

for the services of the English troops and sepoys. The troops of Oude had been of little service, but the troops of the company had cleared the country of the Mahrattas; and yet the Rohilla chiefs, though bound by a solemn treaty with the vizier-nabob, refused to pay the forty lacs of rupees or any part of them. The Rohillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oude, and must keep the nabob poor and in constant need of English assistance, unless those powerful allies, by one great effort, for which he was willing to pay a liberal price—and he knew how much the company wanted money—should conquer that Afghan race, who were themselves but conquerors of a recent date, without any right but that of the sword, and without any consideration or mercy for the original and peaceful occupants of the soil, who were still tenfold more numerous than themselves. Hastings ingeniously compared Rohilcund to Scotland before the union with England; but the Scots were one race thinly scattered over a poor country which had no other inhabitants, while the Rohillas were scattered over a rich country peopled by a different race, who regarded them as intruders and harsh task-masters,

and heartily wished for their expulsion. In other respects the comparison was sufficiently correct for the occasion. "The Rohilla country," says Hastings, "is bounded on the west by the Ganges, and on the north and east by the mountains of Tartary. It is to the province of Oude, in respect both to its geographical and political relation, exactly what Scotland was to England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It lies open on the south where it touches Oude. The reduction of this territory would complete the defensive line of the vizier's dominions, and of course leave us less to defend, as he subsists on our strength entirely. It would add much to his income, *in which we should have our share*." * Upon all these, and other considerations, Hastings consented to employ an army against the Rohillas, and to unite the country to Oude, the vizier nabob engaging to pay the entire expenses of the army, according to a liberal scale fixed by the English themselves, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees. It is quite evident that this last consideration was the weightiest of all, and that Hastings would not have embarked in the Rohilla war but for the lacs and the necessities and urgent demands of the court of directors. In his dispatches to the India House, as well as in his private letters, he spoke of this journey to Benares as a financial and money-making expedition—only not wholly so.

II. The Nabob of Oude was as anxious to recover possession of Corah and Allahabad, which had formerly belonged to his dominions, and which stood within his frontier, as he was to annex Rohilcund. Only a few years before he had treacherously murdered a near relative in order to get the two fair provinces. It was impossible to allow the fulfilment of the grant extorted from the Mogul or the settlement of the Mahrattas in Corah and Allahabad; and it was held to be equally impossible for the Mogul to maintain himself in them, even if he could escape from the Mahratta thraldom and be pardoned and reinstated by the company whom he had so grievously offended. No regard was paid to the glaring fact that the Nabob of Oude would scarcely be more able to defend the two provinces than was the Mogul without the aid of the company. But the nabob had money, the Mogul had none; and for fifty lacs of rupees—twenty paid down on the spot, and thirty to be paid in two years—Hastings sold Corah and Allahabad to Sujah Dowla.† According to his own accounts, which on several points are rather ambiguous or confused, Hastings wrote to Shah Alum in pressing terms to send to Benares a person in his confidence to treat on the subject of these provinces and about other affairs in which he might be concerned, he (Hastings) wishing for his concurrence in whatever plan might be adopted for the disposal of the provinces. "He appointed," says Hastings, "a man of distinction to appear at the meeting, but afterwards recalled him and referred me to Sujah Dowla as his vizier, and to his naib Moneer-u-Dowla, who had had the government of those districts, to whom the only orders which he gave were to demand the arrears of the tribute due from Bengal, the punctual payment of it in future, and the restitution of Corah and Allahabad."‡ This asking of money from the company was like testing the patience of the devil with holy water; the arrears alone must by this time have amounted to seventy-eight lacs of rupees, or more!—and, to use his own words, the public treasury at Calcutta, when Hastings left it, "had scarce a rupee in it, and was loaded with a debt of a crore and a half of rupees."† Even the smooth and placid Hastings took fire. "As," said he, "I saw no use in excuses and evasions which all the world can see through, I replied to a peremptory demand of the Mogul for the tribute of Bengal by a peremptory declaration that not a rupee should pass through our provinces till they had recovered from the distresses to which the lavish payments made to him had principally contributed.‡ The board have supported this declaration by a resolution to pay him no more till they shall receive the company's orders for it."§

III. As the unauthorised residence even of British subjects was frequently embarrassing or provocative of suspicion to the government of Calcutta—and perhaps the more so since John Morrison's adventure—it was agreed that no Europeans whatsoever should be permitted to reside in any of the territories of the Nabob of Oude without the knowledge and consent of the company.

IV. Cheyte Sing, the young Rajah of Benares, and son and successor of Bulwant Sing, was included in some of the arrangements between the company and the Nabob of Oude, for Benares, the holy city, and the dependent district were geographically included in the province of Allahabad, and Sujah Dowla had long aimed at the destruction of the young rajah, whom the English by previous engagements were bound to support. Hastings insisted that all the rights of his father Bulwant Sing should be confirmed to Cheyte Sing, "*to continue unchanged to his posterity for ever*," and that he should be confirmed in the zemindaries of Ghazipoor, &c., about which there had been some disputes. A plan of equal duties was also settled with the young rajah, who agreed to exempt from duties broadcloth, copper, and lead. Sujah Dowla, as a matter of course, was diplomatically bound to respect his young and weak neighbour, Cheyte Sing.

* Letter to Mr. Sulivan.

† "Knowing," says Hastings, "that to give up these lands to him (the Mogul) would in reality be to give them up to the Mahrattas, our enemies, and to expose the dominions of the vizier our ally to almost certain ruin, I resolved to assert the right of the company to the possession of them, and to convert them to such uses as their value and *the necessities of the company required*."—*Letter to Sir George Colebrooke.*

* Letter to Sir George Colebrooke.

† Id. A crore is a hundred lacs of rupees, or, estimating the rupee at two shillings, a million of pounds sterling.

‡ Here the governor and president chose to overlook the horrible famine and depopulation, the wasting incursions of the Fakeers and other marauders, the enormous drains made upon the specie of Bengal for the wars in the Carnatic and other purposes. He, however, reiterates this argument, and seems to have considered that men ought to believe that the poverty of Bengal had been almost wholly occasioned by paying for two or three years the annual tribute or stipend of twenty-six lacs.—See *Letter to Sir George Colebrooke.*

§ Letter to Sulivan.

All these and some other collateral matters were settled when the Nabob of Oude was seized with a money panic, and, fearing that he had engaged beyond his ability, he desired to decline for the present the conquest of Rohilcund, for which he was to pay the forty lacs of rupees and all the expenses of the company's troops. To this postponement Hastings readily agreed.* He clearly foresaw that the Rohilcund enterprise would be open to severe animadversion, and that people in England would not comprehend the real condition of the Rohillas, who, in sober truth, were little better than a great association of brigands and freebooters, who might be compared to the moss-troopers of our borders in the sixteenth century. "I was glad," said he, "a few days after he had finished his arrangements, to be freed from the Rohilla expedition, because I was doubtful of the judgment which would have been passed upon it at home, where I see too much stress laid upon general maxims, and too little attention given to the circumstances which require an exception to be made from them. . . . . On the other hand, however, the absence of the Mahrattas and the weak state of the Rohillas promised an easy conquest of them; *and I own that, such was my idea of the company's distress at home, added to my knowledge of their wants abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, which would save so much of their pay and expenses.*"† But in consenting to put off the grand expedition he obliged the nabob to agree that, whenever or for whatsoever occasion he might require the assistance of the company's troops, he would pay for it at the rate of 210,000 rupees a-month per brigade, which was the rate fixed at the commencement of the conference, when Sujah Dowla was contemplating immediate operations against the Rohillas. This Hastings considered as a *grand coup de finance*, for hitherto the nabob had been constantly calling English troops to his assistance without paying anything to the company. The agreement respecting the Rohillas was kept out of the treaty, which was finally adjusted and signed on the 7th of September, 1773. It has been said that Hastings withheld from the court of directors intelligence of the project, which after all was only suspended; but this can scarcely have been the case, and we have his letters to two of the principal directors—Sulivan and Colebrooke—minutely detailing what passed on the subject. It is, indeed, from these very letters to directors that the foregoing details are taken.

When the meeting at Benares broke up, Sujah Dowla proceeded to reduce some forts and districts in his neighbourhood that were still held by the Mahrattas, and Hastings returned to Calcutta rejoicing in the money he had made and in the money he had saved. In the article of saving alone—without counting the pay in prospective for the troops—the suspension of the Mogul's tribute, being added to the reduction of the young Nabob of Bengal's stipend and the stoppage of Mohammed Reza Khan's and Shitab Roy's allowances, amounted to fifty-seven lacs per annum.* Speaking of the suppression of the tribute or stipend to Shah Alum, he says—"I am not apt to attribute a large share of merit to my own actions, but I own that *this* is one of the few to which I can with confidence affix my own approbation." With respect to his other proceedings at Benares he says—"If the court of directors shall think it proper to disclaim what I have done, they must also point out the means of undoing it. They must cancel the treaty (which God forbid!); they must repay what they shall have received from the vizier, and relinquish their claim to the rest; they must discharge the arrears of the tribute and punctually pay the future yearly demands of twenty-six lacs to the king. But from what fund these great things are to be done I am sure they will be unable to direct."†

Hastings now applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal—to the establishment of something like an efficient police, to the posting detachments so as to prevent the incursions of the Fakeers and other marauders, to the formation of local courts in the districts, to the regulation of taxes and of the collection of the revenue—a tremendous task!—to the protection of native trade and industry; to the removing absurd regulations and impolitic taxes, duties, and fees upon native marriages;‡ to the suppression of peculation and rapacity in the company's servants up the country or in remote districts; and to other cares and occupations almost innumerable. Some of the means adopted may not have been of the purest or highest kind, several may not be reconcilable either with our modern notions of political economy or of morals and of justice, some may have been *pro tempore* expedients; but the present end attained was most indisputably a great benefit and a wonderful improvement on the immediately preceding state of things. Even those who were no encomiasts of Warren Hastings confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal (in 1771) the whole country had assumed or was rapidly assuming a different aspect. The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease began to be filled up by the

* It appears from his own letters that, while the immediate conquest of Rohilcund remained part of the bargain, Hastings had agreed to take forty-five lacs for Corah and Allahabad, and that he raised this price on the nabob's asking for a delay to the Rohilla expedition. "As," says he, "the nabob would have *less to pay and less to lay out*, the acknowledgment for Corah, &c., *was increased to fifty lacs.*"—*Id.* The times of payment were also brought closer.

† Id.

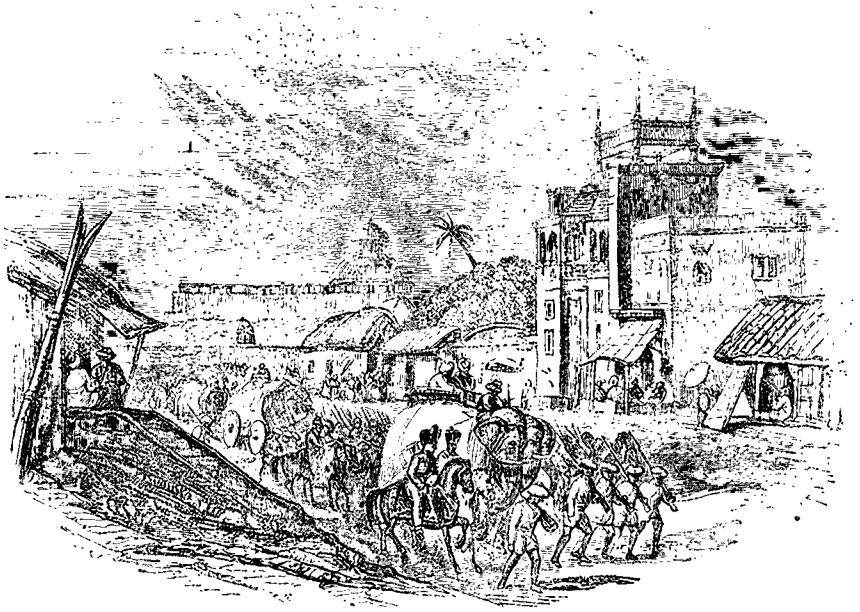
* Letter to Sykes.

† Letter to Sir George Colebrooke. At this time the constant and pressing advice of the company to their servant Hastings is, "Get money, get money, at all events get money;" and they scarcely can be said to add the parenthetical part of the old adage—"*honestly if you can.*"

‡ In allusion to this and some other reforms he says—"Of my foreign policy I have no cause to be ashamed; but that on which I chiefly congratulate myself is the abrogation of laws and usages oppressive to the people, and of one most destructive to population, which, though requiring little more than the stroke of a pen to remove it, I particularly mention, because, though little known, and perhaps forgotten, it is one to which my mind ever recurs with self-satisfaction—the abolition of the duties and fees on marriage."

removal of the impolitic checks upon marriage, by the improved condition and more abundant food of the natives, and by the frequent immigrations of quiet laborious people from other parts of India, who sought and found that protection and encouragement under the government of Hastings which they could find scarcely anywhere else in a country kept almost in a constant state of anarchy and misery by revolutions, petty feuds, and the ravages of flying Mahratta hordes, or of hordes of a still more destructive and murderous description—Afghans, Jaats, Decoits, Thugs, Beels, and others of that long array of monstrosity which gives to the authentic story of Hindustan the appearance of fable or of a horrid dream. With rajahs and nabobs, with khans and other grandees, the case may have been somewhat different; but the native merchant, manufacturer, weaver, tiller of the soil, artisan, all that we call people, throughout the wide extent of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were brought to consider Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name.

It was probably to this period he alluded when he said in private conversation many years after, when nearly all England was accusing him of monstrous cruelty and oppression—"I could have gone from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and from Moorshedabad to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to be found in the good-will and affection of the natives." In the multiplicity of his employments he found time to devote to sundry speculations and inquiries, and to an expansive scheme for enlarging our geographical knowledge of Asia, and extending our commercial intercourse to regions which had scarcely been traversed by any European since the days of Marco Polo. The detachment which he had sent into Cooch Bahar had cleared that country of the



Road near Calcutta—Troops on March. From a Drawing by Thomas Daniell.

Bootans, though not without some hard fighting, for that singular race of men were robust and bold, and resolute in keeping what they had once got. But, being reinforced, Captain Jones followed the Bootans into their own country and took their strong fortress of Dellamcotta by storm. The Daeb Rajah, or secular governor of Bootan, then implored for peace, and sent an ambassador with presents to Calcutta. Hastings acceded to conditions, treated the ambassador, apparently a bonze or priest of the Bogdo-Lama, with great kindness, and eagerly grasped at what he considered a favourable opportunity for exploring the countries of Bootan, Tibet, and Cashmere, and for making inquiries respecting a direct land communication with China. He selected Mr. Bogle for this mission, and he carefully prepared for him a paper of instructions showing the objects to which he ought more particularly to direct his attention and inquiries. Well furnished with presents and samples of English goods and manufactures, and instructed by Hastings not to be sparing of his money where money could do good, or procure curious and interesting specimens of the natural history and industry of the *terra in-*

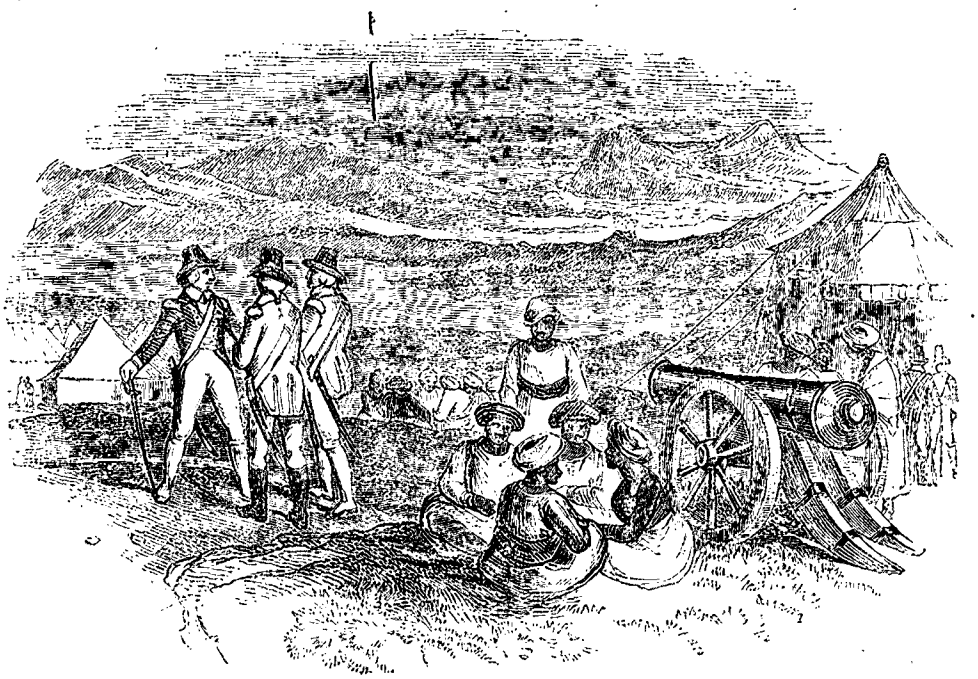
cognita he was about to visit, Mr. Bogle started on his adventurous journey in May, 1774. He penetrated as far as Tassisudon, the capital of Bootan Proper, but there he was stopped by the jealousies of the Dharma Rajah, or Bogdo-Lama, the spiritual and supreme ruler of Bootan, and a supposed incarnation of the deity; and by the old and revered customs of the people, who are as exclusive and as averse to the visits of strangers as are the Chinese themselves, whom they nearly resemble in features and other particulars. Thus the Himalaya was not passed, no intercourse was established even with the interior of Bootan, and no great addition was made to our knowledge; but the attempt was highly honourable to Hastings, and the care he devoted to the subject extraordinary in one so harassed and oppressed by business of all kinds.*

He was not deceived in his anticipation that the Nabob of Oude would soon want his assistance. At the end of the year 1773 that prince was so terrified at rumours of invasion by the Abdallies, another numerous and warlike Afghan tribe, that he applied to Hastings for some place of shelter within the limits of the British dominions wherein his own women and children, and those belonging to the principal families of Oude, might have a secure asylum. The governor promptly granted this request, considering it as honourable to the English, and as tending to increase the population of the company's provinces as well indirectly as directly; for—so Hastings calculated—the women and children of these great men would be sure to be accompanied by multitudes of retainers and attendants, male and female, and these would be sure to draw in their train another multitude of artisans, who might settle and remain within the English limits, and attract other immigrants by their example. As the Abdallies did not come this time, the nabob and his chiefs kept their wives and children at home at Lucknow and Fyzabad, and the whole scheme evaporated, to the no small disappointment of Hastings. But very shortly after this strange application, the sovereign of Oude made another of a very different kind. Encouraged by some successes he had obtained over the Mahrattas, and by a new league he had struck up with Shah Alum, who had escaped from his Mahratta bondage, and had actually engaged to assist the nabob with his small army in the reduction of Rohilcund, Sujah Dowla applied eagerly for the instant marching of the English brigade which was quartered at Allahabad. Though the 210,000 rupees per month were acceptable, the suddenness of this application rather disconcerted Hastings. No time, however, was lost, and the brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to march into the province of Oude with the declared purpose of invading the Rohilla country. Hastings did not think that the vizier-nabob, who was with the Mogul in the neighbourhood of Delhi, could possibly be ready to take the field so soon; "but," said he, "the brigade will gain in its discipline by being on actual service, and *its expense will be saved.*" From the middle of February till the middle of April the brigade remained in Oude doing nothing; but then the vizier-nabob with his forces joined Colonel Champion, and the open southern frontier of Rohilcund was immediately crossed. The Rohilla chiefs, who would long have defied the nabob and his host, were appalled at the approach of the company's brigade, and they expressed an earnest inclination to come to an amicable accommodation. Sujah Dowla demanded, as the price of peace, two crore of rupees, which was, probably, more than the whole country contained in specie. The Rohillas then took up a good position on the side of Babul Nulla: nearly their entire force, which probably amounted to about 25,000 fighting men, was collected on that spot; and they had cavalry, artillery, and rockets. But when they were attacked by the British brigade, on the morning of the 23rd of April, superior discipline and tactics, and better arms, led to the usual result. They were thoroughly defeated and routed; but their valour and stamina were proved by their fighting at unusually close quarters for two hours and twenty minutes, and leaving 2000 of their number on the field before they broke and fled. Several of their sirdars, or chiefs, were slain, and among them Hafez Ramet, the head of the confederacy, who was killed while bravely rallying his people. One of his sons was also killed, and two were taken prisoners and consigned to the tender mercies of Sujah Dowla. That nabob behaved as nabobs always did in battle: he kept at a great distance behind a river, surrounded by his cavalry and a great train of artillery; he refused Champion the use of some of his guns and some of his cavalry, nor would he move from his safe abiding-place till the news of the enemy's defeat reached him.* Then he and his unwarlike rabble moved forward with alacrity, but it was only to plunder the Rohilla camp, which Champion considered as the fair booty of his brigade. "We had the honour of the day," said he, "and these banditti the profit."† Hence there arose a soreness and bitterness between the nabob and the English commander, who certainly betrayed an over anxiety for booty and prize-money, and that too in cases where his right, or that of his brigade, was more questionable than on the present occasion. Both nabob and colonel complained of one another to Hastings, and in their rancorous feelings each exaggerated the faults of the other. One consequence of this was, that the reports of the horrors of the war which reached Europe through English channels, through Champion and the officers serving with him, and all, like himself, incensed against the nabob for his

* Notes of Hastings, as quoted in Gleig's Memoirs.—Another little circumstance, but proper to assist in our estimate of this versatile, indefatigable, and remarkable man, is this. At his busiest time, just after his taking upon himself the government at Calcutta, he paid the greatest attention to the machinery, operations, and projects of a Mr. Wits, who, apparently, had been sent out by the company to establish silk-works in Bengal, and to improve the tedious processes of the natives in the preparation of silk-thread. His biographer gives one long letter on this subject, and no doubt others exist.

* Letter from Colonel Champion to Hastings.

† Id.



Encampment of Royal Artillery.

appropriating all the plunder, were considerably over-coloured. Hastings felt, to his cost, the consequences of this over-colouring, when the case came to be taken up by the ardent imagination of Burke. Still, however unduly excited, Champion and his officers had too much English honour and veracity wholly to invent facts, circumstances, and details; and it must remain upon record as an unquestionable truth that many horrors and cruelties were committed in this Rohilla war—not by the English and their sepoys, who had all the fighting, but by the nabob's rabble, who never fought at all—not with the connivance of Hastings, but in spite of his loud and repeated remonstrances. The natural disposition, the habits, the policy, the cool calculations for the interest of the company, and of the chances of profit and loss from the Rohilcund expedition, all joined in making the English governor averse to cruelty, bloodshed, and devastation. Upon being informed by Champion that the nabob's troops were plundering and burning the villages of the quiet Hindu inhabitants, who, so far from making common cause with the Rohillas, their oppressors, were ready to render all the services against them that their weakness and timidity allowed of, he wrote to the colonel to express his abhorrence of these proceedings, and to point out how impolitic they were and how prejudicial to Sujah Dowla's own interest. "I cannot," said he, writing to Champion, "omit to take notice of the sensible and humane counsel which you gave to the vizier on the orders issued by him for laying waste the Rohilla country, a measure which would have reflected equal dishonour on our arms, and reproach on his authority, had it been continued. You wisely judged that, to effect the conquest of the country, it was almost as necessary to conciliate the minds of the people as to defeat the actual rulers." Many days later he wrote again—"The picture you have given of the vizier's conduct is *shocking to humanity;* but surely your advice and strenuous remonstrance against acts of oppression and wanton cruelty ought to prove some restraint, and, if not, would be a justification of bolder conduct. You have afforded an instance at the commencement of the present operations, where the vizier put a stop to the ravages of the country at your intercession. I have addressed the vizier himself in the strongest terms on the subject of his general conduct." At the same time Hastings kept writing to Mr. Middleton, the confidential agent of his own appointing, and who was in Sujah Dowla's camp; and the chief purport of his letters to this functionary was, to recommend and to insist upon mercy and moderation. In speaking of the captive family of Hafez Ramet, whose blood Burke accused him of selling to Sujah Dowla for gold, he said, in a tone which would have done honour to the eloquence and humanity of Burke himself—"Tell the vizier that the English manners are abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression, and enjoin the gentlest treatment of a vanquished enemy. Require and entreat his observance of this principle towards the family of Hafez. Tell him my instructions to you generally, but urgently

enforce the same maxims; and that no part of his conduct will operate so powerfully in winning the affections of the English as instances of benevolence and feeling for others. If these arguments don't prevail, you may inform him directly that you have my orders to insist upon a proper treatment of the family of Hafez Ramet; since in our alliance with him our national character is involved in every act which subjects his own to reproach; that I shall publicly exculpate this government from the imputation of assenting to such a procedure, and shall reserve it as an objection to any future engagements with him when the present service shall have been accomplished."* The necessity of clearing the whole region of the Rohilla chiefs and their bands, who neither tilled nor spun, who despised every occupation but that of war and plunder, was understood from the first; but, if the nabob devastated the country and destroyed or scared away its old and peaceful inhabitants, whose industry paid the revenues, and if the English troops were to be allowed to appropriate the spoils of the vanquished Rohillas, how would the nabob be able to make his large payments to the company? Hastings reminded Colonel Champion of these difficulties, and strongly condemned him for attempting to search for treasures and booty in the captured town of Pelibeet. The Rohillas had exhausted all their strength or spirit in one well-contested battle; they never again made head against the English, and the rest of the war consisted of skirmishes and pursuit. At Bissoulah, the principal city, in the very centre of Rohilcund, the English found the army of Shah Alum, which, according to the Mogul's agreement with the Nabob of Oude, had penetrated the country from the side of Delhi. This force had done nothing, and had now nothing to do, as the English had in reality finished the war; but, to the astonishment of Champion, Nujeef Khan, the commander of it, demanded a part of the plunder and a part of the conquered territory for his master, the emperor, in right of the treaty which he had concluded with Sujah Dowla. The nabob-vizier could not dispute the treaty, as Shah Alum sent the English commander a copy of it; but he pretended that the counterpart, which was in his own possession, stipulated that the emperor should take the field in person, and that, as he had not done so, but merely sent Nujeef Khan, the whole bargain was broken, and he had no right either to spoil or to territory. Champion obtained a sight of this curious counterpart, and ascertained, by means of the interpreter to his army, that there was no such variation in it; and Nujeef Khan and others affirmed that the emperor had never made such a stipulation even verbally. Champion would gladly have gratified the Mogul at the expense of the nabob, whom he so cordially hated; but Hastings and the council at Calcutta decided that the whole of the country should and must remain to Sujah Dowla, according to their own treaty with him, in which the emperor was certainly neither named nor thought of. Fyzoola Khan collected the greater part of the dispossessed, fugitive Rohillas, and took up a very strong post near the frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family, to which he and his Rohillas belonged. It was also apprehended by Sujah Dowla that the Mahrattas would come down also; and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khan. This turn of affairs was promoted by the temper of the English troops, who, disgusted with their ally and all his concerns, dispirited by long marches, short commons, and the total absence of prize-money and of any chance of it, were not very anxious to attack a bold enemy in a formidable position among rocks and hills, and defended by trenches, stockades, and other works. A treaty was, therefore, hurried to a conclusion, Fyzoola Khan surrendering one-half of all his effects to the Nabob of Oude, and that nabob granting him a jaghire in Rohilcund. Some few chiefs remained on the frontiers with Fyzoola Khan; but the large majority, with their vassals or followers, went into other countries to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghan race might almost be said to be rooted out of Rohilcund. Their entire number probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes, and men, women and children. The Hindu population that remained under the rule of the Nabob of Oude was estimated at 2,000,000.

Just as the first Rohilla war came to this conclusion, the new constitution, as framed by parliament, commenced its operation. General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis arrived at Calcutta (Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before) on the 19th of October, 1774. On the following day the existing government was dissolved by proclamation, and the new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings with the rank of Governor-general of Bengal, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues not one was very acceptable to Hastings. Three seemed to have come with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three—Francis—hated him from the beginning with an intensity of which few English natures are capable. But among the judges who had arrived with the members of this new council Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old and dear friend of the governor-general. They had been schoolfellows at Westminster. Hastings, delighted at his appointment, had written to Impey—"The news of your appointment to preside over the high court of justice affords me every cause of satisfaction without a circumstance of regret to allay it. In truth, my friend, nothing else could have reconciled me to that part of the act, which, if any latitude is left to you in its first establishment, may, and I am sure will, be made a source of the most valuable benefits to this country." The general letter of the court of directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended above all

* Letters to Middleton, as given in Gleig's Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

things unanimity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated: it required them to do all in their power to preserve peace in India; it required them to meet in council twice every week at least; it committed to Hastings, as governor-general, the charge of carrying on all correspondence with the country powers; but at the same time it prescribed that he should dispatch no letters without the previous sanction of the council, and that all letters received by him from the country powers should be submitted to the council at their first meeting: it recommended a careful revision of all the company's affairs, alliances, connexions, &c., formed or likely to be formed with the Indian states in the neighbourhood of the three presidencies; and, as by the act they alone had the power of peace or war in the country, it exhorted them to be careful and cautious in the extreme in committing themselves by any alliances, or compacts, with the native powers or with the Europeans settled in India.

As the company had fully approved of Hastings's system of letting the lands on farm, and of other parts of his fiscal regulations, the council were instructed to leave those things as they were; but they urged an inquiry into all past abuses and oppressions with the view of preventing the possibility of their recurrence. The letter finished, as it began, with an earnest exhortation to unanimity and concord. That unanimity was incompatible with a body so constituted, and with tempers, interests, and views so diametrically opposed. The temper of Francis alone was enough to introduce discord into a paradise—and Calcutta was far from being any such sojourn of beatified, peaceful spirits. Besides, he, and Clavering, and Monson, who had never been in India before, had come out to detect and reform abuses, which the long local knowledge of Hastings and Barwell viewed in a different light, or with a better acquaintance with the primary causes of them, and the difficulty of making any sudden change. Correctors of abuses and reformers, particularly when deficient in information, find more abuses than really exist; and no class of men are more intolerant. Hastings, too, conscious of his own superior knowledge of Indian affairs and the Indian character, and accustomed for some time to an almost undivided authority, was not likely to descend very willingly from a whole to be only a fifth, or to entertain an implicit deference to the opinions of men who had passed their lives in such a different sphere. The natural love of power, and, perhaps not less, the intimate and unselfish conviction that such a system was the only one that could work well with the native princes, who had no idea of a divided rule, had led him to act upon the recommendation of Clive, and, at least in his political negotiations, to assume a high and almost single authority. In conformity with this plan of action he had of his own accord appointed his friend Middleton to be resident and agent at the court of the Nabob of Oude, with instructions on all secret and important matters to correspond with himself alone, without communicating to the council at Calcutta, who did not invariably preserve the secrecy considered necessary to the success of his schemes and diplomacy.* And this was the first point to which Francis, Clavering, and Monson directed their attack. They demanded that the whole of Middleton's correspondence from his first appointment should be laid before them. Hastings refused to produce more than a part of it, saying that the other portions had reference to merely private matters or opinions; and hereupon they began to assert, by implication, that he had embarked in an unnecessary and unjustifiable war—the war with the Rohillas—for private and sordid motives; and that his whole connexion with Sujah Dowla had been a series of bad actions, fraud, and selfishness. As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were unjust to the utmost extent of injustice: Hastings was actually a *poorer* man now than when he quitted his inferior employment at Madras in 1771! He had made savings and gathered large contributions, and perhaps neither the economy nor the gain had proceeded upon strict principles of justice; but he had made them solely for the company's benefit, and mostly at the company's express command. He was above the motives imputed to him: he was, as many other men have been, and are, constitutionally indifferent to money, for himself. As Francis—we must put this name first, as he was ever the most active and by far the most able of the trio—Clavering, and Monson constituted the majority of the council, they assumed all the powers of government, and for a time reduced Hastings, with his adherent Barwell, to the condition of a cipher. Of course they soon turned the government into an anarchy. They voted the immediate recall of Middleton from Oude, although Hastings declared that such a measure would be attended with the very worst effects, as proclaiming to the natives that the English authorities were no longer agreed among themselves, and that the government of Calcutta was falling into a state of revolution. Sujah Dowla, who in truth had no conception of a division of power, and who had always looked to Hastings, and to none other, was utterly confounded; and, when Middleton showed him his letter of recall, he burst into tears, regarding it as the beginning of hostilities intended against himself. Other differences arose daily in the supreme council; and Hastings began to complain bitterly of the precipitancy and violence of the majority. At the beginning of December he wrote to one of the most powerful members of the court of directors:—"I am afraid you will see too close a resemblance in the disputes in which I am engaged to those between our late friend (Mr. Vansittart) and his council; but I trust that, by the benefit of his example and my own experience, and by a temper which, in spite of nature, I have brought under pro-

* Hastings insisted that the immemorial usage of the service had left the whole correspondence with the country powers in the hands of the governor; and that Mr. Middleton in that light could only receive his orders from, and address his letters to, him.

per subjection, I shall be able to prevent the same dreadful extremities which attended the former quarrels. . . . Without friends, without any kind of personal interest, I have but a discouraging prospect; but I am prepared for the worst, and shall return quietly and even contentedly to England the moment I hear of my recall, for there is no room for palliatives. I hope that my reputation will be spared; but, if it is to be blackened for the sake of giving a fair colour to the severity which is to be exercised towards me, I will most certainly defend myself, and I am sure that I shall be able to do it to the shame of my calumniators."* And in a letter, dated the same day, to the English premier, he said—"The public dispatches will inform you of the division which prevails in our councils. I do not mean in this letter to enter into a detail of its rise and progress, but will beg leave to refer to those dispatches for the particulars, and for the defence both of my measures and opinions. I shall here only assure your lordship that this unhappy difference did not spring from me, and that, had General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis brought with them the same conciliatory spirit which I had adopted, your lordship would not have been embarrassed with the appeals of a disjointed administration, nor the public business here retarded by discordant councils."† One long-continued cause of quarrel was the Rohilla war. The majority declared that war to be monstrous, and the dispossessed and tyrannical tribes to be a brave but meek and inoffensive people, who had particular claims on the sympathies of generous minds. The Rohillas were what we have described them; and to their qualities remain to be added those of craft and treachery in a degree excessive even for India, and a bloodthirstiness like that of famishing tigers. But, though the war was to be reprobated and the Rohillas pitied,‡ though Champion and his brigade were to be instantly ordered to evacuate Rohilcund, the price of the war was to be poured into the company's exchequer, the Nabob of Oude was to be made to pay to the last rupee of what he had promised, and he was to be threatened and bullied into earlier payments than he had stipulated for. Thus, if they considered the war as diabolical work, they could still love the devil's money. In vain Hastings and Barwell remonstrated and protested; they were but two to three, and the determinations of Francis and his colleagues were carried forthwith into execution. Their behaviour vexed and terrified Sujah Dowla, and may have contributed to hasten his departure from the cares of this world, for he died a few months after their arrival, at the very beginning of the year 1775, dictating in his last moments a letter to Hastings to implore his friendship and protection for his son. This son, who took the name of Asoff-ul-Dowla, succeeded without opposition to Oude and its dependencies, which now included the country of the Rohillas. The majority in council were as harsh towards the son as they had been towards the father: they called upon him for prompt payment of all that was owing, and at the same time they declared that their treaty was dissolved by the death of the old nabob. Mr. Middleton had been succeeded at the court of Oude by Mr. Bristow, who took his orders from, and acted entirely in the spirit of, Francis, Clavering, and Monson. Bristow compelled the young nabob to accede to a treaty which contained as an essential article an incomparably more questionable arrangement than Hastings's engagement for the expulsion of the Rohillas. By this treaty the company guaranteed to Asoff-ul-Dowla the possession of Corah and Allahabad; but the nabob, in return, *ceded to the company the territory of Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, which was not his to cede, and which had been solemnly guaranteed to the rajah by Hastings.* The revenue of Cheyte Sing's territory thus alienated was estimated at 22,000,000 of rupees; but, as this took nothing out of the pocket of the young Nabob of Oude, he was bound in the same treaty to discharge all his father's debts and engagements whatsoever with the company, and to raise greatly the allowance to the company's brigade. Hastings indignantly refused to sanction this treaty, which nevertheless met the warm approbation of the court of directors at home, who, as usual, looked at the money clauses without reflecting on the injustice of the conditions, or the ability or inability of the young nabob to pay.

The supreme council, as provided by the act, asserted their authority over the other presidencies, and required from each of them a full report of its actual condition, political, financial, and commercial. The political status of the presidency of Bombay, which had long been so quiet and removed from the struggles of war, was at this moment as troublous as war and politics could make it, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and incomprehensible sea of Mahratta politics. The first temptation had been Salsette, that rich island that lay in their immediate neighbourhood, and that had been coveted for more than a hundred years by the English at Bombay. The directors at home had fully partaken in this desire, and in 1769 had greatly applauded an attempt made to obtain Salsette by negotiation with the Mahrattas. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Row and the election of a new peishwa: the presidency of Bombay dispatched a considerable force to Salsette, which carried the principal fort by assault and then took quiet possession of the island. To secure this valuable possession and to obtain future advantages and cessions of territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the presidency concluded a treaty with Ragoba, whom, for the occasion, they chose to consider legitimate Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who were themselves much divided in opinion whether the

* Letter to Sulivan.
† Letter to Lord North, as given by Mr. Gleig.
‡ The real objects of pity in Rohilcund were rather the poor Hindus than the Rohillas.

right or the might lay with Ragoba, or Futtee-Sing, or some other Sing or Row, and who were cutting one another's throats to decide the question. Ragoba, who counted upon English troops and sepoys as certain to give him the superiority, made a grant of Salsette, Bassein, and other places, to the presidency; and the presidency sent Colonel Keating with 500 European infantry, 80 European artillerymen, 1400 sepoys, and 160 lascars, with a field-train and some heavier pieces, to assist Ragoba, who had himself a large army of horse.* On the 18th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Mahratta confederacies hostile to Ragoba; but he lost a considerable number of men, and found his future movements impeded by the discontents of the Peishwa's troops, who refused to cross the Nerbuddah until they should be paid their arrears. But in the month of July, when Ragoba had got money and had weakened the hostile confederacy by detaching some of its most powerful members, the road to Poona, which was a kind of Mahratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies. At this point the supreme council at Calcutta judged it proper to strike in; and they did so with the same temper they had displayed on other occasions. They rated the members of the council of Bombay as if they had been a set of clerks or schoolboys; they called them to account for daring to enter upon such important negotiations and operations without their consent and sanction; they ordered them instantly to withdraw their troops and to recall their resident from Poona; and after this they sent an agent of their own to undertake treaties and pursue a line of policy the very opposite to that hitherto pursued. Colonel Upton, this new agent, did not reach Poona till the end of the year 1775. His instructions were to treat with the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, which the supreme council considered as likely to be the stronger party in the end; but he was also furnished with a letter from the council to Ragoba, in case he should prove the stronger. If the confederacy prevailed the letter might be burned, but if they should be defeated then it would serve as an introduction to negotiations with Ragoba. But Upton had been only a few days at Poona ere he found that the Mahrattas were much in the same uncertain state of mind as the supreme council. "For," said he, "the chiefs of this country are quite at a loss which side to take, and are waiting to see what the English do."† The pertinacity of the Mahratta chiefs confederated against Ragoba, in insisting on the immediate restoration of Salsette, Bassein, and all that had been acquired by the recent treaty with Ragoba, removed the doubts and vacillations of the supreme council, who finally determined that the Peishwa recognised by the presidency of Bombay was to be recognised by them also as the rightful sovereign, and that the cause of Ragoba was to be supported "with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India." But Ragoba gained nothing by this high-sounding resolution. His enemies jockeyed him when he thought himself close to the winning-post. Seeing that they would not be satisfied with less, the confederates agreed to yield Salsette and the small islands near it, upon which the majority of the supreme council agreed to abandon the cause of Ragoba and give up their claims to Bassein and the other territory which the lawful *then* and unlawful *now* Peishwa had given to the presidency of Bombay as part of the price of their assistance. A treaty to this effect was concluded by Colonel Upton; and then Ragoba, knowing that his life was in danger, prayed for an asylum in Bombay. That presidency granted his prayer, but the supreme council sent orders from Calcutta that they were not to receive him, as such a measure would give umbrage to the party with whom the treaty had been concluded, and Ragoba was therefore condemned for some time to lead a vagabond life.

While these events were passing in Western India other hosts of Mahrattas descended into the valley of the Ganges from Agra and Delhi, and plundered the more northern parts of the dominions of the young Nabob of Oude, who is described as being as great a coward as his father, and destitute of ability, which his father was not. These devastations, which went to stop the current of supplies to a treasury which the supreme council had emptied, were accompanied by rumours of a new coalition between the emperor, the Mahrattas, the Seiks, the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes, for the purpose of conquering the whole of Oude. The plans adopted by the supreme council to break or resist this league were not very wise or consistent, and Asoff-ul-Dowla owed his safety for the present to quarrels which broke out among the members of the coalition, and to the poverty and indecision of Shah Alum. In all consultations in council the voice the least heeded was that of the governor-general. Irritated and hopeless of any change there, Hastings remitted a load of papers, said by him to be complete and literal copies of his correspondence with Mr. Middleton, to Lord North, in vindication of his own character; and announced to his friends in England that he should certainly return home by the next ship unless he received the approbation of the court of directors to his past conduct. The hostile majority continued to heap accusations against him. "These men," said he, "began their opposition on the second day of our meeting. The symptoms of it betrayed themselves on the very first. They condemned me before they could have read any part of the proceedings, and all the study of the public records since, all the informations they have raked up out of the dirt of Calcutta, and the encouragement given to the greatest villains in the province, are for the sole purpose of finding grounds to vilify my character and undo

* Forbes, Oriental Memoirs. Mr. Forbes was at this time private secretary to Colonel Keating, the commanding officer.

† Letter to the council, as quoted by Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

all the labours of my government."* Francis, Clavering, and Monson had got hold of the great informer or arch-devil of Bengal, the notorious Nuncomar, and were now inciting him to collect evidence and bring charges against Hastings, as Hastings had encouraged him, by command of the secret committee of the court of directors, to produce charges against Mohammed Reza Khan. Knowing as he did the depth of the craft and malignity of that Hindu's nature, Hastings had sufficient reason to feel disquieted. "Nuncomar," said he, "whom I have thus long protected and supported, whom against my nature I have cherished like a serpent till he has stung me, is now in close connexion with my adversaries, and the prime mover of all their intrigues; but he will sting them too, or I am mistaken, before he quits them. I have expelled him from my gates, and while I live will never re-admit him."† At the prompting of Nuncomar, Francis and his friends called in the further aid of a Hindu woman, the Ranee or Rana of Burdwan, whom Hastings had turned out of Calcutta as an intriguing violent woman. The Ranee, with proper assistance, sent in circumstantial charges, accusing Hastings of extorting 1,500,000 rupees; his banyan, or native secretary, who was resident in Burdwan, and others of his servants, of extorting a great deal more; the fabulous total being set down by the Ranee and her accountants and advisers at considerably above nine millions of rupees. She produced witnesses to prove some of the facts; but they were Indian witnesses, and as such entitled to no credit. Upon examination the hostile majority felt obliged to drop these accusations. Nevertheless in the presence of Hastings they proceeded to vote certain honours and distinctions to the Ranee. At this gross insult he broke up the council, which as its president he conceived that he had a clear right to do. The trio then passed the resolution that a vote of adjournment could be passed only by the majority, voted one of themselves into the president's chair, and continued their sittings. The next great charge they entertained was that Hastings had appropriated to himself two-thirds of the salary of the Phousdar or governor of Hooghly—a place which had once been held by Nuncomar. Hastings was ready to refer this business to the English judges, but he denied the competency of the council to take it up; and it seems to us that no man in his senses, however conscious he might be of his innocence, would have submitted to the judgment of three implacable enemies who had determined that they were omnipotent in their majority. He was supported, as on all other occasions, by Mr. Barwell. The trio insisted on the right of proceeding. He then declared that he would not sit there to be confronted with such vile accusers, or suffer a judicial inquiry into his conduct at a board of which he was president; and as president, as governor-general, he again dissolved the council. But one of the trio, again took the chair, and the business was continued by themselves when Hastings and Barwell were gone. This charge was even worse supported than those made by the revengeful Ranee. Two letters of most doubtful authenticity and two *Indian* witnesses were all the evidence produced. But other charges came flying in to the supreme council, for the great informer was indefatigable in his calling. "The trumpet," said Hastings, "has been sounded, and the whole host of informers will soon crowd to Calcutta with their complaints and ready depositions. Nuncomar holds his durbar in complete state, sends for zemindars and their vakeels, coaxing and threatening them for complaints, which no doubt he will get in abundance, *besides what he forges himself*. The system which they have laid down for conducting their affairs is, as I am told, after this manner. The General rummages the consultations for disputable matter with the aid of old Fowke. Colonel Monson receives, and I have been assured, descends even to solicit, accusations. *Francis writes*." [And with what gall the pen of Junius could write, or, if there be any unconvinced of the identity, what gall Francis put in his avowed letters, pamphlets, and speeches, is pretty well known.] "Goring is employed as their agent with Mohammed Reza Khan, and Fowke with Nuncomar. . . . . Was it for this that the legislature of Great Britain formed this new system of government for Bengal, and armed it with powers extending to every part of the British empire in India?"* Three or four days after writing these words Hastings informed the same correspondents that one of the principal native witnesses had waited upon him and affirmed with the most solemn asseverations that Nuncomar, Mr. Fowke, and others, were guilty of conspiracy against him; that this native had offered to produce evidence to that effect; and that, consequently, he (Hastings) had resolved on the prosecution of Fowke, Nuncomar, and the rest. And he accordingly sought redress from the judges of the newly elected supreme court, where his friend and schoolfellow Impey presided. The judges, after a long examination of the case, made Nuncomar and Fowke give bail, and bound over the governor-general to prosecute them for a conspiracy. Immediately after this General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis made a visit of honour to Nuncomar, a compliment which had never been paid him before either by themselves or by the members of any preceding administration. But on the 11th of March, a month previous to his appearance before the judges, and a week or ten days previous to the visit of the native witness to Hastings, the great informer had accused the governor-general of procuring the acquittal of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy for large sums of money; and had further accused him of accepting or extorting more than three millions and a half of rupees for the appointment of

* Letter to Sulivan, dated 25th February, 1775, as given by Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings.
† Id. Id.

* Letter to Mr. Graham and Colonel Mac Leane, dated 25th March, 1775, as given by Gleig.

the Begum and of Nuncomar's own son Goordass. These charges had all the wildness of an oriental fiction; but the majority had not only determined that they should be discussed, but had even, upon evidence which ought not to have been allowed to injure the character of a dog, declared Hastings guilty of one fraction of them and called upon him to refund two lacs of rupees, not, however, to the Begum at Moorshedabad, from whom it was said he had received them, but to the company's treasury at Calcutta! The visit of the trio was intended to support —what the mighty Himalaya itself could not have propped up—the character and veracity of Nuncomar, and to intimate that the governor-general's proceedings with the judges were intended to get rid of a troublesome witness whom Hastings had refused to meet in the council-chamber, or to answer. The war was thus widened, in as much as the majority of the supreme council considered the majority of the supreme court of justice as the allies and confederates of the governor-general and Mr. Barwell. The Begum, who had denied a letter said to be hers and produced in evidence against Hastings, was set down as another enemy by the trio, who determined to deprive her of the care of her son the young nabob, and of the management of his household and sixteen annual lacs. Every way the battle thickened and became a combat *à outrance*, in which all the generous feelings of the national character seem to have been suppressed by all the English part of the combatants. The charge presented against Nuncomar and Mr. Joseph Fowke, and for which they had been held to bail, was simply that they had headed a conspiracy and forced a native to write a petition against the governor-general and some of his servants; but now another native came forward and charged the great informer with actual forgery, a crime then capital in England in all its branches, but so common in India as scarcely to be considered as more than a misdemeanor, except in very particular cases, to which category the case of Nuncomar assuredly did not appertain. The judges, however, resolved to proceed according to English law, and Nuncomar was arrested and thrown into the common prison of Calcutta. This was on the 6th of May. On the 9th the trio by their right as a majority dismissed the Begum from her office and gave it to Nuncomar's son Goordass, who hitherto had been acting under her. "The visit to Nuncomar," said Hastings, "when he was to be prosecuted for a conspiracy, and the elevation of his son when the old gentleman was in gaol and *in a fair way to be hanged*, were bold expedients. I doubt if the people in England will approve of such barefaced declarations of their connexions with such a scoundrel, or such attempts to impede and frustrate the course of justice. Neither can I suppose that the dismission of Munny Begum, for the sake of carrying a point of party with which she has no concern, will be thought consistent with justice, honour, or common decency."* These reproaches were well grounded—in each particular the conduct of the trio was indefensible, gross, indecent—but the dark suspicion cleaves to Hastings, that the old man in prison was there through his means, or through the means of, or encouragement given to informers by, some of his party; and, villain as he was, we shudder at the deadly revenge cherished against him by one who a few years before had cajoled him with professions of friendship, and had endeavoured to turn his villanies to account. It was indecent too, it was horrible in Hastings, considering the position in which he stood relatively to Nuncomar, and his own rank and station in India, to hint at the gibbet before the man was tried. On the 18th of May Hastings revoked a discretionary power he had given his friends and agents in England, Mr. Graham and Colonel Mac Leane, in letters dated the 27th of March, declaring that, whatever advices the first packet from Leadenhall-street might bring, he was resolved to stay where he was "to see the issue of his appeal, believing it impossible that men whose actions were so frantic could be permitted to remain in charge of so important a trust."* The trio made a great show of wrath at the arrest and imprisonment of the great informer, a degradation awful in Brahmins' eyes, and to which no native of his rank had ever been subjected: they remonstrated, they interfered with the judges, and the judges told them to attend to their own business. The trio then protested against the right of the judges to commit on any such charge; and demanded that Nuncomar should be liberated on bail. The judges replied that forgery was a capital crime, and not bailable, by the laws of England; that by the last act the laws of England were established in Calcutta, and consequently that the prisoner must remain in gaol until the day of trial. When that black day arrived Nuncomar was brought before the supreme court and a jury of Englishmen. A native merchant of Calcutta, the original accuser, and other witnesses deposed to facts, and there was an accumulation of evidence to prove that, six years before, the prisoner had committed forgery on, or in, a private bond. But six years before the regulating act had not been passed, and Calcutta was not then under English law. Nuncomar had witnesses to swear against nearly everything that the witnesses for the prosecution swore to, so that the deliberations of the jury were little more than a weighing of probabilities and chances as to the side where the perjury

* Letter to Graham and Mac Leane, dated 18th May, 1775.

* Letter as given by Gleig. Hastings adds, — "Good God! what will be said if it be asked with authority what the council of India have done with the vast powers which were assigned them? In the course of the last seven months they have worried their chief, and kept every office and business of the state wholly impeded." In a preceding letter he says that absolutely nothing had been done in the way of business for the last six months, except the very little which the majority of the council had allowed him to do himself at the revenue board. To Lord North he wrote on the 27th of March, the same day on which he sent the discretionary power to Graham and Mac Leane —"I now most earnestly entreat that your lordship—for on you, I presume, it finally rests—will free me from the state I am in, either by my immediate recall, or by the confirmation of the trust and authority of which you have hitherto thought me deserving. . . . The meanest drudge, who owes his daily subsistence to daily labour, enjoys a condition of happiness compared to mine, while I am doomed to share the responsibility of measures of which I disapprove, and to be an idle spectator of the ruin which I cannot avert."

law. The great informer's knowledge and tactics did not extend beyond this producing of witnesses, who were always to be bought by any party who had money or power, and for the prosecution as well as for the defence: he understood nothing of our language, our usages, or law, and he could not be made to comprehend how the life of a great man like himself could possibly be put in jeopardy by a few crooked characters drawn by a reed or a pen years ago. Impey, however, put on the black cap and pronounced sentence of death in the true Old Bailey form—in words difficult to be interpreted into Persian or Bengalee. Even when made to understand that the matter was no joke or ceremony, the old Hindu expected to be reprieved; but he was left for immediate execution, and on the 5th of August he was hanged by the neck till he was dead. Universally known and hated as he was, his death made a terrible impression on the minds of the natives. Those who were near enough to be spectators of the ghastly and revolting novelty filled the glowing air with shrieks and cries. "The howlings and lamentations of the poor, wretched people," says the sheriff, who superintended the execution, "who were taking their last leave of him, are not to be described." With a sort of superstitious incredulity they could not believe that it was really intended to put him to death; but when they saw him tied up, and the scaffold drop from under him, they set up a universal yell, and, with piercing cries of horror and dismay, betook themselves to flight, running, many of them, as far as the Ganges, and plunging into that holy stream as if to wash away the pollution they had contracted in viewing such a spectacle.* After hanging for the usual time the body was taken down and delivered to the Brahmins for burning. It was the novelty, unsightliness, and publicity of the execution that made this deep impression upon a people that consider everything new as horrible: if his head had been taken off in prison, if he had been tortured and cut to pieces out of the way of men's eyes, if he had been poisoned, if he had been put to a lingering death by the daily administration of pousta, the detestable invention of the country, there would have been no such popular excitement, and little or no notice would have been taken of the event beyond the ranks of his own family and dependants; but, executed as he was, the excitement, transitory as it was vehement, spread over every part of Hindustan; and the great informer, from an object of fear and detestation, became the subject of pity. Like other Indians, and like the people of the East in general, who will fly timorously from every chance of death or of wounds in battle, and yet meet their doom when it is inevitable with a composure and apathy of which the bravest of Europeans are seldom capable, Nuncomar went through his last scenes, and the winding up of all his rascalities, in the most calm and collected manner. When the sheriff waited upon him the night before his execution, and offered every kindness and service in his power, he replied that he was obliged to him for his visit, that he was grateful for all his favours, which he hoped would be continued to his family, but that fate was not to be resisted; and then, putting his finger to his forehead, he said, "The will of the Almighty must be done." He desired the sheriff to present his respects to General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, and begged them to protect his son, Rajah Goordass, and consider him henceforward as the real head of the Brahmins. "His composure," says the sheriff, "was wonderful; not a sigh escaped him, nor the smallest alteration of voice or countenance." He busied himself in writing notes and looking over money accounts in his usual way. The sheriff concluded that he had taken his resolution to escape hanging by suicide, and fully expected to find him dead the next morning. But such an idea never enters into the head of a true Brahmin; and the next morning he was not only alive, ready for death, but apparently without any anxiety. He walked cheerfully to the gate of the gaol, and seated himself in his palanquin, looking around him with perfect unconcern. The sheriff did not observe the smallest discomposure in his countenance and manner at the sight of the gallows, or any of the ceremonies passing about it. To some Brahmins who here waited upon him he said only a few words to remind them of what he had previously said concerning Rajah Goordass and the care of his zenana or harem. On alighting from his palanquin he walked more erect than he had generally been seen to do. At the foot of the ladder he put his hands behind him to be tied with a handkerchief, looking around him at the same time with the utmost unconcern. Some difficulties arising about the cloth which was to be tied over his face, he told the English that it must not be done by one of them. The sheriff presented a subaltern sepoy who was of the Brahmin caste, and who offered to tie the cloth; but Nuncomar pointed to a servant of his own, who was lying at his feet, and bade him do it. "He had some weakness in his feet," says the sheriff, "which, added to the confinement of his hands, made him mount the steps with difficulty; but he showed not the least reluctance, scrambling rather forward to get up. He then stood erect on the stage, while I examined his countenance as steadfastly as I could, till the cloth covered it, to see if I could observe the smallest symptom of fear or alarm, but there was not a trace of it." He gave the signal by a motion of his foot, and he hung on the rope as motionless as if he had been a statue of wood or bronze taken out of a Hindu pagoda. His death astonished the sheriff, and the narrative of it, years after, made a wonderful impression in England, where few persons knew or reflected upon the character and fortitude of the East, so different from our own. Yet in reality, for his country, there was nothing very peculiar in his behaviour: there it was

* Speech of Sir Gilbert Elliot in the House of Commons on the 28th of April, 1788. It was towards the conclusion of this speech against Sir Elijah Impey that Sir Gilbert read the account of the execution written three hours after the event, by the sheriff of Calcutta.

the general rule that cowards died like heroes; and probably, out of the thousands and tens of thousands that witnessed his end, there were few or none, whether Hindus or Mussulmans, that would not, under the same circumstances, have met their doom with the same resignation or apathy, or that would not have found it all written on their forehead by the pen of destiny.

But as to the circumstances of the trial, the conduct of Hastings, the judges, and others, the general impression and feeling of the English people were more correct; nor can we admit of any excuse or palliation that we have seen as yet offered. It was questionable whether, by any stretching or twisting of them, Nuncomar could really be made amenable to English law and our then sanguinary statutes; it was questionable whether the weight of evidence on the side of the prosecution had not been made to outweigh the evidence on the side of the defence by perjury and subornation, the inherent and universal vices of the country; and the precipitation, in a case where the greatest caution and circumspection were necessary, was truly monstrous. Up to this time no native of any rank had been tried in our supreme court or by our criminal code. Previously to the arrival of the judges there was a separate court, called the Phousdary, for the trial of all offences by native inhabitants. In this court there had been one and but one conviction for forgery; but this obscure prisoner had not been hurried to execution; he had been reprieved and eventually pardoned.* In Nuncomar's case execution might and assuredly ought to have been suspended until the pleasure of the English crown was known, or until the opinion of the English judges had been received. That this reprieve was not granted has almost always been attributed to Hastings, and to Impey the chief-justice. The recent biographer of the governor-general, who, by scarcely admitting a single fault or blemish in the character of his hero, really injures the cause he would defend and the reputation which he would purify, broadly and boldly asserts that the blame rests not with Hastings or with Impey, but with the majority of the council, Clavering, Monson, and Francis. He says—"For the tragedy, as the death of the criminal has been called, neither Sir Elijah Impey nor the governor-general was in any manner accountable; nor, indeed, could they interfere to prevent it. The chief-justice had clearly no power to stay the execution even for a day. His part was played out so soon as the fatal word had been spoken, while Mr. Hastings's share of blame amounts to this and no more—that he does not seem to have proposed in council that the government should exercise a privilege which confessedly belonged to it. Probably Mr. Hastings felt that in this, as in every other instance, a proposal emanating from him would, as a matter of course, be overruled; but why were the majority backward? They had the matter entirely in their own hands. By a simple vote of their body they might have suspended the execution till a reference should be made to the court of directors at home. Why did they, who were so zealous in Nuncomar's cause prior to the conviction, sit with folded arms and see their protégé put to death? I think that, in the tone of their dispatches which succeeded the event, as well as of Mr. Burke's speeches during the trial of Mr. Hastings, some clue may be discovered wherewith to thread our way through the labyrinth. It might not suit the purpose of the majority to save the life of Nuncomar; it might suit that purpose that they were able, however groundlessly, to assert that 'the governor-general murdered him through the hands of Sir Elijah Impey.' For even to this day the impression has not everywhere been removed that Mr. Hastings was censurable for failing to effect that which he had no power to effect. The will of the majority was law. Had they willed a reprieve for Nuncomar he must have received the benefit of it. On their heads, then, and not on that of Mr. Hastings, must the death of the culprit rest."* Now it appears to us that Hastings could have interfered as governor-general if he had so chosen; that Impey or any of the puisne judges might have interfered by expressing doubts, which they ought to have felt, as to points of law, and by referring to the opinion of the twelve judges at home. This faculty they would have had in all cases, and if there had been no regulating act in existence; *but by that act the power was absolutely conferred upon them of respiting prisoners till the pleasure of the crown could be known.* And there was another party that might have interfered—a party that by some remarkable good fortune have escaped their due share of obloquy; and this party was the jury, who might have delayed the execution by recommending the prisoner to mercy, a recommendation which, in all probability, would have been followed by a full pardon from England; or if their recommendation had been addressed to the governor-general and council, it must have had the effect of staying the execution. In the next argument of the biographer an important fact is overlooked. Hastings did not indeed propose any reprieve in council; but the majority hostile to him did ask for a reprieve until the pleasure of the king should be known, and the court absolutely refused it. It is true, however, that the trio neither persevered in their demand nor adopted any strong measure to stay the execution: it is true that they had the power in their hands; they had seized upon all the powers of government; they had repeatedly set the authority of Hastings at defiance, voting another president to fill his chair; they had interfered in matters of far greater import, where the life, not of one scoundrel, but of hundreds or thousands of scoundrels, was concerned; they had broken treaties and alliances of his making, and had made treaties and compacts of their own; they had declared to his own face and to the court of directors, and still

* Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1773, as cited by Mill.

* Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

higher authorities at home, that he was an embezzler, a plunderer, a conspirator, and that they believed him to be capable of the darkest crimes, and Nuncomar wholly innocent of the two charges —of the conspiracy on which he was admitted to bail, and of the forgery for which he was to be tried for his life; they continued to defy his authority after the event as before it; and everything goes to prove that if they had been seriously bent on preserving the old man's life they might have preserved it. If they had been animated by the generous feelings and the enthusiastic regard for justice which Francis afterwards laid claim to for himself and his colleagues, they would have risked a hostile collision and actual civil war in the streets of Calcutta rather than have permitted the execution. In a very short time they did risk that extremity, and upon much less justifiable grounds. We believe, therefore, that they had no very exquisite sense of justice and no eager desire to save Nuncomar; that they must share in the guilt, though in a less degree, with Hastings and Impey, and that this their share of delinquency might proceed from their wish to see the governor-general and the chief-justice commit themselves by so dark a deed. Moreover, the death of Nuncomar gave them the opportunity, which they instantly seized, of proclaiming to the world that Hastings had precipitated the arrest, trial, and execution of a troublesome witness, whose charges he could not answer, in order to terrify other witnesses from appearing against him. It suited not their more vindictive drift to impute anything to the exasperation of Hastings, and the personal hatred he had entertained of the Hindu for so many years, although, in our apprehension, these were the passions that moved him, and no fears or apprehensions as to any disclosures that the hackneyed, worn-out informer might produce against him. His own letters show that on this one point he was excited almost to frenzy; that, in spite of the habitual smoothness of his temper, and his long-imposed habits of self-command and circumspection, his hatred to the old Hindu—which may very well have been increased by the self-degrading recollection that he had tampered with that devil, and in obedience to his employers had employed his malice against others—had become an ungovernable fury, and had ended in a thirst for vengeance which only death and a gibbet could satisfy. With a casuistry that often accompanies the most excited passions he may have reconciled his conscience to the deed by persuading himself that he was doing the world a service in freeing it from such a man as Nuncomar, who, if he did not merit death by the particular act for which he was condemned, had merited it by a hundred other acts of perfidy and iniquity.

The majority of the council knew nothing if they did not know the conduct of Nuncomar towards Mohammed Reza Khan, yet they had supported and courted the old Hindu notwithstanding those transactions. Now, however, that the Hindu was hanged, they chose to consider his rival as the most trustworthy man in Bengal; and they proposed that he should have not only the charge of the young nabob's household instead of Goordass, whom they themselves had so recently promoted, but also the higher office of dewan, which he had held previously to his downfall and arrest in 1772. They proposed that he should have the superintendence of the native penal courts as the naibs had had before, and that the Nizamut Adaulut should be removed from Calcutta back to Moorshedabad. This latter measure went wholly to destroy the achievement which Hastings had so much prided himself upon, and which he considered indispensable to the preservation of the English government in Bengal; but the three against two carried their proposals into execution by right of their majority and in contempt of the opinion and remonstrances of the governor-general. In the same temper the trio proceeded to condemn and destroy Hastings's recently introduced system of revenue and finance, a system not without faults, but freer from them than the practice which had preceded it, and far less tyrannical than the old plan of collection under the native princes. Hastings sent home complaints and representations, but these now were more frequently addressed to the prime minister than to the court of directors, of whose opinion and approbation he was long uncertain, as he reasonably might be, seeing with what rapidity they could change their plans, and with what ease they could condemn in one dispatch what they had approved of and applauded in another. He continued to represent that his arms were tied, and that the greater part of the public business was at a stand-still; that the judges of the supreme court were insulted and outraged by the majority of the council, and were only hindered from coming to an open rupture by his endeavours, and their own regard to public order.

But on the 25th of September, 1776, the majority was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side, but the casting-vote of the governor-general gave him the superiority. "It has restored me the constitutional authority of my station," he wrote the very next day to the minister, "but without absolute necessity I shall not think it proper to use it with that effect which I should give it were I sure of support from home." It appears, however, that he at once used his re-acquired authority with boldness and effect, deciding all measures by his casting vote, and leaving Clavering and Francis to declaim and protest as they had recently left him to do. They had, however, sufficient influence in the court of directors to procure a strong reprimand. On the 4th of July, 1777, the directors wrote:—"To our concern we find that no sooner was our council reduced, by the death of Colonel Monson, to a number which rendered the president's casting vote of consequence to him, than he exercised it to invest himself with an improper degree of power in the business of the revenue,

which he could never have expected from other authority." But the storm in Leadenhall-street did not disperse with this little gale. It will be remembered that Hastings, in a moment of despair, had announced to his friends Graham and M'Leane that he thought of resigning. Colonel M'Leane, after keeping the letter by him for many months, showed it to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and another director, and upon their report the resignation was formally accepted and a successor to Hastings was chosen in the person of Mr. Wheler. Further, the court resolved that General Clavering, as senior member of the council, should occupy the chair till Mr. Wheler arrived. This new-named governor-general was even presented to the king and accepted as such. The news of these proceedings reached Calcutta and threw everything into fresh confusion. Hastings declared that the court of directors could not accept what he had never given; that his letter about resigning had been revoked by a subsequent letter; that Colonel M'Leane had no authority to show a letter written in the confidence of friendship, and expressive merely of the feelings of the moment; that nothing in that letter amounted to a tender of his resignation, and that, even if it had contained anything of that sort, it was annulled by the second letter, written not many weeks after, and strongly declaring his intention to remain at his post. He refused to submit to General Clavering's taking the chair, and he summoned the council to assemble under his own presidency as before. On the other hand, Clavering insisted on his right, and summoned the council in his own name. Barwell attended the summons of Hastings, Francis that of Clavering; and thus there were two councils or parties, each claiming the supreme authority. The general and Francis met at the usual council-table; Hastings and Barwell at the board of revenue. The general immediately proceeded to take the oaths as governor-general *ad interim*, and to deliberate and preside. Hastings requested the judges of the supreme court to attend him at the revenue-board to give him their opinion. The judges met immediately, but to no purpose; for the general had got possession of all the dispatches from Europe, and refused to deliver them up. Hastings assured the judges, in writing, that if, upon inspection of the papers, they should find any act of his from which his resignation could be deduced, he would immediately vacate the chair. Clavering and Francis then enclosed copies of some of the dispatches upon which, they said, their claims were indubitably and immovably grounded: they did not offer to abide by the decision of the judges, but they agreed to suspend the execution of their orders as a council till the judges had given their opinion. In the mean while Clavering demanded the keys of the fort and treasury, and wrote a letter to the commandant of the fort requiring his obedience; and Hastings, not idle, clenched the keys with a firmer grasp, sent opposite orders to the commandant, and showed the fullest determination of meeting force by force. The sword of civil war seemed half unsheathed. But the military man cooled at the sight of this unexpected boldness in the civilian. The judges were most decisively and unanimously of opinion that it would be illegal in General Clavering to assume the chair or otherwise persevere in his course; and thereupon both the general and Francis succumbed and wrote a letter to the judges agreeing to acquiesce in their judgment. Francis, however, absented himself when the council met under the presidency of Hastings, and would not apologise for his absence. With his decided majority, that is to say himself, with his casting vote, and Mr. Barwell against General Clavering, Hastings now carried a resolution that the general, by taking the oaths as governor-general, &c., had actually vacated his seat as senior counsellor, and could no longer sit at the board in any capacity. But here the judges refused to go along with him, and Hastings was compelled to submit to a compromise dictated by the judges. The hostile parties consented to refer their several claims to England for decision, and in the mean time to leave everything at Calcutta as it stood before the arrival of the packet.*

Mr. Middleton was sent again to reside at Oude, and Mr. Bristow, who had been nominated by the trio, was recalled; Mr. Francis Fowke, the son of Mr. Joseph Fowke, was recalled from Benares, and other changes were made in favour of Hastings's friends. Colonel Monson's place in the council was soon supplied by Mr. Wheler, who, though he came out as governor-general, consented to fill an inferior post, and commonly voted with Francis; but before that party could recover their confidence it was again reduced to a minority by the loss of General Clavering. On the 22nd of November, 1777, Hastings wrote to a private friend:—"The death of Sir John Clavering has produced a state of quiet in our councils which I shall endeavour to preserve during the remainder of the time which may be allotted to me. The interests of the company will benefit by it; that is to say, they will not suffer as they have done by the effects of a divided administration."

It was high time that there should be more unanimity, for danger was approaching on various sides. Most of the Mahratta chiefs who had been parties to the treaty with Colonel Upton were already weary of their bargain; fresh intrigues and combinations were forming at Poona, and a French ship had put into one of the Mahratta ports, and a French agent was reported to be living at Poona and exercising great influence in that capital. The war in our American colonies was raging, and, as Frenchmen of name and rank were taking part in it without any declaration of war from the court of Versailles to the court of St. James's, it was not imagined that the French would be very scrupulous in India, where, in fact, they had never once ceased their intrigues since the treaty of Paris had

* Hastings's Letters to Mr. Sykes and Lord North.

restored Pondicherry and allowed them their factory at Chandernagore. Besides, every letter from England complained of the interference of France in the American quarrel, and announced hostilities with that power as inevitable. The presidency of Bombay, who were nearest to the scene of Mahratta intrigue, and likely to be most affected by it, wrote alarming letters to the supreme council at Calcutta, and recommended a new alliance with Ragoba, in order to anticipate the designs of the French and the Mahratta chiefs. They were eager for the recovery of Bassein and the other territory which had been given up by Colonel Upton; and their last advices informed them that the court of directors disapproved *in toto* of that treaty, and thought that much more advantageous terms, *i. e.* more territory and more revenue, might have been secured by supporting Ragoba. Hastings, too, disapproved that treaty—the work of Clavering, Monson, and Francis—which he would have prevented at the time if he had been able. The Mahrattas had scarcely performed one article of it when the Chevalier de St. Lubin arrived at Poona with letters and presents from Louis XVI. The governor-general, who had long been accustomed to reflect on the best means the English possessed of defending their Indian empire, and the most likely means the French had for recovering their ascendancy, had come to the conclusion that our greatest danger would proceed from a union of the French with the Mahrattas, and that any attempt of that kind ought to be met on the instant, and, if possible, prevented by arms, leagues, combinations, by the utmost exercise of our power and policy. At this critical juncture he received intelligence that there was a fresh quarrel among the Mahratta chiefs at Poona, who constituted a sort of regency; and that a powerful faction headed by Baboo had resolved to declare for Ragoba, and had actually applied to the English at Bombay for assistance. It appeared also that the presidency of Bombay had committed itself to this party by promises or encouragements, and that its territories would be in danger if the faction opposed to Baboo and Ragoba should prevail in this new contest. Without hesitation Hastings proposed in council that every assistance should be given in men and money, and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. He was supported by Barwell, and opposed by Francis and Wheler, who protested as usual; but, as usual, the governor-general's casting-vote settled the matter. Ten lacs of rupees were immediately sent to Bombay by bills; and on the 23rd of February orders were issued for assembling an army at Culpee, on the east bank of the Hooghly river, and about thirty-three miles in a straight line below Calcutta. There then arose a fresh dispute in council as to the properest way of sending these troops on their long journey: if they went by sea they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the troops, or ships of war to give them convoy: to make such a march by land was a bold idea that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian, soldier or statesman; but Hastings, who had studied the capabilities of the native troops, who had a high reliance on their steadiness and powers of endurance, and who had long wished for an opportunity to show the might of the company to some of the princes and potentates of the interior, who, from the remoteness of their situation, had hitherto remained strangers to it, or but very insufficiently informed upon it, after consulting with some officers, confidently proposed the land march right across the peninsula—a peninsula vast enough to be called a continent—through the hostile and unknown regions that intervened between the banks of the Ganges and the Gulf of Cambay. Francis and Wheler again protested: according to some accounts, even his constant echo, Barwell, was silent or doubtful on this occasion, and Hastings ordered the hazardous march on his own responsibility.* The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry, furnished by the Nabob of Oude, and a company of native artillery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, 6624 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazar, carriers of baggage, servants of officers, and families of sepoys; and this host had to march upwards of 1000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was entrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so daring and brilliant a conception. Except the officers there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army began its march on the 12th of June, 1778; and it had not proceeded far when a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the English consul at Cairo, brought to Calcutta the news that war had been declared both in London and Paris. Francis and Wheler then insisted that the army should be recalled, as they considered that Bengal was as likely to be attacked by the French as Bombay, and as some great difficulties were already presenting themselves to the advance of the troops; but Hastings insisted that the army should go on, and that the river Hooghly, Calcutta, and Bengal could be very well defended without it. Clive himself could not have kicked down obstacles and projected delays or have acted in all respects with more determination than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chandernagore, which had not been re-fortified, and all the French factories in Bengal: he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Pondicherry instantly—but, in infraction of the last treaty of peace, Pondicherry had been re-fortified, and could not be taken without a desperate siege—he threw up strong works near Calcutta; and, still further to impede the approach to that

* Captain Williams of the Bengal army, Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, from its first formation in 1757 to 1796.—Hastings, however, says in his letters that Mr. Barwell, whose advice he had taken in all his measures, concurred also in this, while Francis and Wheler opposed and protested.

capital, he collected a vast number of vessels of all kinds, shapes, and riggings, and improvised a regular marine establishment; he raised nine new battalions of sepoys and a numerous corps of native artillery; and, being thus perfectly at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the westward, to the march of the army and to the proceedings at Poona and Bombay. Previously to the first move of the troops he had sent letters and presents to several of the native princes through whose territories the army must pass; he had almost settled the preliminaries of a treaty and close alliance with the Mahratta ruler, or Rajah, of Berar, whose territories were most extensive and about midway between the Bay of Bengal and the western coast, and whose power and consideration were equal to those enjoyed by any Mahratta prince of the time. Colonel Leslie had been instructed to conciliate and captivate the goodwill of the rulers and people of all the districts through which his line of march lay; but, as he was to go on at all events, he was to fight his way where he could not win it by gentle means. The army met with a feeble resistance in crossing the river Jumna from a Mahratta chief called Ballajee. This chief also engaged the young Rajah of Bondilcund to oppose it, and as the forces advanced in Bondilcund they were frequently harassed and occasionally saw their supplies of provisions intercepted; but a spirited and successful attack made on their principal post, not far from Chatterpoor, completely disconcerted the rajah and Ballajee, and compelled them to retire to a respectful distance. After this action Leslie was joined by an elder brother of the rajah, who laid claim to his throne, and by several other Bondilcund chiefs—for, go where they would, the English found factions, disputed successions, and other mad contentions to tempt their ambition and furnish means for its gratification. Hastings, however, did not wish Leslie to engage for the present in these particular contests. "The rest of the march," wrote the governor-general, "will be easy and creditable if Colonel Leslie does not entangle himself in the domestic contests of the two brothers, to which his inducements are strong and his provocations great. He was on the 30th of July at Chatterpoor, where he had been for some time detained for the repair of his carriages. He writes that he was then on the point of leaving it. I wish he had. I shall be satisfied if he advances. I do not wish him to be in a hurry."* But Colonel Leslie was less in a hurry than Hastings desired; for, having reached Rajaghur, a principal city of Bondilcund, on the 17th of August, he halted there for a long time and entered into various private negotiations with the pretender and other chiefs of that country, in doing which it was suspected that he had an eye to his own private interest. But the delay is certainly in part attributable to the indecision of the presidency of Bombay, under whose orders Leslie had been told to consider himself from the moment he passed the Jumna. It is true that embarrassing incidents had occurred at Poona—that the treaty with Ragoba and the cause of that chief had not run so smoothly as the Bombay politicians had anticipated; but still their conduct must be considered as a near approach to the very perfection of absurdity. They sent an order to Leslie to suspend his march, alleging their apprehensions of the risk and expense, and the dissent of two of the members of their council from the original plan. "A strange reason this for a majority!" exclaimed contemptuously the governor-general of Bengal, whose majority depended on his own voice, and whose ears constantly rung with the dissents and protests of Francis and Wheler. Two or three days after this first order the Bombay magnates sent Leslie another order, revoking the former one and pressing for the rapid advance of the army. More than one familiar proverb will explain the condition in which Leslie found himself. Of a weak and irresolute character himself, and probably not entirely free from the motives imputed to him of money-making and present-seeking, he remained where he was in Bondilcund, justifying his inactivity by showing that an army which was to advance from Bombay to meet him had not taken the field, and that that presidency had done nothing to avail themselves of the distractions at Poona, or to pave the way for his advance at the points where it would become most dangerous. On their side the presidency of Bombay excused their inactivity by representing that the leading members of their party at Poona, from whom assistance was expected, had been scattered or put into prison, and that there was no possibility of calculating the chances of Ragoba's success. Hastings thought it necessary to recall Colonel Leslie to Bengal, and to confide the command of the army to Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard, a much more active and enterprising officer, who had been his second in command. By the same courier he wrote letters to the Rajah of Bondilcund and his competitors, disavowing the acts of Colonel Leslie, and declaring all his treaties and agreements invalid. It is possible that the loitering commander might have been brought to account at Calcutta for some of his bargains; but he died on the 3rd of October, several days before the sentence of recall could reach him.* Goddard, raised to the rank of full colonel, was immediately freed from the orders which had tied the hands and feet of his predecessor: he was instantly released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, which might interrupt but could not promote his success. He forthwith quitted "the detested land of Bondilcund," and, taking the road through Malwa, he continued his march a long

* Letter to Sullivan, dated 18th August, 1778.

* "The wild conduct of Colonel Leslie," said Hastings, "deprived me of every hope of effecting any useful purpose with the detachment while he had the command of it. . . . Instead of pursuing the route which had been prescribed him, he loitered away four months in Bondilcund, busied in the paltry work of accommodating the domestic contests of that government, and making treaties of alliance with the rajah and his mean attendants. These were direct infringements of his positive instructions.' —*Letter to Sullivan, dated 29th November, 1778.*

while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing or expecting any of the many impediments which Leslie had so long complained of.* He soon crossed the Nerbudda, and reached the city of Nagpoor, which Hastings with a prospective glance declared to be the exact and proper centre of all our possessions and connexions in India! By the 1st of December Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of Berar. Here he received dispatches from Bombay acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poona, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city. This Bombay force, 4500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, quitted the coast, advanced boldly through the ghauts, arrived at Condala, and by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poona, with twenty-five days' provision in hand. Loose squadrons of Mahratta horse kept skirmishing and retreating before them, but Colonel Egerton could nowhere see the friendly Mahratta army which Ragoba had assured him would repair to his standard. Ragoba, who was accompanying Egerton with a very diminutive force, and who had received a considerable loan from the Bombay government, was taken to task; but he represented that the wavering Mahratta chiefs were not likely to join until the English should have obtained some decisive advantage. Egerton, therefore, kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poona, in which neighbourhood he was to meet and form a junction with Goddard. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Mahratta horse was seen in front. Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners to share the authority and direct the movements of Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and, upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days!—they ordered a retreat. The Mahratta army of horse followed them and almost enveloped them, cut to pieces three or four hundred men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and provisions. The two commissioners fell into a state of helplessness and despair; and even Colonel Egerton declared it to be impossible to carry back the army to Bombay. The three deserved hanging, and two of them, who had been the chief cause of this precipitate and wretchedly managed retreat, were well nigh incurring the risk of a worse fate. A deputation was sent to the Mahrattas to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit their quiet march back to the coast. The Mahratta chiefs demanded that Ragoba should be delivered to them. With this demand Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing this breach of honour and hospitality by alleging, what was probably true enough, that Ragoba, despairing of success, had opened a correspondence with the enemy.

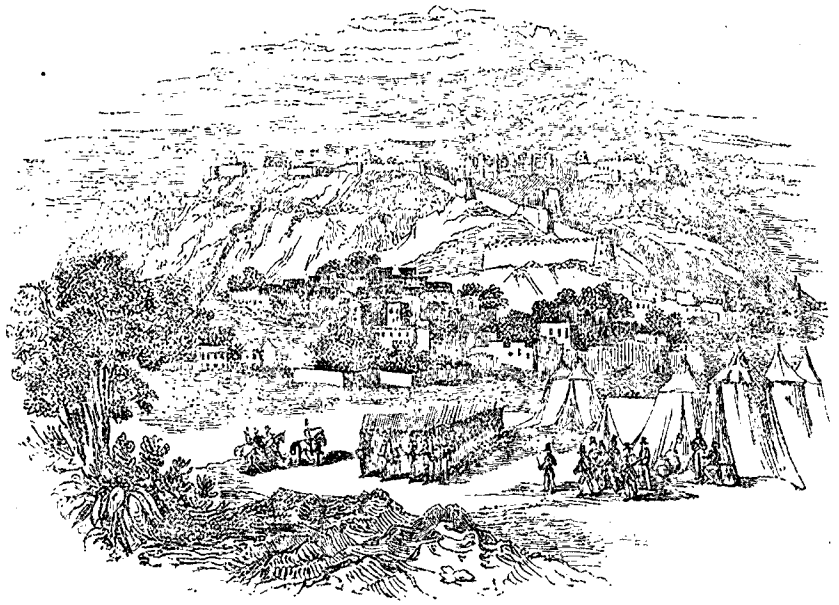
* Letter to Sullivan.

When the Mahratta chiefs had got Ragoba into their hands they asked another price for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty by which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this effect. The Mahratta chiefs then asked for hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance. The army recommended that the two commissioners should be delivered over to them; but it was finally arranged that two other civilians should be sent to the Mahratta camp. The dishonoured army was then told it might pursue its march to Bombay without fear of molestation. In the mean while Goddard had continued advancing upon Poona, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his army near that city. But when he reached Boorhampoor, the ancient capital of Candeish, 980 miles from Calcutta by the route he had taken, Goddard too was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field commissioners, written in compliance with their treaty, he was told that he must retrace his steps; by another from the same field commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but these lack-brains gave him no account or intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt Goddard remained at Boorhampoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the real state of affairs. Luckily he was no Egerton and had no field commissioners with him. He resolved not to be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no authority over him or his movements, and no right to include him in their disgrace; and he bravely determined to continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poona, where the game for the present was lost, and making direct for Surat, where he would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay, and ready to act as occasion, or his orders from Calcutta, might require. But Surat was nearly 250 miles off, the disposition of the intervening country very doubtful, and a great and increasing army of the Mahratta cavalry was hanging on his rear. His decision and rapidity, the discipline and altogether admirable conduct of his native Bengal infantry, could alone save him from destruction or dishonour. But he and his army, wherever they went, were preceded by the sweet odour of a good name. In the course of their long and toilsome march, no plundering, no excesses, no insults or wrongs of any kind had been permitted. Hence the country people flocked to supply him with provisions, and to render him such information and services as they could. From Boorhampoor to the coast his route lay through the most fertile and best cultivated fields of Hindustan, thickly dotted with open villages and defenceless towns, with property in them, and commodities and luxuries most tempting to the sepoys; but nothing

was touched, nothing taken without being paid for, and thus the inhabitants, instead of flying and concealing their provisions and property, as they ever had done at the approach of an army, quietly pursued their occupations, or thronged to relieve his wants by a traffic equally beneficial to both parties. Goddard and his sepoys performed the 250 miles' march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory: they had left a moral impression which could not be soon effaced, and which was scarcely overrated by Hastings. "Be assured," wrote the governor-general to one of the directors, "that the successful and steady progress of a part, and that known to be but a small part, of the military force of Bengal from the Jumna to Surat has contributed more than perhaps our more splendid achievements to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendant of our influence over all the powers of Hindustan. To them as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing and impracticable, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting."* Goddard was promoted to the rank of general, and soon received the commands of the supreme council to take upon himself all future wars or negotiations with the Mahrattas. Ragoba, escaping from his confinement at Poona, took refuge in Surat. Goddard proposed an amicable treaty with the Poona regency or confederacy, upon condition that they would annul the dishonourable treaty extorted from Egerton and the field commissioners, and give up all connexion with the French. The Mahratta chiefs replied that they would enter upon no negotiation until Ragoba was given up and Salsette restored to them. Upon this Goddard prepared for the field, which he took at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dubhoy and carried by storm the important city of Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Guzerat. He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a Mahratta army under the two great chiefs or princes, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 8th of March his rapid marches had brought him up with this army. It was 40,000 strong, but he resolved to attack it that very night. But the attack was prevented by a letter from one of the two hostages whom Egerton had left in the hands of the Mahrattas, and who now intimated that those chiefs were desirous of peace, and inclined to purchase it upon Goddard's terms. Scindia even liberated the two hostages, and sent them to the English camp with a vakeel, or agent, to open negotiations. But, as Scindia wished to bargain for the person of Ragoba, who was following Goddard, and as he and Holkar were soon suspected of a design to waste the time until the setting in of the rains should interrupt the campaign, the general broke off the negotiations. By the more rapid movements of their cavalry Scindia and Holkar were for many days enabled to avoid an attack; but on the 3rd of April, between night and morning, Goddard with a small but select part of his army surprised them in their camp and gave them a thorough defeat. Flying in the greatest confusion to the ghauts, the Mahrattas left Goddard undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea. Having taken possession of the principal towns, Goddard put his army into cantonments.

In the mean time Hastings had formed an alliance with a Hindu prince, commonly called the Ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country on the Jumna, between the territories of the great Mahratta Scindia and the kingdom of Oude; and Captain Popham with a small force had been detached to assist the Ranna in expelling a Mahratta invasion. Popham had taken the field at the beginning of the year, and had not only driven out the Mahrattas from the dominions of the Ranna, but had crossed the Sind, had followed them into their own territory, and had taken by storm the fortress of Lahar, the capital of Cutchwagar. Hastings recommended the immediate reinforcing of Popham as an officer capable of shaking the power of Scindia and Holkar in the heart of their own country. Francis protested against any extension of the war, but it was resolved to send another detachment. Before it had time to arrive Popham with extraordinary skill and daring took by escalade the fortress of Gualior, one of the very strongest and most important places in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and then defended by a numerous garrison. Scindia had made it a grand depôt for artillery and military stores. The brave young Bruce, who led the escalading and storming party, was one of a family insensible to danger—he was brother to Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller. Gualior had long been deemed impregnable by the natives: it was only about 190 miles from Delhi, and not more than 50 from Agra, which was then Scindia's capital. The Mahrattas abandoned all the neighbouring country and carried terror and dismay into Agra. The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Popham was about the last public act in India of Francis. A hollow reconciliation had been effected between the governor-general and this member of the supreme council, Francis agreeing to cease or moderate his opposition, and Hastings agreeing to allow Francis a larger share in the distribution of places of honour and profit. But the temper of one of these contracting parties was uncontrollable, and so were the suspicions and antipathies of the other. If Hastings on vital occasions could suspend his resentments, he was not of a forgiving temper; and Francis had offered him insults difficult to be forgiven by any man, unless on a death-bed. He attributed the far greater part of the agony of mind he had endured, and of the risks he had run, to the "incendiary impressions" of the ex-clerk of the war-office. "Francis," said he to a confidential correspondent, "is the vilest fetcher and carrier of tales to set friends, and even the most

* Letter to Sulivan, as given by Mr. Gleig.



FORTRESS OF GUALIOR.

intimate friends, at variance, of any man I ever knew. Even the apparent levity of his ordinary behaviour is but a cloak to deception."* The governor-general moreover felt that he was not governor so long as Francis remained as a check upon him; and never was man more eager for a single and supreme authority, or what he called "an undivided form of government." Even after his compact with Francis he declared with bitterness—"I am not governor. All the powers I possess are those of preventing the rule from falling into worse hands than my own. . . . I came to this government when it subsisted on borrowed resources, and when its powers were unknown beyond the borders of the country which it held in concealed and unprofitable subjection. I saw it grow into wealth and national consequence, and again sink into a decline that must infallibly end it, if a very speedy remedy be not applied. Its present constitution is made up of discordant parts, and contains the seeds of death in it. I am morally certain that the resources of this country, in the hands of a military people and in the disposition of a consistent and undivided form of government, are both capable of vast internal improvement, and of raising that power which possesses them to the dominion of all India."† Now Francis's constant theme was that this dominion of all India was a wild and dangerous dream; and, as to power in the government, he proclaimed daily and almost hourly that Hastings had already a great deal too much. Under all these circumstances it was utterly impossible that the compact should be binding, or that the truce between the governor-general and his opponent should be lasting. The agreement had been entered upon in 1779, when Hastings received his re-appointment as governor-general, but only for a single year; and when Mr. Barwell, his steady supporter, was impatient to return to England to enjoy the fortune he had made. Barwell, however, had consented to remain, to vote for his friend, if Francis could not be induced to forego his opposition to the extension of the Mahratta war in the direction of the Jumna and Agra, or would not consent to its being conducted according to the plans of the governor-general, who willingly took the whole responsibility upon himself. Francis had agreed to be neutral on these points, and thereupon, or in consequence of this agreement, Barwell had taken his departure for England. Incensed at the renewal of opposition and the pains taken to thwart the campaign of Popham, Hastings, on the 14th of July (1780), in answering a minute of council, declared,—"I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Upon this, Francis could not do less than challenge the governor-general; and, not being veiled and defended by the impenetrable cloud and mist that hung over Junius, he was shot through the body.* The wound, though dangerous, did not

* Letters to Sulivan. † Id.

* "Judging it unbecoming," says Hastings, "to surprise him with a minute at the council-table, or send it first to the secretary, I enclosed it in a note to him that evening. The next day, after council, he desired me to withdraw with him into a private apartment of the council-house, where, taking out of his pocket a paper, he read from it a challenge in terms. I accepted it, the time and place of meeting were fixed before we parted, and on the morning of the Thursday following, being the 17th, between the hours of five and six, we met. We exchanged shots at nearly the same instant; mine entered his side just below the right shoulder, and lodged in the opposite side under the left. He fell, and was conveyed to a house in the neighbourhood."—*Letter to Sulivan, dated 30th of August, as given by Mr. Gleig.* This letter contains Hastings's own account of the whole transaction, which certainly makes the conduct of Francis appear in very

prove mortal; but he resigned his place and returned home a few months after receiving it. The resort to the pistol was in these times common in India, where men's tempers seemed to become as fiery and as peppery as the favourite dish at their tables. This was the second duel in which Hastings himself had been engaged.

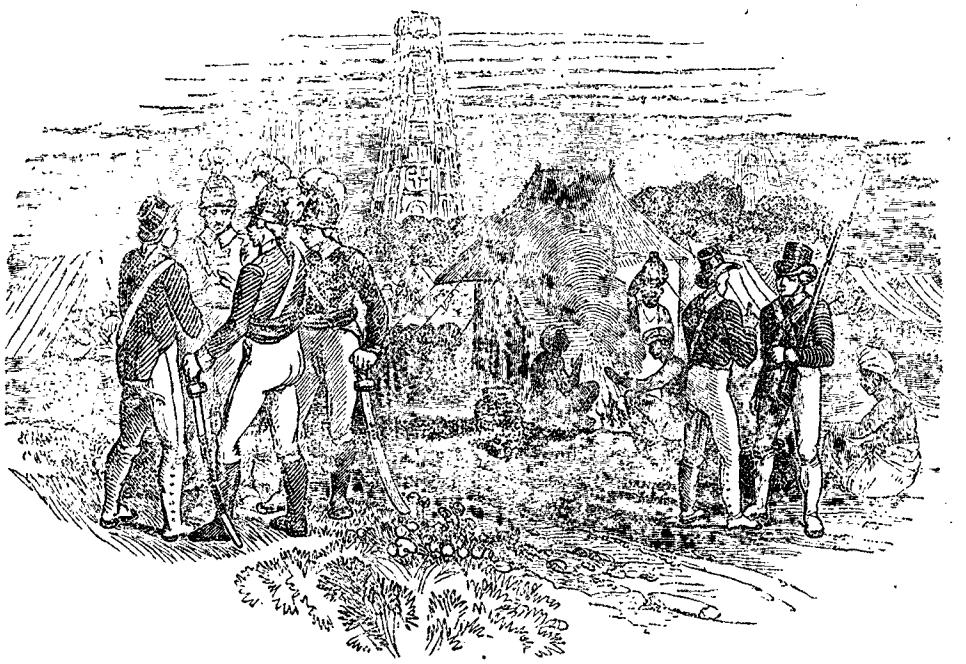
Between Goddard and Popham the most brilliant successes had been obtained, and the Mahratta war promised a complete triumph, when the Mysoreans again took the field, threatening ruin to the English power and possessions on the Coromandel coast. For the space of seven years Hyder Ali had been concerting schemes with the French at Pondicherry, improving and increasing his army, and preparing the nerves of war by a financial system which has been much applauded, but which appears to have consisted mainly in extortion from his subjects and plunder from his neighbours. Hyder could neither read nor write; but he had a sort of mental arithmetic which is described as being wonderfully rapid and correct; and he was assisted by learned Brahmins, said to be great financiers, or, at least, great accountants. He had adopted the common Indian practice of squeezing his treasurers, finance ministers, and collectors; and when they escaped him by death he got at their money by torturing their family and servants. These utter horrors were as common almost in every part of the East, from Pekin to Constantinople, as was the practice of secreting treasure—a practice which gave rise to them, and which had not been unknown in Europe, and even in England, in the middle ages, when men buried in the earth what they could not secure in trade or in banks, and the possession of which they could not own without danger. One of his Brahmin dewans sent a dying declaration that the full amount of his fortune was 50,000 pagodas, and honestly come by; and he implored as a favour that his master would receive the money into the treasury, and leave his family in peace when he should be gone. Hyder not only took the money, but made a merit of excusing the bereft family from the usual process of torture; which, he doubted not, would have led to the discovery of concealed hoards. His next dewan, also a Brahmin, was tortured until he disgorged all he had, and was then dismissed, a cripple and a beggar. The successor to this victim was a Mussulman, the first of that religion he ever employed in the finance department: he was esteemed an able and an honourable man; but after a while he too was seized, and he died under torture inflicted to extort money which he did not possess. The next dewan, on being dismissed from office, declared that he was neither poorer nor richer than when he first ventured or was forced into the employment; that all the money he possessed amounted to 10,000 rupees, the exact sum he had when he became dewan. Nevertheless he was thrown into prison, where he died: the 10,000 rupees which he had mentioned—and no more—were found in his house, and Hyder took them from his family, who were left to starve or beg.* We presume that the English and French writers who have so highly applauded Hyder's financial system would not have chosen to be his ministers of finance. The treasury of Mysore was certainly well filled, and all the weight which money could give was on the side of Hyder, when, in the summer of 1780, after prayers in all the mosques, and ceremonies in all the Hindu temples, he quitted Seringapatam and poured through the ghauts with 15,000 drilled infantry, 40,000 peons, 28,000 cavalry, 2000 artillery and rocket-men, and 400 Europeans, Frenchmen and other adventurers. There was a complete staff of French officers to direct operations according to the best rules. The artillery exceeded one hundred pieces of all calibres. To meet these long preparations and this immense force, the presidency of Madras had an empty exchequer, a divided and factious council, an army not exceeding 6000 men, counting sepoys, who formed by far the largest part of it; and these troops, wholly unprepared, were scattered over a wide tract of country, in Pondicherry, which had been taken from the French, in Trichinopoly, in Arcot, in Madras, in cantonments far apart, and in forts incapable of resisting a battering train, or badly supplied with provisions and stores. As for the forces of their ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic, there was no reliance to be put in them: they ran away, or they deserted to Hyder, as soon as his army defiled through the ghauts. It was difficult to collect the detachments; and they were hardly anywhere strong enough or quick enough to check the rapid advance of the Mysorean. Porto Novo, on the coast, and Conjeveram, close to Trichinopoly, were captured and plundered; the people were flying in all directions from fire and sword towards the English presidency; and the flames kindled by Hyder were seen by night from the top of Mount St. Thomas. Blacks and whites gathered under the guns of Fort St. George as the only place where they could be safe, and the neighbouring villas, the Black town, and Madras itself, were deserted by their panic-stricken inhabitants. Almost the first thing the presidency did was to dis-

dark and dirty colours. As, however, the agreement between him and Francis was a verbal one—neither party could have ventured to put down such a bargain in writing—there is a want of documentary evidence to establish the charges of broken faith, &c. Hastings, indeed, produced a paper containing the following words: "Mr. Francis will not oppose any measures which the governor-general shall recommend for the prosecution of the war in which we are supposed to be engaged with the Mahrattas, or for the general support of the present political system of his government." But the paper was not signed, and Francis declared that, though the paper had been shown to him, he had never agreed to it, or bound himself by its contents. It thus became a question of personal honour and veracity, for Hastings could not disclose the whole of the bargain or call upon Mr. Barwell, who had been a party in it, to do so.

* Colonel Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India.—The honest missionary, Schwartz, who lived some time in Mysore, and who was admitted to his presence, said of Hyder, "He is served through fear: two hundred people with whips in their hands stand always ready for duty; not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike—gentlemen and horsekeepers, tax-gatherers and his own sons. It will hardly be believed what punishments are daily inflicted on the collectors. One of them was tied up, and two men came with their whips and cut him dreadfully: with sharp nails they tore his flesh asunder, and then scourged him afresh: his shrieks rent the air."

patch a fast-sailing ship to Calcutta, with letters and agents, to implore the governor-general to send them help, but above all *money;* and Hastings and the supreme council were told that if they sent money all would go well, but that without money every thing must be lost, and a death-blow be given to the British empire in India. We shall presently see how Hastings answered to this appeal, and the terrible means he adopted to procure and continue the enormous supplies that were really required to save India.

To complete the embarrassments of the presidency of Madras, the arrival of a French armament on the coast, to recover Pondicherry and co-operate with Hyder, was confidently reported. The presidency issued contradictory orders to the officers commanding the detached parts of their army, and there appears to have been no concert or good understanding among the chief commanders of their forces. One place of rendezvous was named, and then another; and the two main divisions, which might have repulsed the invaders if united, never formed a junction, and were beaten separately one after the other. Colonel Baillie, with a lamentable deficiency of judgment, allowed himself to be surrounded, near Conjeveram, by the whole host of Hyder, with upwards of sixty cannon. But the bravery of his small body of men was even more conspicuous than his own folly. Though worn out by forced marches, and almost sinking with hunger, sepoys, as well as British, kept their ground with a spirit that has rarely been surpassed. But



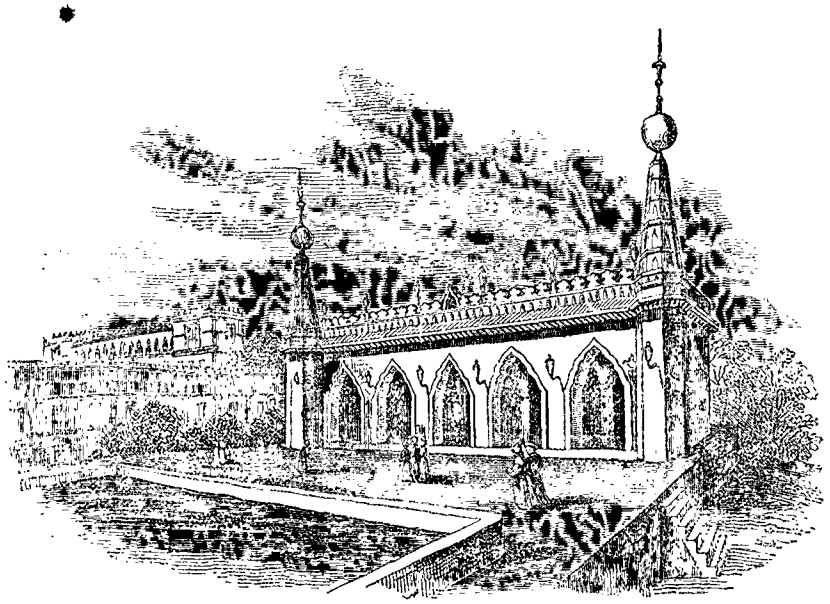
ENCAMPMENT AT CONJEVERAM.

for the French staff around him, Hyder would have given up the contest and retreated. The English repelled charge after charge, and the fire of their platoons, as regular as the motions of a machine, inflicted terrible slaughter. But, at half-past seven in the evening, when the battle had lasted for many hours, and when Hyder's troops appeared to be commencing a retreat without orders, two tumbrils blew up, killed a number of men, overset their guns, and left the English almost without ammunition. Still they kept their ground, and they continued fighting on till nine o'clock, when all the sepoys that remained were broken and cut to pieces. The British that survived—less than 400 in number, and most of them wounded—gained the ridge of a hill and formed in square, the officers fighting with their swords, the men with their bayonets, or only now and then burning a cartridge. They resisted many attacks, and would have resisted more if Colonel Baillie had not gone forward to ask for quarter, waving his handkerchief and ordering them to lay down their arms. It is said that Baillie committed a mistake in supposing that his signal was favourably answered; it is said that some of his men would not lay down their arms, and continued to use them; but the undisputed termination of the affair was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English and a horrible captivity to the rest. Of eighty-six officers thirty-six were killed and thirty-four wounded and mangled. The young soldiers of Hyder and his son Tippoo amused themselves with fleshing their swords and exhibiting their skill on men already helpless and dying, on the sick and

wounded, and even on women and children. The prisoners that were taken and allowed to live were stripped of their clothing to the last remnant, and none escaped this brutal treatment except a few who were saved by the humane interposition of French officers.* Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the other main division of the Madras army, was within a short march of Hyder's rear, delayed by want of rice and other necessaries. Upon learning the dreadful catastrophe he abandoned his tents and baggage, threw his heavier guns into a tank, and fled rather than retreated to Chingleput, and thence to Mount St. Thomas and Madras, being followed the whole way by clouds of Mysorean horse. A great part of the country was again laid waste, and, within a few weeks from Hyder Ali's first descent, Wandewash, Chingleput, Vellore, and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged. But for Hastings there was an end to our power not only in the Carnatic but also in the Northern Circars. He too had to contend with an empty treasury and with a council that was still far from unanimous. Money, however, was procured, and fifteen lacs of rupees were sent off to Madras as a present supply for the army; more money was promised, and the governor-general's missives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where Hastings had a claim or could invent one—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the East. If he could have coined his body, and his soul too, into lacs of rupees he would have done it at this tremendous crisis. The inept governor of Fort St. George, or Madras, was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote, who had fought under Clive at Plassey, who had defeated Lally and Bussy at Wandewash, and who had taken Pondicherry in the last war, was invited to take the command of Fort St. George, and the entire management of the war with Hyder Ali. Peace was concluded with Scindia, Popham was recalled from the Jumna, and amicable arrangements were adjusted with the other Mahratta powers, under the guarantee of the Rajah of Berar. Sir Eyre Coote, who had only recently returned to India as commander-in-chief of Bengal and a member of the supreme council, had not always agreed with Hastings at the council table; but, in the moment of danger, he gave him his entire support, recognized the spirited wisdom and decision of his plans, and, though infirm and suffering, undertook the command. Some faint murmurs of opposition or disapprobation were heard from Francis, who had not yet taken his departure; but the imminence of the peril, and the conviction of the necessity of agreement and of energetic measures, would not permit men to listen to him; and Hastings, at every demur or hesitation of the council, offered, in the manner of Clive, to take all the responsibility upon himself. Not a moment was to be lost; for if the French armament should arrive before Coote, then all would be lost. Five hundred choice British troops were embarked at Calcutta, and with these, and six hundred lascars and between forty and fifty gentlemen volunteers, the Indian veteran sailed for Madras on the 23rd of October. On the night after his departure there arose a terrible storm, which continued all the next day. Some alarmists whispered that the veteran and his little army had gone to the bottom of the Bay of Bengal; but the squadron weathered the storm, and after a very quick passage got safe to Madras. Foreseeing that further reinforcements would be required in the Carnatic, and knowing, since Goddard's progress to Surat, that the native troops might be trusted on the longest marches, Hastings resolved that another detachment should be got ready and sent to Madras, not by sea, but by land; he strained every nerve, he looked out for the best officers and the best men, and early in the ensuing year (1781) Colonel Pearse, a counterpart of Goddard, started from Calcutta with five small regiments of native infantry, some native cavalry, and a proportionate train of artillery, to find or force his way through Cuttack, the Northern Circars and half of the Carnatic, a distance of more than 1100 miles, and through a country intersected by many rivers, which were all to be crossed where broadest, or nearest their mouths. Pearse and his detachment overcame all obstacles, performed the journey, got to Madras at a most critical juncture, and were eminently useful in that quarter. In the mean time Coote had commenced operations with 1700 Europeans and about 5000 native troops, by marching to recover Wandewash, the scene of his greatest exploit. Hyder Ali, terrified at his name, abandoned Wandewash with the utmost precipitation, raised several of his sieges, and seemed more than once inclined to fly altogether, or to treat with Coote. But at this juncture the arrival of a French fleet obliged the English to change their line of march; and after a few days Coote encamped on the hills behind Pondicherry, in the roadstead of which there rode at anchor seven French ships of the line and four frigates. On taking Pondicherry, Sir Hector Monro had contented himself with destroying the fortifications, and putting a very small garrison into it, which had been withdrawn at the beginning of Hyder's present invasion. The French officers had given their parole, the inhabitants had been allowed to continue their trade; but the temptation was too great, and when it was seen that the English were flying in all directions, and known that an armament was coming from France, they clapped the English resident into prison, flew to arms, enlisted sepoys, and collected provisions for an army at Karangotty, at a convenient distance from Porto Novo. Coote disarmed the inhabitants of Pondicherry and then marched away to destroy the depôt. Hyder, emboldened by the arrival of the French ships, had descended to the coast; and he now moved on the right flank of the English, rapidly and with the

* Colonel Wilks, Sketches of the South of India; and Memoirs of the late War in Asia.

evident intention of protecting the depôt, and keeping open his communications with the fleet. At one time the two armies were very close to each other; and Coote, with the spirit and nimbleness of former years, mounted his horse and rode along the English lines, telling his men that the day was come for beating Hyder. But the Mysorean would not accept the challenge to battle; and in a very few days he moved rapidly back into the interior, despondent and terror-stricken at the departure of the French ships, which, with the old apprehension of the approach of a superior English squadron, set sail for the Isle of France on the 15th of February, 1781. Coote could not follow Hyder, for a sickness broke out in his camp, and the country had been so wasted that he could not find forage for his cattle. Penetrating into Tanjore, Hyder continued his ravages in that beautiful and productive district; and his son Tippoo returned to Wandewash, and even laid siege to that town. Sir Edward Hughes with an English squadron destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and about the middle of June arrived at Madras with some reinforcements from Bombay. On the 18th of June Coote attacked the fortified pagoda of Chillambram, but was repulsed with considerable loss. In a military sense, however, the loss was a gain, for the affair of Chillambram gave Hyder such confidence that he came again down to the coast and encamped at Cuddalore with the determination to risk a battle rather than permit Coote's advance to Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Hyder took up good ground and raised formidable redoubts according to the plans drawn for him by French officers; yet, nevertheless, he was completely defeated by the English, who advanced from Porto Novo and attacked him in his lines on the 1st of July. The old Mysorean, seated on a portable stool upon a hill in the rear of his army, was thrown into a fit of madness by Coote's most unexpected success; he raved and tore his clothes, refusing to move from the spot, till an old servant pulled his slippers on his legs, and put him on a fleet horse. Coote had no cavalry to pursue him. He ordered his son Tippoo to raise the siege of Wandewash, and he retired himself to Arcot quite crest-fallen. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirit and resources of his enemy. "The defeat of many Baillies," said he, "will not destroy these English. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea." He bitterly regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French counsels; he still more bitterly complained of having been amused by idle expectations of a great French force from Europe. He, however, recovered heart enough to risk another



THE ROYAL PALACE AT ARCOT.

battle for the defence of Arcot. The ground he chose was the very spot where Baillie's detachment had been annihilated, and which he therefore considered a lucky spot. He was again defeated; but this time, owing to some squabbles and jealousies among the superior English officers, Coote's army suffered much more than in the preceding affair. This was on the 27th of August. On the 27th of September another battle was fought in the pass of Sholinghur, near Bellore. Here Hyder was routed with terrible loss, and the fortress of Bellore, one of the keys of the Carnatic, almost reduced to extremities by famine, was relieved and saved. The rains, the monsoon floods, and the rising of the rivers, put an end to further extensive operations; but before Coote retired into cantonments, Chittore, Palipett, and other places were retaken.

In the meantime an able and a truly excellent man had arrived from England as governor of Madras. This was Lord Macartney, who landed at Fort St. George on the 22nd of June of this present year (1781). His lordship brought intelligence of the declaration of war between England and Holland; and his first care was to make himself master of all the Dutch factories or settlements on that coast. Sadras surrendered upon summons; Poulicat, having a regular Dutch garrison and a corps of Hyder's army quartered in its vicinity, offered resistance; Fort St. George had not a soldier to spare, it had been drained of men and almost of stores to supply Sir Eyre Coote; but Lord Macartney put himself at the head of some gentlemen volunteers and Madras militia, and on the approach of this force Poulicat surrendered. These operations were only a prelude to the siege and capture of Negapatam, the chief of all the Dutch settlements, and which, being situated on one of the mouths of the Cavery River, and close to the frontier of Tanjore, was of immense importance both in a commercial and a military point of view. Hyder, in scouring Tanjore, had drawn assistance and supplies through this port. His lordship had still no troops to dispose of; but Admiral Hughes had good marines and sailors ready for anything; and on the 21st of October the seamen and marines were landed in the neighbourhood of Negapatam to co-operate with a small detachment under Colonel Brathwaite, who had maintained himself in the Tanjore country, and who now crossed the Cavery. With admirable rapidity ground was broke and a battery raised of ten 18-pounders, and by the 12th of November, Negapatam, with all that it contained, was ours. Among its contents were six thousand five hundred and odd men—a number far exceeding that of the besiegers, counting marines, seamen, and all—a vast quantity of arms and warlike stores, and a double investment of goods for Europe, no ships having arrived from Holland in the preceding year in consequence of the alarm created in the Dutch East India Company by Commodore Fielding's attack on the squadron of Count Beyland.* Nothing more remained in that quarter to take from them; but on the other side of Palk's Strait, not many leagues from the Coromandel coast, was the island of Ceylon, all access to which the Dutch had most jealously guarded for more than a hundred years, and there they possessed the famed town and port of Trincomalee, one of the most important in all India, the most secure place of refuge for ships surprised by storms or overtaken by the violent monsoon, and so conveniently situated with reference to the English settlements on the Coromandel coast, that a vessel may reach it from Madras in two days. It was a depôt too of "the sweet cane," or cinnamon, and of pearls of great price. Macartney resolved to add it to the list of conquests. Admiral Hughes, taking on board only 500 land troops, sailed from Negapatam on the 2nd of January (1782), and by the 11th of the same month the English flag was planted in Trincomalee, the Dutch making a most feeble resistance.* Colonel Brathwaite, after assisting in the reduction of Negapatam, returned into Tanjore with the view of recovering some of the fortresses of that country which had been taken by Hyder and his son Tippoo rather through bribery than force. By the same arts Brathwaite was deceived and misled by the Tanjoreans; and while encamped on the left bank of the Cavery he was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed on the 18th of February by Tippoo and a French corps, after maintaining a most unequal struggle from sunrise to sunset.† This severe blow was almost immediately followed by the arrival on the coast of M. de Suffrein with ships and an army 3000 strong, two-thirds being veteran French troops and the other third Caffres picked up at the Isles of France and Bourbon. Hyder and Tippoo were in a rapture of joy; yet the wily old Mysorean, upon reflection, was alarmed at the greatness of the force of his allies, and made up his mind never to admit them in force into Mysore. Admiral Suffrein had had an adventurous voyage. Among the Cape de Verd Islands he had encountered the squadron of Commodore Johnstone, who, after an indecisive battle, had followed him as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and who probably might have spoiled his voyage if he had not preferred capturing five rich Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay.‡ Johnstone returned home with his prizes; but a part of his squadron, with the transports and Indiamen having on board troops for India, followed in the track of Admiral Suffrein. The French put into the Isle of France, where they were joined by several other ships, some of the line, some frigates. The English, whose crews were very sickly, stopped at the island of Johanna for twenty or four and twenty days, when they continued their course for the western coast of India, hoping to form a junction with Sir Edward Hughes, land the troops, and then with united force destroy Suffrein's fleet. But the English were becalmed for several weeks; and when within 260 leagues of Bombay they were caught by the changing monsoon and carried to the coast of Arabia Felix. At the beginning of December the winds allowed them to resume their voyage; and, under the impression that the French armament was destined for that neighbourhood in order to co-operate with the Mahrattas in conformity with engagements made by M. Lubin at Poona, part of the fleet ran for Bombay, and part continued in quest of Admiral Hughes, who had left the western for the Coromandel coast several

* See ante, vol. i. p. 421.

* Sir John Barrow, Account of the Public Life of the Earl of Macartney.

† The circumstances of Brathwaite's defeat resembled those of Colonel Baillie's; he had only 100 English, 1500 sepoys, and 300 cavalry; while Tippoo had 10,000 horse, 10,000 infantry, 20 pieces of cannon, and 400 Europeans commanded by French officers. The French decided the long and obstinate contest by charging the exhausted sepoys with the bayonet. The massacre of the prisoners was prevented by the feeling and spirit of the French officers, who were seen risking their own lives and cutting down Tippoo's savages to prevent it.

‡ Vol. i. p. 470.

months before, and who was at this time at Negapatam or at Trincomalee. The first of these divisions reached Bombay on the 22nd of January: it had part of the troops on board, under the command of Colonel Humberston Mackenzie. This officer, on learning that all was quiet in that neighbourhood, and that the real scene of the war was on the opposite coast, sailed almost immediately for Madras; but, in consequence of fresh intelligence reporting that Hyder was triumphant in the Carnatic, that Madras was in danger, and that the French fleet was assembling in great force on the Coromandel coast, by which he must pass, Colonel Mackenzie, after consulting a council of war, resolved to attempt a diversion on the Malabar side of Hyder's dominions, and on the 18th of February landed his troops at Calicut. Mackenzie had scarcely 1000 men; but there was already an English detachment on that part of the coast, and when the forces were united the colonel was strong enough to drive before him a Mysorean army, to take several towns and fortresses, and to create great alarm in the mind of Hyder, who was forced to weaken his army in the Carnatic in order to check Mackenzie. Suffrein did not leave the Isle of France until some time after the English squadron had left Johanna; but his voyage was more fortunate than theirs, and he reached the Coromandel coast early in January, having captured on his way the Hannibal, a fifty-gun ship, which had been separated from the rest of the English squadron.* His approach was made known at Madras by the arrival of some country ships flying from his pursuit. Several of these vessels, loaded with grain for the supply of the half-famishing army of Sir Eyre Coote, were taken by the French. Sir Edward Hughes, leaving a small garrison in Trincomalee, returned to Madras, and was fortunate enough to arrive there on the 8th of February, without encountering the very superior force of Suffrein, although he had passed very near it. With equal good fortune the part of the squadron from England which had separated from the rest on the western coast ran past the French and joined Hughes at Madras on the 9th.† Sir Edward now counted nine sail of the line; but six of these ships were foul and damaged from long service. On the 15th Suffrein appeared in the offing, and sent in his lighter vessels to reconnoitre the English force. The report was vexatious and disappointing, as he had counted upon fighting Hughes with his six ships of the line only; and although he had himself twelve ships of the line and six frigates he was not over anxious to engage. He was as brave a man as ever fought under the white flag or any other national standard; but the positive orders of his government were to act with extreme caution, as their finances could not bear the equipping of another fleet for this distant service, and if he lost his ships there would again be an end to the hopes of the French in India. The English admiral, fully expecting an attack, placed his ships, with springs on their cables, in the best position to defend themselves and the numerous transports and trading shipping which lay in the road. Instead of coming in, Suffrein stood away to the southward. Hughes, having taken on board some provisions, and some sound men to supply the places of his numerous sick, weighed and followed the French. On the 16th the English ships that were clean and *coppered* came up with and captured six sail of Suffrein's convoy, one of these sail being a large French transport loaded with shot, powder, and guns, and having on board many officers and 300 men, the other five being English transports which had been captured a few days before by the French. Suffrein, as Hughes had anticipated, bore round to protect his convoy. The two fleets came close together during the night, and on the following day, the 17th, they came into action. Suffrein had the double advantage of the weather-gage and concentration of force, for some of Hughes's ships had fallen away to leeward—the original superiority of force remaining the same, *i. e.* twelve ships of the line, without counting the frigates, against nine. The brunt of the action on the English side, indeed, was borne by only five ships; and two of these, the 'Superb' and 'Exeter,' suffered severely, though, after the old fashion, more in their masts and rigging than in their crews. When the 'Exeter' was a wreck, and when two French ships were bearing down to attack her in that condition, Commodore King asked his sailing master what he should do with the ship. "There is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks," was the master's reply. But a sudden squall brought up the ships to leeward and gave the British the advantage of the wind; and in twenty-five minutes more Suffrein suspended the conflict, and bore away for Porto Novo. Hughes made for Trincomalee, as the most convenient place for repairing his ships. His killed and wounded amounted to about 130. The captain of the 'Exeter' and the captain of the 'Superb' were among the slain. Suffrein's loss in men was more considerable; but his ships, or at least his masts and spars, were less damaged.*

The 2000 French and the 1000 Caffres landed at Porto Novo were under the command of M. Bussy, who, no more than Coote, was the man he had been twenty years before. They united with the army of Tippoo; but they performed no exploit till the beginning of April, when they besieged and captured Cuddalore, a convenient station for their fleet. A few days before this capture Suffrein quitted his anchorage at Porto Novo in quest of a fleet of English Indiamen which had arrived upon the Coromandel coast under the escort of two line-of-battle ships which had on board a king's regiment. Hughes, who had completed his repairs and re-

* The Hannibal, on the clearing up of a thick fog, found herself in the very midst of Suffrein's fleet; but she was not taken without a desperate combat.

† This division of the squadron consisted only of three ships of the line and some transports, and it must have been sacrificed if it had fallen in with Suffrein. The loss would have been almost fatal, for the ships contained about 1000 or 1200 English soldiers.

* Captain Schomberg's Naval Chronology.—Ann. Regist.

turned to Madras, instantly slipped after him to protect the Indiamen. The English admiral met this merchant fleet and saw it safely into the roadstead of Madras, and then taking the two escorting ships of the line with him he hastened to throw some provisions and reinforcements into his recent conquest, Trincomalee. On the 8th of April Hughes found himself almost within gun-shot of Suffrein's fleet; but he pursued his course for Ceylon to execute his more immediate object, and was closely followed by the French. He made the coast on the 11th, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincomalee, for which place he bore away during the night. On the morning of the 12th, when the English ships were close upon a dangerous lee-shore, the French having the weather-gage and crowding all sail came down upon them and brought them to action under almost every possible disadvantage. The combat began at noon, became general at three o'clock, and lasted till dark; but after all it was a drawn battle, in which both sides suffered very severely, and neither could boast of the advantage, although there remained to the English sailors the honour of having overcome by their skill and steadiness the natural terrors of the situation they were in when first engaged. The number of killed and wounded was about equal, being stated on either side at from 500 to 600 men. For six or seven days the hostile fleets lay close to each other repairing their damages, which rendered them incapable of renewing the conflict. After some manœuvres which seemed to announce his intention to attack, Suffrein ran along the Ceylon coast to Battacolo, or Baticalo—another Dutch settlement—and Hughes ran into Trincomalee.*

From Cuddalore, Bussy and Tippoo advanced against Wandewash; but Coote, though suffering from a recent and violent apoplectic attack, advanced rapidly to the relief of that place, and on the 24th of April encamped on the very spot where he had defeated Lally and Bussy in the year 1760. Instead of accepting the battle he offered, Bussy and Tippoo retreated before Coote and his prestige. The English then threatened the strong fort of Arnee, where Hyder had deposited plunder and provisions. The old Mysorean advanced in person for the defence of this place, and fought a loose, irregular battle, in which he sustained some loss; but, while he was thus facing Coote, his son Tippoo succeeded in carrying off the plunder and provisions from Arnee. After these operations Bussy retreated towards Cuddalore and Pondicherry. Hyder put himself in quarters near the coast, and Tippoo and some strong French detachments hurried away to Calicut, where the affairs of his father seemed going to utter ruin, for the Nairs or Hindu chiefs of the Malabar coast, who had been cruelly oppressed by the Mysoreans, were rising in arms, and joining the English force under Colonel Mackenzie. At this juncture, when experience had shown him that even with the aid of his European allies he could not maintain his ground in the Carnatic, or face the English, Hyder was thrown into dismay by learning the result of Hastings's successful policy, or the conclusion of the treaty between the English and the Mahrattas. He expected every moment to have the Mahratta confederacy upon him; and the Mahrattas alone had on a former occasion proved more than a match for him. "I must go alone," said the perplexed and suspicious old tyrant, "against these faithless Mahrattas, who will be falling on Mysore, for I dare not admit the French in force to my own country." His health, which had been declining for some time, was shaken by his anxieties and still increasing suspicions. He had long been haunted by visions of conspiracy and murder. Once, when asked by his familiar companion, Gholaum Ali, what made him start so much in his sleep, he replied, "My friend, the state of beggars is more delightful than my envied monarchy, for they see no conspirators when awake, and dream of no assassins when asleep." He, however, permitted himself to be persuaded by Bussy that the war in the Carnatic was far from hopeless, that means might be found to counteract Hastings's negotiations and win back the Mahrattas, not merely to a neutrality, but to a close alliance; and, while the cunning old man amused Sir Eyre Coote, and kept him inactive, by the intimation that he might accede to the governor-general's treaty with the Mahrattas and become a party to it, he was preparing to co-operate with Bussy in an attack upon Negapatam. The operations of the French and English fleets, on which the success of the powers contending on shore mainly depended, were of a curious and a complicated kind. Having refitted in Ceylon as best they could, Suffrein and Hughes returned to the coast, and on the 3rd of July fought another drawn battle, but one in which the French suffered by far the greater loss, and were only saved from a total defeat by one of those sudden shiftings of the wind which make sea-battles with sailing ships so much a matter of chance. Suffrein, however, who was as skilful as he was brave, had the merit of availing himself of his chance with admiral seamanship and dexterity. After the battle the French went to anchor at Cuddalore, and the English to Madras. Suffrein was the first to be ready for sea, and, making again for Ceylon, and being joined on that coast by two more ships of the line, fresh from Europe, and with a strong body of troops on board, he dashed into Trincomalee Bay and summoned the forts and town. There had not been time to put these forts even in decent order, and the garrison, originally weak, was reduced by the sickliness and swampiness of the situation; but, well knowing that his antagonist, Hughes, would not be long behind him, he offered the most honourable terms in order to procure a capitulation before the English fleet should arrive. The garrison surrendered on the 31st of August, and on the 2nd of September Hughes arrived. Preferring fighting with sea-room to being attacked in the bay, Suffrein came out, and another battle, far more desperate than either of the preceding

* Captain Schomberg's Naval Chronology.—Ann. Reg.

ones between him and Hughes, took place, the French having sixteen sail of the line, and the English twelve.* For three or four hours the centres of the two lines were hotly engaged, ship to ship, the rival admirals, in the 'Superb' and 'L'Héros,' fighting with the greatest fury. At half-past five in the afternoon there was a short hush; but Hughes, wearing round with all his ships, and with wonderful order and rapidity, renewed the attack with advantage and with double vigour. Suffrein's mainmast was shot away by the board, and his mizenmast soon followed it. At seven o'clock the French, with a slackened fire and in some confusion, hauled their wind and became exposed to a most galling fire from the ships in the English rear. As night set in the whole of the French fleet ran back to Trincomalee, and in such hurry and confusion that one of their best ships ran ashore and was lost, and two others missed the broad mouth of the bay and fell down the coast. The English were in no condition to pursue: they had lost in the action 51 in killed and 283 in wounded, and the rigging of most of their ships was ruined. Among the slain were Captain Watt, of the 'Sultan,' Captain Wood, of the 'Worcester,' and the Hon. Captain Lumley, of the 'Isis.' It appears that Suffrein's captains had been more careful of their lives; and he was so much dissatisfied with the conduct of some of them in the action that he immediately broke six of them and sent them prisoners to the Isle of France. He concealed as much as he could the loss he had sustained, but it soon became known that the slaughter had been great beyond precedent; that in his own ship, which was crowded with men, about 140 were killed and 240 wounded, and that his entire loss in killed and wounded exceeded 1000. Admiral Hughes returned to Madras, where he found Sir Eyre Coote determined to make an attack upon the French lines at Cuddalore, though almost deprived of the use of his limbs by another attack of paralysis. Coote required the admiral to remain to co-operate with him, and he was the more eager upon this point, as he now learned the concerted attack of Hyder and the French on Negapatam: but Hughes, who had considered himself ill used both by the general and by Lord Macartney, or the council of Madras, represented that he could not stay with any safety to his ships during the monsoon, and insisted upon going round to Bombay, where he could properly refit his shattered fleet. It is said that shelter might have been found for him nearer at hand on the Coromandel coast; but it is not so clear that Hughes could have found there the accommodations, materials, and workmen he wanted, though Suffrein had contrived to do wonders in this way at Cuddalore, improvising an arsenal or ship-yard, and, to encourage others, working himself in his shirt-sleeves, like a common shipwright.

* We count 50-gun ships as ships of the line, which at this period they were reckoned. Suffrein had four 50-gun ships, and Hughes only one: in seventy-fours and sixty-fours the French had twelve, the English eleven ships. The numbers of guns were—English, 794; French, 954.

It is possible that, but for his ill humour, Hughes would have remained; but, if he had remained a day longer than he did in Madras-roads, he would, in all human probability, have been a sacrifice, and the entire loss of his fleet would have been added to other tremendous calamities. He sailed on the 15th of October, and was well out at sea before night. In the course of that night the well-known roar of the coming monsoon was heard by anxious ears in Fort St. George and the town of Madras, and the surf began to shake the coast; and by the next morning the strand was seen covered with wrecks or fragments of merchant-ships that had stayed behind when Hughes took his departure. The sight was every way dreadful, for some of these ships were loaded with rice for the garrison, the town, and the army; and every bag of rice was lost when there seemed no possibility of procuring another supply by sea or by land. There had been a scarcity before, but now there was absolute famine. Thousands of the poor natives of the Carnatic, who had fled from Hyder to seek refuge under the guns of Fort St. George, were the first to feel these horrors: they died by hundreds, and they soon had fellow-sufferers. The roads that led to the town, the streets of the town itself, were strewed with the dead and dying; and nothing was heard but cries, and moans, and unavailing prayers for relief addressed to men who had not a grain of rice to spare, and who might soon be subjected to the same want and agony. It is said that 10,000 souls perished before supplies of rice were obtained from Bengal and other parts. Four or five days after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Richard Bickerton put into Madras-roads with a squadron of ships of war and land troops from England; but, having no provisions to spare after his long and tedious voyage, and considering it to be at once his duty and the only mode of securing his safety—menaced by the monsoon and by the vast superiority of Suffrein—to join the admiral, he put again to sea, and ran round Cape Comorin and up the western coast to Bombay. Shortly after Sir Eyre Coote, in a deplorable state of health, set sail for Calcutta. The command devolved to General Stuart, who sent 500 men to reinforce the garrison at Negapatam, 400 Europeans to co-operate with the Bombay army under Goddard (who was preparing to invade the dominions of Hyder from the west), and 300 Europeans into the Circars, where a French invasion was expected, but never took place. In fact, both Bussy and Suffrein became inactive at the very moment when activity would have been attended with the greatest chance of success. They did not attack Negapatam, when its garrison was weak and unprepared; they did not intercept or attempt to intercept the weak squadron of Sir Richard Bickerton, who passed them and repassed them at no great distance; they made no attempt against Madras when it was panic-stricken and famine-stricken, and they allowed the place to be revictualled from the Circars and from Bengal, though a few frigates

might have stopped the grain-ships and compelled a surrender through hunger. Various other causes may be imagined as contributing to this passiveness, such as shattered and ill-repaired ships, tempestuous weather, poverty, and a lack of provisions or stores in the French quarters; but the greatest cause of all probably was the declining health and spirit of Hyder. Tippoo, his son and heir, was gone to the Malabar coast with an army of 20,000 men and a French corps 400 strong. Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie was pressing on Mysore from the south, and was preparing for the siege of Palagatcherry, not many marches from Seringapatam, having dispersed the Mysorean army that attempted to cover the fort, when the approach of Tippoo constrained him to retreat towards the coast. On his way back Mackenzie blew up several forts which he had taken in his advance. He halted at Paniany, a seaport town about 35 miles from Calicut, and there resolved to defend himself against Tippoo and the French, who, during the latter part of his march, had pressed closely on his rear and caused him some loss. On the following morning (the 28th of November), before day broke and before he could put the place in some defensive order, he was attacked by the enemy in four columns advancing from different points, and being guided or headed by the French. His sepoys were driven in at one point, and two or three of his guns were taken before the British-born part of his troops got under arms; but presently the pride of Highland regiments, the gallant 42nd, advanced to the charge, and drove French and Mysoreans before them at the point of the bayonet, and with a terrible slaughter, for the columns had got mixed and confused, and Tippoo had blocked up the roads and avenues with masses of horse and foot, who had no inclination to fight at close quarters themselves, but who impeded the retreat to those that had engaged. At last, however, the whole host withdrew, leaving nothing behind them but killed and wounded. The lesson he thus received was a severe one, and it is not credible that Tippoo either contemplated making another attack upon lines that were every hour becoming stronger, and that were defended by 900 choice British troops besides sepoys, or proceeding by blockade to reduce a town which was open to the sea, and situated on a coast where the entire population favoured the English cause. But at this juncture Tippoo received intelligence of his father's death, and it behoved him to look after his inheritance, for he had brothers and cousins. He therefore turned his back upon Paniany, and made all haste to secure the musnud and the treasure. Hyder Ali died of a disease known to the Hindus under the name of the raj-pora or rajah-boil, from its being supposed to be peculiar to persons of royal rank—an Indian king's-evil—and called by the Mohammedans the "crab," from a fancied resemblance to that creature in the swelling behind the neck, or the upper portion of the back, which is the first indication of the disorder. French physicians and surgeons were called in, but their science was as ineffectual as the conjuring and the charms of the native practitioners in curing a dangerous disease in an octogenarian.* The "Tiger"—for such, being translated, is the appropriate name of his son and successor—had reached the manly age of thirty years when he assumed the reins of government, with an army of 90,000 men, a treasury containing three crores of rupees in hard money, and a mass of booty, jewels, and other valuables, estimated at an immense amount. With these resources, with the French alliance, and with a passion for war and aggrandizement, Tippoo scorned all overtures for a peace with the English—overtures which his wiser father would certainly have accepted, if he had lived a few months or a few weeks longer. Having performed the last duties to the remains of Hyder, he hastened to join the main army of Mysore, well provided with money and presents to secure their allegiance. This was at the end of December. On the 4th of January (1783) General Stuart took the field against him. The Mysorean army, though joined by 900 French, 2000 sepoys, 250 Caffres, and twenty-two field-pieces, all sent by the French from Cuddalore, retreated before Stuart, whose entire force consisted of about 14,000 men—but nearly 3000 of these were British—and crossed the river Arnee in disorderly haste. Tippoo had recalled his garrison from Arcot and other places, and it became evident that he was evacuating the whole of the Carnatic. He was not, however, flying so much from Stuart as flying to defend his own dominions. Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, soon after the retiring of Tippoo from the Malabar coast, marched his sepoys by land, and sent his Highlanders and other British by sea, northward to the coast of Canara to co-operate with a part of the army from Bombay, in reducing some of the richest provinces or dependencies of Mysore. The march was long, the voyage stormy, but the junction of the forces moving to meet each other from such opposite and distant points was effected in the course of the month of January, when General Mathews, who had arrived at Bombay, from England, with king's troops, in the preceding autumn, took upon himself the command of the whole. The fort of Onore was taken by storm, the range of rocks which runs between the coast and Bednore, and which varies in height from 4000 to 5000 feet above the level of the sea, was scaled, the steep ghauts, though defended at intervals by batteries, were cleared by the bayonet, and on the 26th of January the rich capital of Bednore surrendered to Mathews without firing a gun. It is said that this easy conquest was owing to the small affection entertained by the governor and garrison and the people of the country to their new master Tippoo, or to some old animosities and grudges existing be-

* The precise date of the birth of Hyder Ali is not ascertained, but he is supposed to have been at least 80 years old when he died. His body was secretly deposited in the obscure tomb of his father, at Colar; but Tippoo subsequently caused it to be removed to the superb mausoleum at Seringapatam, which is still endowed and carefully kept up by the English.

tween him and the governor. With the capital the English got possession of a considerable portion of that fertile province. Most of the other forts surrendered at or before a summons; but Ananpore and Mangalore held out. Ananpore was carried by storm, and Mangalore, on the coast, surrendered as soon as a breach was made. The further operations of this combined force were hampered by quarrels and complaints about the division of the spoil. General Mathews refused to divide any part with the officers and soldiers, which was the more illiberal and irrational as the men had received no pay for many months. Colonel MacLeod, Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, and Major Shaw left the army and repaired to Bombay to lay their complaints before the governor and council of that presidency. Upon their representations Mathews was superseded, and Colonel MacLeod, raised to the rank of brigadier-general, was sent back to Bednore, to take the command. Humberstone Mackenzie and Major Shaw accompanied MacLeod; but on their voyage down the coast they were attacked, in a weak small vessel, by five Mahratta pirates, who killed or wounded nearly every Englishman on board. Major Shaw was dispatched outright; Colonel Mackenzie, one of the best officers that had ever served in India, died of his wounds; and MacLeod was carried into Gheriah. In the mean while Mathews had been acting like a madman: he had scattered his army all over the country in contemptible mud forts or open towns; he had sent the 42nd back to the coast; and he had fixed his head-quarters in the city of Bednore, without laying in a stock of ammunition and provisions, or doing anything to strengthen the fort. He was in this state of stupid security when Tippoo, on the 9th of April, appeared in the immediate neighbourhood with an immense army which secured the ghauts and cut off all communication between the coast and the town. Mathews threw himself into the fort of Bednore, but any prolonged resistance was impossible, and, very honourable terms being offered by Tippoo, he capitulated on the last day of April. But instead of permitting the general and his troops to withdraw to the coast, according to the terms of the capitulation, Tippoo bound them with chains or ropes, and sent them into Mysore to be thrown into horrible dungeons, excusing his conduct by accusing Mathews of purloining some of the public treasure which he had agreed to leave in the fort.* But this mode of treating prisoners was all along a fixed rule of conduct both with Hyder and his son. After this success Tippoo went through the ghauts and down to the seaport-town of Mangalore, in which the 42nd and some fragments of Mathews's army had thrown themselves. This was considered a most important point, as the harbour was the best on the coast of Canara; and about the middle of May, Tippoo and his French allies invested Mangalore. They counted on a short and easy conquest; but the siege detained them from more important operations for months, and after all Mangalore was not taken. The sudden departure of the main army of the Mysoreans had left General Stuart scarcely any enemies to contend with in the Carnatic except the French and their sepoys, who remained behind their fortified lines at Cuddalore. Sir Eyre Coote had returned to the coast to resume the chief command, but a third fit had proved fatal to him, and he had died on the 26th of April, three days after landing at Madras. Stuart appeared before the French lines on the 7th of June, but there was no proper concert or co-operation between him and Admiral Hughes, who had returned to the coast; the French had been allowed time to erect works that were really formidable, and part of Suffrein's fleet, being left unmolested in the harbour of Cuddalore, was enabled to lend material assistance. And, as if time enough had not been given them to complete their preparations, Stuart lay from the 7th to the 13th of June before the French lines doing nothing. If he considered the co-operation of the fleet as essential—which it certainly was—he ought to have waited a day or two longer. But, on the 13th, he began to attack in three columns at three different points. His signals were misunderstood, the attacks were not made simultaneously, and the French making a sortie did terrible execution upon his disjointed army; and after he had broken into their lines at one point, and carried and occupied some of their works, he was compelled to retreat to his camp. In this unfortunate assault a very important military doubt was removed, and that was whether native troops, under any training and under the best officers, would stand the bayonet charge of European troops. A battalion of Bengal sepoys, a part of the force which had marched from Calcutta with Colonel Pearse, not only stood a charge but drove back the French at the point of their own bayonets, and with severe loss. On the very next day Sir Edward Hughes appeared in the offing, but Suffrein appeared at the same time, or nearly so, and got between the English fleet and Cuddalore. The two admirals, sometimes in sight of the lines and the English camp, and sometimes out of sight, tacked and manœuvred from the 13th to the 20th, each trying to get the weather-gage or some advantage over the other. But on the 20th Suffrein engaged at long shots, firing for twenty minutes before a single shot was returned by the British line. Then, the two fleets being somewhat closer, Hughes replied with a warm cannonade; but Suffrein, who had the advantage of the wind, chose his own distance, and never brought his ships to very close quarters. Four or five of Hughes's ships were so unmanageable that they fell off to leeward and could scarcely be brought into action at all. Some of Suffrein's were so leaky that the crews were obliged, during the action, to divide their labours between their pumps and their guns.

* Mathews had certainly gained a sad character for rapacity and selfishness; but Tippoo's accusation was probably not more true than the charge brought against him by his own army, which made the amount of plunder he had secured amount to more than 800,000*l.* in money, besides jewels! Bednore had once been a very wealthy city, but it had been visited too often by Hyder to be very rich now.

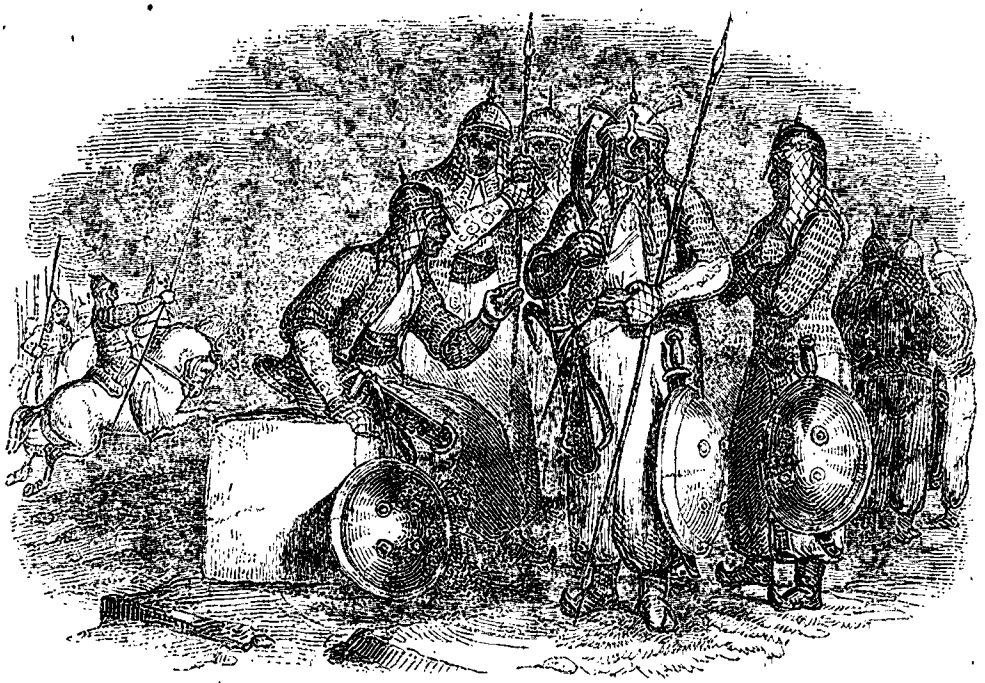
As it grew dark the two old antagonists separated, each with a good number of killed and wounded on his decks, but without either capturing or losing a single ship: and thus indecisively ended the fifth and last engagement between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein. The next morning the French were out of sight; but on the 22nd Sir Edward Hughes discovered them at anchor in Pondicherry road, and gave them an invitation to another battle, which they declined. Hughes, declining to attack them where they were, put into Madras, and Suffrein immediately got his whole fleet into the harbour of Cuddalore, where he landed every man he could spare to assist Bussy in defending the lines against General Stuart. Altogether the force now collected within these works must have been equal or superior to the force outside of them. This encouraged the French to attempt several sorties and surprises, which were not however very successful. In one of them, made at the dead of night, several Frenchmen were wounded and taken prisoners, and among them was a brave young sergeant, whose youth, gallantry, and superior manners attracted the attention of Colonel Wangenheim, who was serving under General Stuart with a corps of Hanoverians, and who had the young man conveyed to his own tent, where he was treated with every possible kindness. That wounded young sergeant was Charles John Bernadotte, afterwards General of the French republic, Prince and Marshal of the empire, Prince of Ponte Corvo, Crown Prince of Sweden, and now Charles John XIV., King of Sweden, Norway, &c.*

A few days after this, when Stuart was expecting to be reinforced by Colonel Fullarton, and was preparing for another desperate assault, the news reached Madras that a treaty of peace had been concluded between France and England. A flag of truce was immediately dispatched to M. Bussy, who, though he had not received any French dispatches, and though even the intelligence of the English was not official, agreed at once not only to a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, but also to invite Tippoo to be a party in these pacific arrangements. The Mysorean at the time was ruining his army in ineffectual attempts to take a half-ruined fort and town. Though alarmed at the prospect of being left alone in the war, he did not seem very anxious for peace, for more than a month passed before M. Bussy received any answer to his letter. His tone even then was high, his vakeels intimating that everything the English had taken from him or his father must instantly be restored, and not speaking quite so plainly as to the restitutions to the English on his part. Lord Macartney, however, sent three commissioners to accompany his vakeels to Seringapatam in order to treat there. Tippoo all the while continued his siege, and made several desperate efforts to get possession of Mangalore before entering upon negotiations. Nor were military operations suspended by the English. Colonel Fullarton, an excellent officer, who had arrived from England with some of the reinforcements at the end of the preceding year, was making a rapid progress in the country beyond Tanjore when he was called back to the coast to assist Stuart in that premeditated attack which was stopped by the news of peace. He had taken (on the 2nd of June) the important fortress of Daraporam, in the province of Coimbatoor, which opened one of the roads to Seringapatam, and was only about 140 miles from that capital. "This valuable place," says Fullarton himself, "affords ample supplies of grain and cattle, is capable of considerable defence, and is far advanced in the enemy's country, being equally distant from the two coasts. Although the position of an army there would always be of eminent advantage, it was more peculiarly so when we reduced it, because Tippoo Sultaun had recovered Bednore, captured General Mathews, and invested Mangalore. The southern army [the army which Fullarton commanded was so called] was not in sufficient strength to think of marching to Seringapatam, and was so far from being able to oppose the whole power of Tippoo, that we could not even afford to garrison Daraporam, and were obliged to destroy the fortifications. Yet we might assuredly have reduced the rich tract that lies below the mountains of Mysore, which would probably have forced Tippoo Sultaun to raise the siege of Mangalore, and march his main body against us; or, if Tippoo had persisted against Mangalore, we should have amply subsisted the army, have reduced a valuable territory, and prepared for more important conquests. But General Stuart's orders to march towards him at Cuddalore obliged me to relinquish those advantages." * Fullarton, however, left a garrison in Dindigul, another important fortress, built on a granite rock, which he had gallantly taken by storm, and made other arrangements to keep open his communications, and to facilitate his return towards the heart of Mysore. Colonel Forbes, whom he left behind him in the south, carried out these arrangements with much ability, and established friendly relations on all sides. When the main English army was withdrawn from before the lines

* Colonel Wilks, Sketches of the South of India. The interest of the anecdote is completed by the fact that more than twenty years after, when Bernadotte took possession of Hanover as a conqueror, he met the kind-hearted veteran, then General Wangenheim, and testified to him his grateful recollection of what had passed in front of the lines at Cuddalore.

* A View of the English Interests in India; and an Account of the Military Operations in the Southern Parts of the Peninsula during the Campaigns of 1782, 1783, and 1784; by William Fullarton of Fullarton, M.P. Stuart certainly spoilt this promising campaign. The whole of his conduct had given universal dissatisfaction. Lord Macartney, as soon as the truce was concluded with M. Bussy, submitted a motion to the council at Madras, whose commands and instructions had been repeatedly disobeyed and despised by the general, that Stuart should be dismissed from the company's service. The motion was unanimously adopted. Stuart then insisted that he had a right to retain the command of all the king's troops that were serving on that coast—and it appears to us that in ordinary circumstances this right could not be disputed—and he spoke loudly of using force against force. Decisive steps were necessary, and Lord Macartney was bold enough to take them. He dispatched his private secretary (the present Sir John Barrow, we believe) and the town adjutant, with a party of sepoys, to take the general prisoner in his villa near Madras. Stuart, who appears to have offered no resistance whatever, was carried to the fort, and in a day or two shipped off quietly for England.

of Cuddalore, Lord Macartney reinforced Fullarton with about 1000 Europeans and with four battalions of sepoys, and instructed him to resume the campaign which Stuart had interrupted. After reducing the numerous polygars of Tinivelly, who had all thrown off their allegiance to the company at the commencement of Hyder's invasion, and who had been ravaging the country from Madura to Cape Comorin, being assisted or encouraged by the Dutch at Colombo, who kept up a traffic and correspondence with the Cape from the opposite coast of Ceylon; after reducing a number



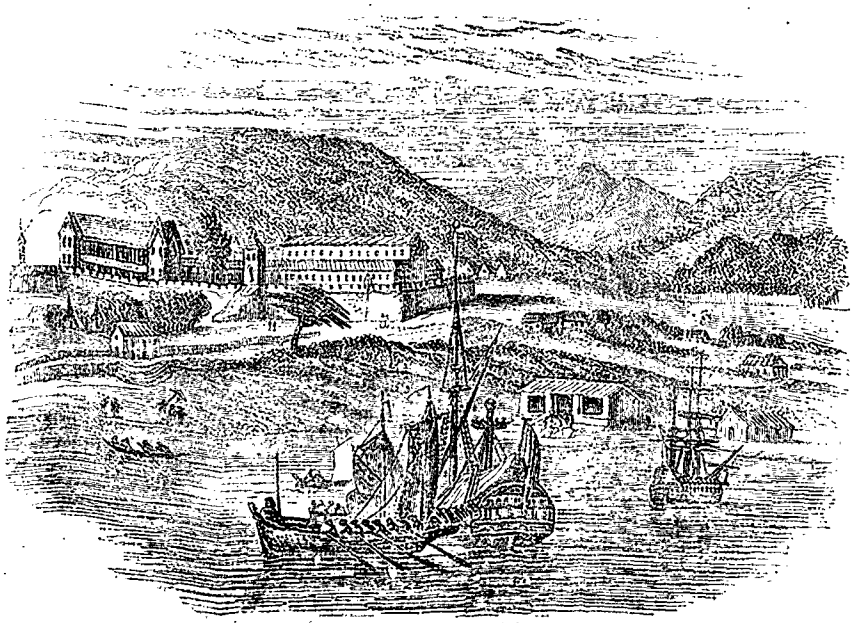
GROUP OF POLYGARS. From Armed Figures in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick.

of their forts and carrying one of their forests—which, like the Cingalese of Ceylon, they considered their best fortresses—and reducing these polygars to their former state of quiet and tribute; and after chastising the hill colleries, who had been committing horrible excesses,—Colonel Fullarton, with 16,000 fighting men, and many more thousands of camp-followers, continued his march to Dindigul and Daraporam without money or any other means of supply, except such magazines of the enemy as he might be enabled to reduce. He was, however, well provided with artillery, shot, and gunpowder, which had been collected from the southern garrisons; and the Rajah of Travancore, who had given a cordial support to Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, engaged to furnish some stores and provisions in the event of his moving against the southern-coast possessions of Tippoo. A correspondence was also opened with the Zamorin, or ancient Hindu sovereign of Calicut, and with the other rajahs on the Malabar coast, whom Hyder had dispossessed of their sovereignties, and most barbarously treated. All these princes or chiefs, eager for repossession and revenge, agreed to contribute what little aid they could; and other parties, less interested in the overthrow of Tippoo, occasionally furnished some stores and provisions, and took bills upon the presidency of Madras in payment. But Fullarton adopted other measures, which contributed in a much greater degree to facilitate his progress, to insure success, and to gain the good-will and esteem of all parties. He gave up some paltry duties, which former commanders had been accustomed to levy upon all articles bought or sold in the bazaar or market of the army, for the sole benefit of themselves and staffs; he completely checked plundering by hanging two or three of the first offenders; he paid the greatest respect to the deep-rooted religious prejudices of the natives, and he enforced that respect on the European soldiery; and, having no money to pay, he endeavoured to gain credit for his drafts by kind treatment, and friendly explanations as to the faith and stability of the company. He also made a material change in the mode and order of marching, which hitherto had been by files, so that a large army was many miles in length with little communication between the distant parts of the line; he established a system of intelligence, the want of which precaution had led to many disasters in this war; and so complete and effective was this system, that statements were procured, not only of

the military force of the enemy, but also of the grain deposited anywhere within 200 miles of his front and flank. Several hundred people—cunning natives, who have a natural genius for the occupation of scouts and spies, and who, after inspection, can model you a fortress in clay and show to a nicety its strong and its weak points—were constantly employed on these services, and confidential intelligencers were established at every considerable town in Mysore, in the durbars of the rajahs, in the very camp of Tippoo. "On the first notice of any material incident, these intelligencers dispatched small cadjeans,* which were more rapidly conveyed to me than any horse could travel, by tappals or relays of colleries, stationed at moderate distances, and unsuspected by the enemy. Harcarrahs, peons, lubby-merchants, and sepoys were also constantly traversing all parts of the enemy's country; others carrying dispatches to Madras and the southern provinces, to Travancore, to Cochin, to the Malabar rajahs, to General MacLeod at Cannanore, to Colonel Campbell at Mangalore, and to the residency at Telicherry. The intelligence of every individual was carefully registered, and tended to confirm or to refute the various intimations constantly arriving. By these means, during many months of continued marching through a country almost unexplored, we never once failed in our supplies, nor did any material incident escape our knowledge."† For a short time Fullarton halted in the neighbourhood of Daraporam, waiting for intelligence from the three commissioners; but, on the 16th of October, when he was informed, by an official letter from the residency of Telicherry, that Tippoo had recommenced active hostilities at Mangalore, he took immediate measures to resent the insult. His mind, and that of the council at Madras, had been divided between two plans—1. To march right across the peninsula through an enemy's country, 500 miles in extent, to the relief of Mangalore. 2. Or to advance upon Seringapatam, and either overthrow the dynasty of Hyder in their capital or compel Tippoo to hurry from the coast in order to save that capital. He determined upon the latter movement, though not by the direct road, which offered no intermediate place of strength in which to lodge stores and provisions for the prosecution of his undertaking, or in which to secure a retreat in case of a reverse. But there was a more circuitous route which presented this essential recommendation, and several other military advantages. Palagatcherry, nearer to the coast, had been completely rebuilt by Hyder, was furnished with most of the advantages of European fortification, and was considered one of the strongest fortresses in India: the mountains bounding the pass which it commanded were covered by thick forests through which there was no passage, and the plain below, a long and wide extent of deep rice-grounds, was cut and intersected, like a chess-board, by the Paniany River, and might be defended by a small body of infantry against all Tippoo's cavalry. The fort further commanded the only practicable communication between the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; it opened the means of supply from Travancore, Cochin, Calicut, and other places; its occupation by the English would afford confidence to the Zamorin and the other disaffected chiefs

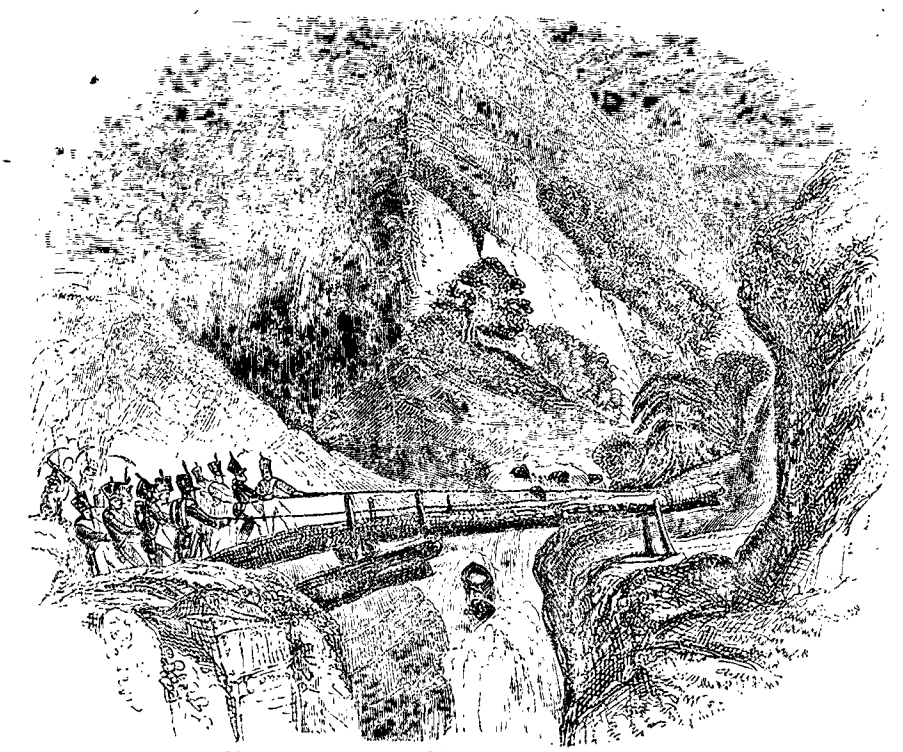
* "Cadjeans," says Colonel Fullarton in a note, "are thick leaves resembling the papyrus, on which the Gentoos write." They are strips of the enormous leaves of the talipot or talipat tree, universally used for writing among the Cingalese and the people of the extreme south of the continent.

† Fullarton.



TELICHERRY. From a Painting by C. Kirkhall.]

from Cochin to Goa, who were all struggling to shake off the yoke of Tippoo, and it would leave Fullarton at liberty to disguise his movements, and to proceed to the siege of Seringapatam by the route of Coimbatoor and the pass of Gudjereddy, or by the sea-coast route to Calicut, and then through the pass of Damalcherry. The colonel therefore determined to capture Palagatcherry, and, on the 18th of October, he began his march, apparently with a confident hope that it would end under the walls of Seringapatam. Carrying several little forts on his way, and passing through a country abounding with dry grain, rice, cattle, and wood, he soon reached the high ground of Palatchy, whence the streams run east and west to the Coromandel and Malabar seas. But beyond this point his progress was slow and most difficult, for he had to force his way through a forest twenty miles in depth, with frequent torrent-courses and ravines within it. These ravines had to be filled up before it was possible to drag the heavy guns across them;—innumerable large trees which obstructed the passage required to be cut down and drawn out of the track, and then the whole road was to be formed before the carriages of the army could pass. Fourteen days were spent in these arduous labours, and in getting the materials of the army through that dense forest; and, to increase their toils and discomforts, a tremendous rain, altogether unexpected as being unusual in other parts of India at that season of the year, began as they first entered the wood, and never ceased till they had cleared their way through it. The ravines were filled with water—the bullocks lost their footing—and the soldiers were obliged to drag the guns and the carriages nearly the whole of the way. There was no possibility of pitching tents, or of procuring for them any kind of cover or comfort. Difficulties and operations like these elevate the character of the Indian service, and they were frequent. Goddard and Pearse, for example, in their long marches, had often to make the road by which they were to advance.



FULLARTON CROSSING A MOUNTAIN-STREAM, IN HIS MARCH ON PALAGATCHERRY. From a Drawing by Daniell.

On the 4th of November the van and the main body emerged from the forest, and reached a position on the Paniany River. On the following day a part of the engineer stores arrived, and the river was crossed. The Pettah, or open town of Palagatcherry, was presently occupied, and a fire was opened on the east and north faces of the fort. But it was the 9th before the heavy battering train could be brought to the encampment—"after a succession of toils," says Fullarton, "that would appear incredible if related in detail." On the night of the 15th the garrison called out for quarter, and delivered up a place capable of making a long resistance. The English found in the fort 50,000 pagodas in money, together with a very large supply of grain, guns, powder, shot, and military stores. The

son of the Zamorin of Calicut,—or, as the colonel calls him, with more solemnity, "the heir apparent," —remained with Fullarton during the siege; and at its triumphant conclusion he urgently solicited the English commander to restore him to the dominions of which Hyder had deprived his family. Fullarton declared that, in the event of his moving by Calicut, he might hope to effect his re-establishment in that city, the ancient capital of the Zamorins; and, as a pledge of his good intentions, he put him in immediate possession of the territory of Palagat, an ancient dependency of Calicut, only requiring from him that he should furnish grain for the army while in that vicinity, and imposing no other obligation until the conclusion of the war, or until the government of Madras should make some regular agreement with him. Fullarton's intercourse with the Hindu prince, and with the Hindu population of the country, was carried on by means of a large body of Brahmins, who constantly attended the army, and whose entire friendship he had secured. Accompanied by these influential agents and interpreters, the colonel frequently rode through the adjacent villages, assembled the head people, and assured them of protection. During these proceedings he maintained his correspondence with Brigadier-General MacLeod, who had been liberated after a short captivity at Gheriah, and also with Colonel Campbell, who commanded in Mangalore, intimating his intention of approaching their coast, and his earnest wish for a joint movement and an advance in full force against Seringapatam. But the English residency at Telicherry could not, or would not, furnish some additional artillery and stores; Sir Edward Hughes, who was then at Telicherry with part of the fleet, declined sending a vessel with stores to Paniany; and MacLeod represented, that, though most willing to unite in prosecuting the movement to Seringapatam, he could not put his army in motion in less than two months for want of bullocks and other things. Fullarton, therefore, gave up the notion of proceeding by the sea-coast to Calicut and the pass of Damalcherry, and took the route that led by Coimbatoor to the pass of Gudjereddy. He was annoyed on his march by a large body of Mysorean cavalry, who threw rockets; but, on the 26th of November, he sat down before the fort of Coimbatoor, which surrendered to him before he could finish a battery. Here, too, he found a great quantity of grain, ammunition, and stores. Money there was none; but the adjacent fields were covered with rich crops, which promised resources for the future. Coimbatoor, though a place of no strength, was important from the high estimation in which it was held by the Hindu population as the very ancient capital of a rajahship, where no Mussulman conqueror had ever penetrated, and where the old gods of India had never been disturbed until a comparatively recent period. Every ancient rajah flew to arms, or made preparations for doing so; all the Hindus, between the ghauts and the sea, encouraged by the presence of General MacLeod, the advance of Fullarton, and the still continuing failure and losses of Tippoo before Mangalore, were in open revolt, or ripe for it; and in the country above the ghauts, in the very centre of Mysore, Fullarton's Brahmins had excited the Hindus, who were far more numerous even there than their conquerors, and who engaged to render every possible assistance to the English arms.* The Coorga rajah, a powerful chief under the mountains that separate the Malabar country from Mysore, was actively asserting his independence; and General MacLeod, strong in Europeans, artillery, and native corps, moved from point to point, sometimes by land and sometimes by sea, to keep up this flame all along the coast, and to co-operate wherever his services might be most useful. Nor were these all the enemies that were girding in Mysore; for General Jones was at the same time advancing in the Cuddapah country, or northern and inland possessions of Tippoo, where his power was ill established, and his person and government not more popular than they were on the coast. "The army under my own direction," says Fullarton, "was perhaps the strongest force belonging to Europeans that had ever been employed in India. The countries we had reduced extended 200 miles in length, afforded provisions for 100,000 men, and yielded an annual revenue of 600,000*l.*, while every necessary arrangement had been made for the regular collection of these resources. The fort and pass of Palagatcherry secured our western flank, and the intermediate position of General MacLeod's army between Palagatcherry and Tippoo's main army at Mangalore, together with the singular combination of ravines, rivers, and embankments that intersect the Malabar countries, and the mountains that divide them from Mysore, (the passes through which were occupied by our friends the disaffected rajahs), rendered it almost impracticable for Tippoo to move in that direction against our new acquisitions. To attack them by a movement through the passes of the ghauts, on the eastern flank towards Salem and Erode, supposed a circuit of 500 or 600 miles from the position of Tippoo's army before Mangalore. His movement, therefore, against these acquisitions could only be attempted by the central pass from Mysore at Gudjereddy, which is not fifty miles in front from Coimbatoor: and the possession of that pass assured us an immediate access to the capital of Tippoo's kingdom, commanding a communication with our new acquisitions, and with the company's southern provinces."† The Coorg, or

* "A recent conspiracy," says Colonel Fullarton, "had occurred in Seringapatam, menacing the releasement of the English prisoners, the exclusion of Tippoo's family, and the re-establishment of the ancient Rana, or Gentoo sovereign, of Mysore. In addition to this enumeration of advantages, we had every reason to rely on the Gentoo or Canara race, forming the great mass of inhabitants in Mysore, who had unequivocal proofs of my earnest zeal to support their interests and favourite family; while every circumstance of present situation or of future prospect seemed to mark this interesting moment as the crisis of the war."

† View of the English Interests in India, &c. Colonel Fullarton adds:—"Besides, as far as the system of defending front, flanks, and rear can ever be extended from the position of an army to the topographical circumstances of a country, it would enable us to secure

Coorga, rajah, whose territories extended to within thirty miles of Seringapatam, promised abundant supplies; and the more faith was placed in these promises, as the young Zamorin, who had faithfully kept his own engagements in furnishing grain abundantly, confirmed and guaranteed them. This prince likewise engaged that all the Hindu chiefs on the west would not only provide for the English during the siege of Seringapatam, but form magazines in strong positions among the mountains, and, if required, join with 20,000 or 30,000 nairs, all animated with hatred and revenge. Fullarton had provided his army with ten days' grain, repaired the carriages, and was on the point of pushing forward to Tippoo's capital with the utmost rapidity and with every assurance of success, when, on the 28th of November, he received the commands of the English commissioners, who were treating of peace at the durbar, and who were invested by the council of Madras with full authority over the army, to restore immediately all posts and forts, all the country lately reduced, and to retire within the limits occupied by the English on the 26th of July. Feeling himself at liberty neither to disregard this peremptory order nor to obey it to the extent of its literal signification, Fullarton recalled his own orders for advancing towards Seringapatam, stayed at Coimbatoor for further instructions, and sent letters to the commissioners on the Malabar coast, and an aide-de-camp to the council at Madras, to explain his situation, and the situation of Mangalore, which was still invested, and to prove that the forward movements contemplated and prepared by him would put the throne of Tippoo in the utmost danger. The colonel employed the interval which followed in adding to the completeness of his equipments, in collecting supplies in Dindigul, in procuring money at Tinevelly, and in bringing up arrack and ammunition from Cochin and Paniany. No soldier could abandon such a scheme as he had formed at the very moment when the prospect of success was brightest without a bitter pang. Ten days of march, with little or no fighting,—for there was no Mysorean army in the neighbourhood except irregular cavalry—would have brought Fullarton under the walls of Seringapatam; at that time ten more days might have sufficed for the reduction of that capital: the events of twenty-five years might have been anticipated, an inestimable amount of money and of blood might have been saved, the power of the British in the whole of the south of India might have been established, and a quarter of a century might have been won to the cause of order and tranquillity. But Fullarton had to feel the bitter pang;—the bright perspective which his arms had opened was destined to be smeared over by diplomatic ink and orders in council. About the middle of December he received another letter from the commissioners repeating their former instructions, and also the minutes of a consultation from the government at Madras, directing him to fulfil the order of unqualified restitution enjoined by the commissioners, as the preliminary of negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun. Upon this the army of the south began to retrace their steps towards Tanjore and Trichinopoly, to the dismay and grief of the poor Zamorin and the other Hindus who had openly committed themselves with Tippoo, in the belief that the army was not only to remain to protect their country, but to continue its triumphant progress until the power of the Mysorean should be no more. Fullarton had scarcely begun his backward march when events occurred which must have made the council and commissioners regret the positive orders they had sent. But, throughout, the commissioners had blundered, and had done nothing but mischief, partly through their own fault, and partly through the care taken by Tippoo to shut them out from all communication with the English army. Instead of going to the head-quarters of Tippoo, and following in his train like supplicants, these deputies ought to have remained with the main body of the British army, with the forces under Fullarton. They had scarcely got within the power of the enemy when they found themselves treated more like wretched hostages than ambassadors; they were commanded to send Colonel Campbell orders to evacuate Mangalore, at that moment almost the only security the English had for the lives of their officers and men who had fallen into the clutches of the "Tiger;" they were not allowed to enter Seringapatam, or to have any communication with their unfortunate countrymen imprisoned at Bangalore and other places; they were hurried down, through a most rough and inhospitable country, where some of their cattle, and even some of their attendants, perished through fatigue and want, to Tippoo's camp near Mangalore, and neither on their journey nor on their arrival there were they permitted any freedom of correspondence, all their letters being intercepted, and their bondage made so strict that even Fullarton's artful Brahmins who got at everything else could not get at them. From the camp these negotiators had the opportunity of witnessing some of Tippoo's proceedings, and of hearing of sundry others that took place before their arrival. Seeing how Mangalore was defended now, and reflecting how speedily it had been surrendered to General Mathews, he came to the conclusion that his governor, Rustum Ali Beg, must have been either a traitor or a coward; and therefore he cut off that poor governor's head. Yet, in truth, the place was contemptible, and scarcely defensible at all, except by troops like the 42nd, and an unyielding commander like Colonel Campbell. When the siege began the garrison consisted of about 700 British troops, counting officers and all, and about 3000 sepoys; while Tippoo's force was estimated at 50,000 or 60,000 cavalry of all kinds,

those territories from any considerable irruptions. At this period, too, the chumba, or great crop, throughout the country was upon the ground, and, independently of the magazines in our front, promised ample provision."

Mysorean Cavalry. From Armed Figures in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick.

30,000 disciplined infantry, 600 French infantry under the command of Colonel Cossigny, a small body of French, Dutch, Portuguese, and natives mixed, under the command of an officer of the King of France; having among them all nearly 100 pieces of artillery. Batteries were erected by the besiegers on the north, the east, and the south; on the west was the sea; the paltry fortifications on the northern side were knocked to pieces, and almost levelled; one broad breach was made after another; but every time the besiegers attempted to storm they were driven back at the point of the bayonet. That weapon was also employed in frequent sorties made by the garrison, wherein batteries were taken, guns spiked, and great slaughters committed. On one occasion, when the siege had lasted for months, a general assault was made from every side except the sea, which remained open and free to the garrison; but the result was most disastrous to Tippoo's army. By an unpardonable negligence in the presidency of Bombay, sufficient supplies were not thrown into the place, and Campbell and his brave companions were beginning to feel the approaches of famine, when news arrived of the conclusion of peace in Europe and in the Carnatic. M. Cossigny, after vainly endeavouring to prevail upon the Mysorean to join in the treaty, withdrew with the regular French troops under his command; but many French officers, with all the less regular European forces, remained to assist in the siege. After many other cannonades and most fruitless attempts at storming, Tippoo consented to a cessation of hostilities, including Onore, which had made as heroic a defence as Mangalore itself, and another small fort on the coast which had both been held by a mere handful of British troops. By this armistice Tippoo agreed to allow Colonel Campbell to purchase provisions in the country at the same rate as that paid in his own camp; but as soon as the English began to buy they found either that there was nothing to be sold, or that the prices were exorbitant. This was Tippoo's management. Twelve rupees were asked for a fowl. At last the country people were forbidden under penalty of ears and noses to sell anything for any price; and the English were reduced to the uncleanly diet of horse-flesh, rats, mice, frogs, snakes, and carrion-birds. It is said that they even shot and eat the jackals that descended by night in packs from the woods and hills to devour the bodies of the dead. Matters were in this state on the 22nd of November, when an English squadron appeared off the town. The ships were filled with the army of General MacLeod, who, in his anxiety to co-operate with the native chiefs along the coast, committed the monstrous absurdity of making a fresh agreement with Tippoo, and then sailed away without landing any provisions. This new agreement was a counterpart of the former one, and it was observed in the same manner. Instead of permitting the English garrison to purchase wholesome food, Tippoo allowed them to procure nothing but some damaged stores, so fetid and foul that the very dogs would not eat them. General MacLeod returned to Mangalore, but it was only to commit a fresh folly in again taking the word of Tippoo. This was on the 31st of December, or about a fortnight after Fullarton had begun his retrograde movement. Colonel Campbell had soon occasion to acquaint MacLeod that as soon as his back was turned the Mysorean again began to starve him. The general then sent a letter accusing Tippoo of broken faith. The Mysorean replied in a letter written by one of his Frenchmen—"It is one lie, or mensonge." This fired the blood of the Highlander, and he wrote again—"Permit me to inform you, prince, that this language is not good for you to give, or me to receive; and that, if I was alone with you in the desert, you would not dare to say these words to me."* Mac

* Colonel Wilks, Sketches of the South of India. General MacLeod concluded this curious letter with a curious challenge to Tippoo. "If," said he, "you have courage enough to meet me, take ten of your bravest men on foot, and meet me on the sea-shore. I will fight you, and 100 of mine will fight with yours." A quarter of a century after this Highland challenge was sent the English found in the palace at Seringapatam a book entitled "The King of Histories," written under the dictation or immediate directions of Tippoo himself, and containing orientally exaggerated accounts of his own bravery and exploits. In this manuscript the challenge was alluded to, and

Leod would have done better by sending a vessel with some provisions to the famishing garrison. Indeed we can scarcely understand his proceedings on the coast when for two or three months he seems never to have been very far from Mangalore. Colonel Fullarton, however, praises him for his active and spirited conduct; and no doubt, if the main army of the south had been allowed to continue its advance on Seringapatam, the value of the general's services might have been felt. But at the moment Fullarton began to retire those services might have been suspended, and some time and care devoted to Campbell and his heroic garrison, who were now suffering the double calamities of disease and famine. Two-thirds of the men were sick and helpless, and those that remained on duty could scarcely carry their muskets and cartouch-boxes. The number of deaths was great for so small a force, and daily increasing; it must naturally have occurred to Colonel Campbell that there was no use in keeping that single and by no means good or defensible position when all the rest of the coast and country was to be given back to the enemy; and at last, on the 23rd of January, 1784, after sustaining a siege and blockade of nine months, he agreed to quit Mangalore upon honourable conditions. Tippoo had lost before those rotten walls, by war, sickness, and desertion, nearly one-half of his immense army; but he considered the place as a charm on the possession of which the fortunes of his house depended, and he was made so happy by entering into it that for once he kept his engagements, and allowed Campbell, with his troops and baggage, sick and wounded, to march unmolested to Telicherry. At that place Campbell died soon after, worn out by the fatigues and sufferings he had undergone. General Mathews, a very different man, who had capitulated at Bednore, was deliberately murdered in prison, together with several of his officers.

Mangalore was scarcely evacuated, and Fullarton had not reached the old boundaries, when he received orders from Madras to reassemble his army, to prepare for a recommencement of hostilities, and to regain if possible possession of Palagatcherry, which had been left in the hands of the Zamorin. But before any succour could be sent to him that Hindu prince was surrounded by Tippoo's troops, who scared him and his adherents out of the fort by sacrificing a number of much venerated Brahmins, and exposing their heads on poles. Palagatcherry was therefore to be regained only by a fresh siege. As Fullarton was concentrating his forces, and was receiving considerable reinforcements from Fort St. George, and some heavy ordnance from that place and from Tanjore, a letter reached him from the commissioners, dated near Mangalore, on the 11th of February, or just nineteen days after the evacuation of that place. This letter spoke of the continued enmity of Tippoo, and convinced Fullarton that a renewal of the war was unavoidable—an opinion which was soon afterwards confirmed by a letter from General MacLeod. He immediately began to advance with the main body of his army, and was again flattering himself with the hope of being the conqueror of Seringapatam, when he received intelligence that preliminaries of a peace had been exchanged between the commissioners and Tippoo Sultaun, and along with this intelligence orders from the commissioners to restore the forts and countries of Carroor and Daraporam, but to keep possession of Dindigul, and station a strong force there until the English prisoners should all be liberated from their horrible captivity. The commissioners, the governor and council at Madras, every man in India, knew that there was no confidence to be placed in the faith, humanity, or moderation of the "Tiger;" and they must have foreseen the bloodshed and devastation which awaited the wretched Hindus of Coorg, Canara, and Mysore—calamities far more terrible than the expulsion of the Rohillas from Rohilcund, and befalling a people far more tranquil, amiable, helpless, and interesting than those soldiers of fortune;*—but the negotiations were justified by the tenor of instructions and orders received from the British government and from the court of directors, by the actual state of our political relations in Europe, and by the impoverished condition of the company's territories. Yet assuredly France would not have gone into a new war solely to defend Tippoo; and, as for poverty, Fullarton had shown that an army might be supported in the enemy's country without money, and the capture of Seringapatam and the reduction of Mysore would have enriched the company, not merely with a great present booty, but also with a large permanent revenue. The retention of the districts which Fullarton had conquered would by their revenues alone have soon paid the expenses of another campaign; and nothing but absolute fatuity could have prevented another campaign from finishing the story of Tippoo Sultaun. It was, however, that tyrant's fate that he should be left to scourge his kind, and to renew his contest with the English when he should be again encouraged by the French.

Tippoo's answer to it—or, at least, an answer he said he had sent to it—was inserted. After calling MacLeod a Nazarene, and all the Nazarenes idolaters and monsters addicted to every vice, this note went on—"If thou hast any doubt of all this, descend, as thou hast written, from thy ships, with thy forces, and taste the flavour of the blows inflicted by the hands of the holy warriors, and behold the terror of the religion of Mohammed."—Of course the "King of Histories" ends this story by saying that the British general fled immediately.

* These cruelties upon the Hindus of the Malabar coast were continued through several years, and were made more dreadful by a mixture of religious fanaticism, which for ages had been little known among the Mohammedans in India. In 1788 Tippoo paid a visit to Calicut, where he found the natives living peaceably in habitations scattered over the country. He compelled them to quit their habitations and reside in villages of 40 houses each; he then issued proclamations stating that they were a turbulent and rebellious people, that their women went shamelessly abroad with their faces uncovered and committed other obscene offences, and finally that, if they did not forsake their sinful practices and live like the rest of his subjects, he would march them all off to Mysore and make Mussulmans of them whether they would or not. The very next year he returned to the country with his whole army, destroying pagodas and idols, and threatening to exterminate "the infidels of Malabar." Having surprised about 2000 Nairs with their families, he gave them the alternative of a voluntary conversion to his faith, or a forcible conversion with immediate deportation from their native land. The poor prisoners chose the latter:—the rite of circumcision was forthwith performed on all the males, and the capricious tyrant finished the ceremony of conversion by compelling both sexes to eat beef—a monstrous act of impiety in Hindu faith.

The treaty with him was finally concluded on the 11th of March, upon the condition of a restitution by both parties of all that they had gained in the war. The tales told by the English prisoners of war, whom he now liberated, excited horror and indignation, and by themselves alone rendered the duration of any peace with him very problematical. Parts of these narratives will not bear relating; but they proved that Tippoo had committed acts which English soldiers would never forget or forgive.

Tippoo Saib. From a Hindu Portrait.

Compared with the danger and despondency at the beginning of the war, or with the result of the national contests in other parts of the globe, even this was a most honourable and advantageous peace. The real danger in the Carnatic was over as soon as Sir Eyre Coote gained the battle of Porto Novo. Many errors of judgment were committed in the management of the war, and the vices of jealousy, selfishness, and rapacity were too frequently visible both in council and in the field; yet, nevertheless, taken as a whole, the war was highly creditable to the abilities, perseverance, and valour of Englishmen. The extent of their operations was something magnificent and astounding: it embraced the two sides of the vast triangle of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and from Cape Comorin to Bombay and Surat and the Gulf of Cambay; and inland it nearly traversed the base of the triangle: countries hitherto known to the English only by name were penetrated and explored from end to end; and some of the most wonderful marches upon record were performed by the native troops in our service. Impressions were made that time and partial miscarriages would not easily efface: the Indians were impressed with the idea that no obstacles were insurmountable to the steady perseverance of the British and the troops they had trained; and the British learned for the first time the entire dependence that might be placed on the constancy and courage of their sepoys. It was not possible, after what had been achieved, that a panic, a consternation and indecision, such as had disgraced us in the Carnatic in the summer and autumn of 1780, should occur again. Thus India was saved when our empire in the west was lost. No Englishman, we presume, can even now reflect without a shudder upon the effect which would have been produced in Europe if the loss of our Indian empire had been added to the loss of the thirteen provinces of North America. But the expenses of this Indian war had been, particularly in the early stages, tremendous; and, as the far greater part of the money could come only from Bengal, Warren Hastings had put no trifling burden upon his conscience to procure it. His only principle of action was that the Carnatic must be rescued, that India must be saved, cost what it might; and, as the first step to that salvation was the obtaining of money, he determined that money should be obtained by whatever means lay in his power. Some of the neighbouring princes that owed their political existence to the power of English arms, and that were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of vast amount. The plan was to squeeze them. The first to whom Hastings applied the pressure was Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, whose territory had been transferred to the company by the Nabob of Oude, in a treaty concluded not by Hastings, but by Clavering, Monson, and Francis. Cheyte Sing had, however, been left in possession upon condition of paying a fixed annual tribute to the company. At the first breaking out of the war with France he was called upon by the governor-general for an extraordinary contribution amounting to about 50,000*l.*; and as he delayed payment he was fined in 2000*l.* more. In the following year (1779) another extraordinary contribution was demanded and paid, for Hastings employed his armies as collectors or receivers-general. In 1780, when dangers and embarrassments were thickening around him, the governor-general demanded another contribution.* The rajah sent a confidential agent to Calcutta to plead poverty and to soften Hastings with two lacs of rupees, or about 20,000*l.*, which were offered in secret, and doubtless intended as a bribe. Hastings took the present, paid it over, though not till some time had passed, to the company's treasury, and then exacted the contribution all the same. Cheyte Sing implored, remonstrated, and endeavoured to show that he had no money. Hastings knew better, and the troops were ordered to march to Benares. The rajah then found the 50,000*l.*, and 10,000*l.* more imposed as a fine. The next demand was not for money, but for troops. It is

* In a letter to one of his agents, dated the 25th of June, 1780, the determined governor-general says—"The only difficulty we can possibly feel in the prosecution of the war will be from a want of money; and this difficulty may, I think, be easily obviated by your insisting upon Cheyte Sing's contributing his quota to the expenses of our advanced army, in lieu of being ordered to join it at the head of his own forces. Were he a zemindar, dependent on any other government than our own, this would be insisted upon; *and, as his ability to advance a large sum seems to be universally acknowledged, why should he alone be exempted from the expenses, as well as the devastations, of war?*"

pretty evident, however, that troops were asked only as a means for getting at more rupees. A resolution was passed in the council at Calcutta, which now consisted of Wheler, Sir Eyre Coote, and Macpherson, that the Rajah of Benares, besides his tribute and the extraordinary contribution of five lacs to be paid annually till the end of the war, should furnish a certain force in cavalry for the service of the company. Hastings hereupon made a prompt demand for 2000 horse. Cheyte Sing represented that he had only 1300 horse in all; and that these were indispensable to him in maintaining the police and collecting the revenues of his country. The governor-general then reduced his demand to 1500 — to 1000. The rajah collected 500 horse and 500 matchlock men; sent word to Hastings that this force was at his orders, and that it was all that he possibly could spare. It appears that no answer was returned to the rajah, and that what was really wanted was to find a ground of quarrel and occasion to accuse him of failing in the obedience which he owed to the company as their dependant and vassal. Hastings had private dislikes and animosities against Cheyte Sing, and, though these, of themselves, and apart from the sovereign consideration of saving India, might not have led to the extreme acts of violence and spoliation adopted, they were not likely to qualify or soften those proceedings when they seemed justifiable and justified in the eyes of Hastings by the necessity of the case. "I was resolved," says he, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the company's distresses. In a word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency."* In an agony of alarm at the governor-general's silence and at loud notes of preparation among the company's forces, the rajah now sent to offer twenty lacs of rupees, or 200,000*l.*, in one round sum, for the public service. But Hastings now said that nothing less than fifty lacs, or half a million sterling, would satisfy him or supply the immediate wants of the public service; and he forthwith prepared to go in person to Benares in order to settle these and other weighty matters, all connected with money. "If I cannot do all that I wish, I will, at least, do all that I can," were words which he had uttered on a former occasion, and which contained the ordinary rule of his conduct. He was very guarded in the language which he held; few or none knew his real intentions or the full extent of them; and he began his journey as if he anticipated no danger and no possibility of resistance, taking with him little more than the body-guard which attended him on ordinary occasions. He even conducted Mrs. Hastings with him as far as Monghir. Cheyte Sing came eastward as far as Buxar to meet the governor-general, attended by 600 horse. Hastings received the rajah with great pride and sternness, and refused to hold any private or confidential discourse. In his own words, the rajah "professed much concern to hear that I was displeased with him, and contrition for having given cause for it, assuring me that his zemindary, and all that he possessed, were at my devotion; and he accompanied his words by an action either strongly expressive of the agitation of his mind, or his desire to impress on mine a conviction of his sincerity—by laying his turban on my lap." But not the extremest sign of eastern submission and devotion could turn the heart of Warren Hastings from its fixed purpose. Continuing his journey with the rajah in his train, he entered Benares on the 14th of August, 1781, and the very next day, after again refusing any private conference, he sent to Cheyte Sing a long paper containing various complaints of past misconduct, and demands higher than any that had hitherto been made. As commanded, the rajah replied in the course of the day; but his reply was considered evasive and impertinent; and at ten o'clock at night the governor-general gave Mr. Markham, his chosen resident at Benares, orders to arrest the rajah at an early hour the following morning, before the town-people should be stirring. Markham performed his odious service with two companies of sepoys and without any opposition or disturbance. But the arrest kindled a flame which went nigh to consume Hastings, and with him the fortunes of the English in India. The rajah was popular among his own subjects; the indignity of such an arrest was not to be borne; the spirit of fanaticism co-operated with the spirit of love or affection for the old Hindu dynasty to which Cheyte Sing belonged. Benares was the holy city of India, being to the Brahmins what Mecca is to the Mohammedans, or Jerusalem to the Jews: it contained an enormous population, who claimed a superior sanctity from the place of their residence; it was thronged by pilgrims and devotees from all parts of Hindustan, from every place where the ancient faith had penetrated; and where that strange faith was once established no human power had been able to suppress it. It was this continual concourse of devotees that tended to fill the rajah's treasury, and much of the money that Hastings had wrung from him was supplied by the religious Hindu world. These pilgrims, who had travelled far to wash off their sins in the Ganges, where it was holiest, and to offer their prayers and oblations in Benares, were the most likely men in the world to resent any insult offered in that sacred city to the ruler of it; and moreover, the ordinary inhabitants of Benares, and the Hindu population of the whole country, were a far more robust, brave, and fiery race than the people of Calcutta or Moorshedabad, or any of the places in the lower provinces where Hastings had formed his estimate of the Hindu character. Markham had scarcely reported to the governor-general the ease with which he had performed his task, and the meekness with which Cheyte Sing had submitted to his fate, when there arose from the narrow, crowded streets the roar of ten thousand angry voices, and the cries of tens of thousands upon that; and then

* Hastings's own narrative.

there followed a tramping, a rushing, and the rattle of arms. It has been imagined, from this sudden rising in arms, that the first insurgents consisted of a levy of troops which Cheyte Sing had been organising for some time previously in order to oppose the English; but the greater part of the people in the upper provinces always wear arms, and the pilgrims carry weapons under their mantles to protect themselves in their long wayfaring, or, when their resources are low or the opportunity tempting, to fill their stomachs and their purses. The rajah had not been removed from his palace, but left there with the two companies of sepoys placed over him as a guard. Thither the living streams flowed and concentrated from many points. Such was the security of the English managers that the sepoys had been left with their muskets and bayonets, but without any cartridges. When the danger was seen, two other companies were sent to carry ammunition to them and support them. This small force got buried in the crowd, and in attempting to open their way to the palace they were massacred almost to a man. The furious multitude then fell upon the two companies at the palace and massacred them too, men and officers. The English officers died with their swords in their hands; a heap of the assailants were slain, but only a very few of the sepoys escaped. During the confusion the rajah ran out by a wicket-gate which opened on the steep bank of the Ganges, and, letting himself down to the river brink by a string formed of turbans tied together, he threw himself into a boat and escaped to the opposite bank, whither he was soon followed by the multitude. If instead of flying the rajah and his people had fallen upon Hastings, the consequences could scarcely have been doubtful, for at the moment the governor-general had only fifty regular and armed sepoys at hand for the defence of his house, in which were assembled a number of civilians without arms.* But even after the first fury of the populace was spent, and the rajah had shown that he was not inclined to risk bold measures, the situation of Hastings and his small party remained very critical. They were blockaded on all sides, they had hardly any money with them, and they had not provisions even for a single day. If the governor-general had been at fault in risking such a storm with such frail resources, he certainly showed no want of courage in bearing the brunt, and his decision and promptness never forsook him. The rajah sent to offer apologies for what had happened, to protest that he was innocent of the tumult, and to declare that he was ready to submit to any conditions. Hastings did not deign to answer these messages. In the course of the day he collected about 400 sepoys in Benares; and he sent orders to another small body of sepoys that were cantoned at Mirzapoor, on the other side of the Ganges, to march against the palace of Ramnagur, just opposite to Benares, in which Cheyte Sing had taken up his temporary abode. In order that his emissaries might get through the blockade without losing their dispatches, he wrote in the smallest hand on small slips of paper, which were rolled up and put into the ears of his messengers.* In this manner he wrote to the British officers commanding in the nearest cantonments; he wrote to his wife at Monghir, to assure her that he was safe; and he even wrote a letter of instructions to the envoy who was negotiating with the Mahrattas. In the afternoon the officer in command of the sepoys that had rapidly advanced from Mirzapoor, imprudently attempting to carry the palace of Ramnagur, which was fortified, without the aid of artillery, got engaged in the narrow streets leading to it, and was repulsed with considerable loss —a loss including that of his own life. This incident gave fresh courage to the multitude, and induced Hastings to think of a retreat. Under cover of night he fled from Benares, and with singular good fortune he reached in safety the strong fortress of Chunar, built on a rock that rises several hundred feet above the Ganges, and is situated about 17 miles below Benares. On the following morning the reported flight of the governor-general gave still further encouragement to the insurgents. The whole of the district rose in arms; and people began to flock in from the adjoining territories of Oude and Bahar, vowing that they would protect the rajah and his holy city. The numbers and the spirit of the Hindus who thus surrounded him animated for a moment the weak and timid soul of Cheyte Sing; and, after making more humble applications by messengers and by letters to Hastings, who continued to refuse any answer, he put himself at the head of the insurgents, appealed by a sort of manifesto to the neighbouring princes, and, it is said, even spoke of driving the English out of the country. Notwithstanding his ingenious precautions, several of Hastings's letters miscarried; but others reached their destinations, and were obeyed with that rapidity which the exigencies of the case required. Money was sent to him from Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and troops, quitting their various cantonments, concentrated under the rock of Chunar. At this crisis everything depended on the fidelity of the sepoys, for there were hardly any troops in the country but natives; and the sepoys were, for the most part, men of the same tribe and country as those against whom they were to act, were many of them natives of Benares and the surrounding district, and as such had been wont to consider Cheyte Sing as their legitimate prince. It is perhaps only in India that the natural sympathies and passions of men have ever been so subjugated by discipline and other artificial means. But the event proved that Hastings was right in relying on their unalterable fidelity to their standard or their salt, and on their attachment to the military

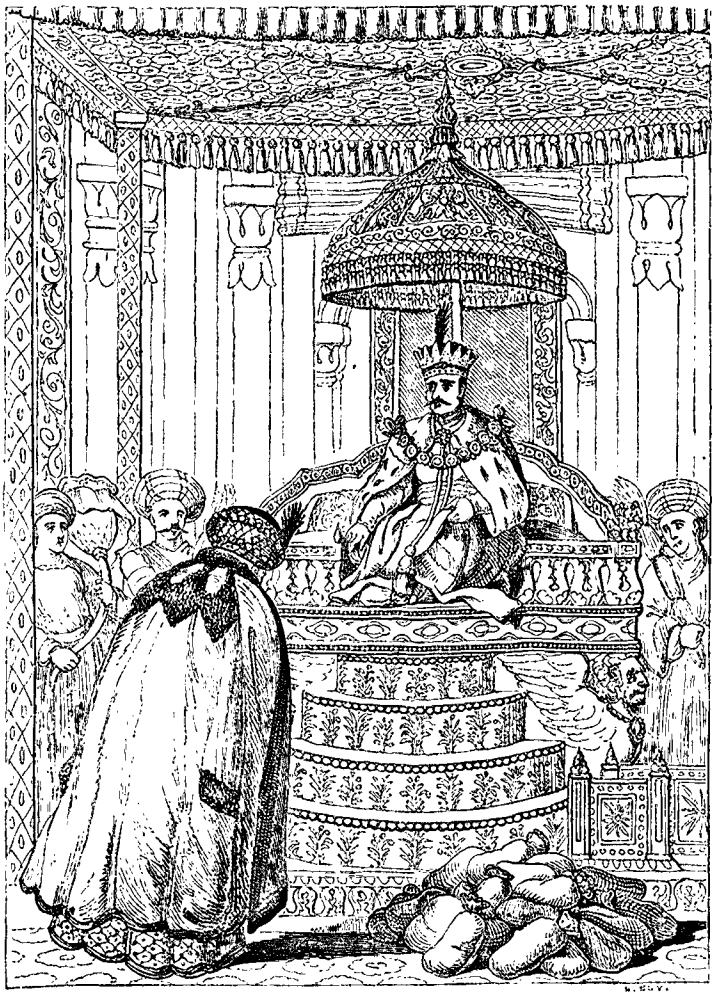
* Hastings says himself, "If Cheyte Sing's people, after they had effected his rescue, had proceeded to my quarters, instead of crowding after him in a tumultuous manner, as they did, in his passage over the river, it is probable that my blood, and that of about thirty English gentlemen of my party, would have been added to the recent carnage."—*Narrative.*

* When the Indians travel they lay aside their enormous gold earrings, and put a quill or a roll of paper into the orifice to prevent its closing up.

point of honour as greater than any they bore for their country or kindred, their native prince, or even their religion. Not a corps showed any reluctance to engage the rajah and the people of Benares, not a single case of desertion occurred, and the insurrection, which might speedily have become a far-reaching revolution, was put down by these sepoys. On the 29th of August a considerable body of Cheyte Sing's people, who had advanced to a small fort not far from Chunar, were routed and compelled to leave all their rice and baggage behind them; on the 3rd of September a still larger body were defeated with the loss of their artillery; on the 15th other corps were put to flight; and on the 20th the pass of Sukroot and the large and fortified town of Pateeta were forced, cleared, and taken. The hardy insurgents had fought bravely in some of these affairs; but they were without discipline, and poor Cheyte Sing was no hero—his courage or confidence vanished at the first roar of his enemies' guns. In a few hours nothing could be seen of his army, which had been estimated at 30,000 men—"and in a few hours," adds the governor-general, speaking as a king or the servant of kings, "the allegiance of the country was restored as completely from a state of universal revolt, to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it." The rajah, with his family and a few attendants, fled precipitately to Bidjeeghur, the principal stronghold of the Benares princes, and about fifty miles from the capital. To that capital the governor-general returned triumphantly, issuing a proclamation, and an amnesty for all except Cheyte Sing and his brother. No time was lost in sending troops to Bidjeeghur. The poor rajah had not courage to await their arrival: he fled in the night to find refuge, and an exile from which he never returned, among the rajahs of Bondilcund. In his haste, in his anxiety for his own safety by means of a flight too rough and rapid for ladies, he left behind him his wife, his mother, and all the females of his family, who were taken prisoners in the fort, which surrendered by capitulation on the 9th of November. According to Hastings, the rajah had carried off with him an immense sum of money besides jewels; but current rupees to the amount of about 250,000*l.* sterling were found in the old castle of Bidjeeghur. Even this sum, which was not an eighth of the booty the governor-general expected to obtain from the expulsion of the rajah, never reached the public treasury, being appropriated by the troops, who for some five months had received little or no pay. "Judge of my astonishment," says Hastings, "when I tell you that the distribution of the plunder was begun before I knew that the place was in possession, and finished before I knew that it was begun!"* When the princesses with their relations and attendants came out of the old castle—three hundred women in all, besides children—they were rudely subjected to search by the soldiery, notwithstanding the terms of the capitulation, which expressly provided against such an indignity. The soldiers wanted no such warning; but Hastings in a note to the commanding officer hinted that the old Ranee might contrive to defraud them of a considerable part of the booty if the women were suffered to retire without examination. The Ranee affirmed, before and after the capitulation, that the money was hers and not her son's. This is very likely to have been the case; but it made no difference to the soldiers, and would have made none to Hastings, who wanted all the money he could get. In the mean while, the governor-general, still considering a puppet rajah indispensable at Benares, had selected a nephew of Cheyte Sing to fill that part, raising at the same time the tribute to forty lacs of rupees, and taking the entire jurisdiction and management of the city and country into his own hands. Even the mint, the last vestige of sovereignty, was taken from this boy rajah and placed under the control of the company's resident at Benares.

By this revolution an addition of about 200,000*l.* per annum was made to the revenues of the company; but ready money there was none, and this must be procured somewhere. The governor-general, therefore, determined to apply the screw to Asoff-ul-Dowla, nabob of Oude and master of Rohilcund, and one of the most extravagant, debauched, and contemptible of Indian princes. He had been kept on the musnud solely by the British brigade quartered in his dominions, but, as he wasted his money in pleasures and scattered it among his favourites, he soon complained of poverty and of his inability to pay the brigade, the price of whose services had certainly been raised upon him from year to year with little delicacy or justice. In the year 1779 he had stated that he had no money to pay his own cavalry, without whom there was no collecting the revenues of the country; that he had no money to pay his father's debts or to support the harem and children his

* Hastings has been charged with deceiving the troops, or with leading them to believe, before the place was taken, that the plunder was to be divided among them, and of attempting to retract and get the money for the public service when the place was in possession. The select committee of the House of Commons went into the matter, and one or two notes written by the governor-general to Major Popham, the commander of the force, were read. But one of these notes had no date, and neither of them was very clear or decisive as to the point in debate. Hastings himself, in another letter written to his friend and present agent in England, Major Scott, on the 21st of February, 1782, or rather more than three months after the event, expressed his astonishment at the rapacity of the officers, and said that he had not the shadow of a suspicion that Major Popham would have taken any decided step in a matter of such concern without an express authority from him, especially as he was so near the spot. He added—"*A very uncandid advantage was taken of a private letter* written by me to Major Popham on another occasion during the heat of the siege, at which time I made it a point to answer all his letters on the instant of their receipt, and generally by another hand, and often in the most familiar style. The fact is, that, instead of receiving my letters *as authority, they were afraid that I should stop or qualify the* distribution, and therefore precipitated it to prevent me. I referred the matter to the board, but they chose to wait my return, and we have since publicly called upon the sharers to refund, and submit their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they refuse, I shall propose to try whether the law may not compel them. Popham's fault in the business was a want of resolution, and he has avowed that he could not withstand the universal clamour and vehemence of his officers for the scramble. The officers sent a very elegant sword as a present to me, and a set of dressing-boxes for Mrs. Hastings, all beautifully inlaid with jewels: I returned them all." — *Letter to Major Scott, as given by Gleig.* It appears that the refunding was found impossible—that the officers and soldiers kept what they had got.



Nabob of Oude. From a Painting by Horne.

father had left behind him; no money to pay his own servants or keep up his own court. Hastings admitted that it was possible the nabob might be as poor as he stated; but he insisted that his poverty was the effect of his folly, vices, and extravagance, and not produced by the payment of a few lacs to the brigade. He told him—what was notorious to all India—that he could not defend himself against the Mahrattas and Rohillas, or even against the discontents and insurrections of his own subjects, if the company's troops were withdrawn; and he gave him clearly to understand that, whatever might be the wording of the treaty, the brigade, and a large body of cavalry called a "temporary brigade," which had been superadded, should be kept there as long as the company chose, and that as long as it was there he must find means to pay it. But pay he could not—though, if sundry stories that are told be true, the rapacious officers in command of the brigade frequently got large sums from him for their own private use, making a constant harvest of his unmanly fears;—his other expenses continued and were augmented by a new taste for erecting gorgeous and most costly buildings; the cultivators of the soil, overburdened with taxes, began to run away or to neglect their labours; his arrears accumulated, and before Hastings went to Benares the nabob stood charged in the company's books with a debt amounting to nearly one million and a half sterling. Indeed one of the objects of the governor-general's journey up the country was to obtain some settlement of this account—though we are not so credulous as to believe that he would not have put the pressure upon the nabob even if there had not been any such account in existence. He knew that, though the nabob might have an empty treasury, there were others in Oude who had abundance of money hoarded up and concealed in the oriental manner, and after this he was hunting with the keenness of a lurcher and the pertinacity of a bull-dog. Asoff-ul-Dowla was journeying between

Lucknow and Benares, to meet the governor-general with all due honour and respect, when he heard exaggerated accounts of the insurrection which had been provoked by the arrest of Cheyte Sing. He did not, however, retrace his steps, as might have been expected, but continued his journey to the fortress of Chunar, in which the governor-general had taken refuge. On that elevated spot, while 30,000 bold men of Benares were gathering on the Ganges within view of the fort, Hastings coolly bargained with the nabob. He began with gratifications, concessions, and seeming sacrifices—but great were the concessions and sacrifices he expected in return. He agreed that the nabob had been charged too much for the brigade, and had been squeezed most mercilessly by English officers—"as well as other gentlemen" who had quartered themselves upon his treasury; he even agreed that the territories of Oude and Rohilcund might be defended with a much smaller force, and that all the company's troops should be withdrawn except the single brigade, and a regiment of sepoys for Mr. Middleton the resident's guard. In return for this liberality Asoff-ul-Dowla was to rob his own mother and grandmother, and to give the produce of the robbery to Hastings in discharge of his debts and obligations to the company. The two Begums, one the mother of the late nabob, Sujah Dowla, the other his wife, and the parent of the reigning nabob, were the possessors of the hoards and hidden treasures which Hastings had been led to consider as vast enough to achieve the salvation of the British empire in India. At the death of Sujah Dowla a considerable part of the treasure which happened to be in his hands at the time was certainly left to these two ladies, and secured by them; and the dying nabob had further marked his affection to his mother and the most beloved of his wives by bequeathing them certain jaghires.[1] The two ladies had continued to live with great state and magnificence; but Asoff-ul-Dowla, finding his own large revenues insufficient to supply his expenditure, soon envied them the possession of the treasure and the annual proceeds of their jaghires, and, long before his interview with Hastings on the rock of Chunar, he had wrung and extorted money from them. As early as the year 1775 the grandmother and mother of the unduteous Asoff-ul-Dowla had written pathetic letters to the government at Calcutta, complaining of the harsh treatment they received, and imploring to be taken under the protection of the company, which alone was strong enough to protect any one in Oude. The nabob's mother had stated in one of these letters that he had actually extorted from her twenty-six lacs of rupees, and was then endeavouring to force from her thirty lacs more—thirty lacs down, in hard cash and in one payment. The governor and council, not having at that moment to provide for the defence of the Carnatic, for the defence of Surat and Bombay, for the enormous charges of the war against Hyder Ali and the French, expressed themselves as morally and correctly as a decalogue, quoted the Commandments to Asoff-ul-Dowla, and then, with a virtuous indignation at his conduct, extended the shield of their protection to the two old ladies. At the nabob's request a solemn agreement was drawn up, concluded, and guaranteed by the company, by which the Bhow Begum gave to her son the thirty lacs of rupees, and her son engaged that no further invasion, or attempts at invasion, should be made on the treasure or on the jaghires. But the nabob could not keep his hands from picking and stealing; fresh attempts were made on the purses of the two old ladies, who held their money with a truly eastern tenacity of grasp, and kept complaining to the English as the framers and guarantees of this broken family compact. In the year 1778 the grandmother Begum, whose residence had been rendered irksome and disgusting to her by her grandson, resolved to quit his dominions and go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The nabob, dreading that the old lady might carry some of the treasure with her, refused to permit her departure. The Begum then applied to Mr. Middleton, the resident at Lucknow, whose time was almost absorbed by these constant squabbles. The Begum, who was more anxious for peace and quietness, and the possession of her money at home, than for the spiritual pleasures and advantages of the pilgrimage to the tomb of the prophet, represented that she was deprived of her jaghires, that her servants and tenants were plundered, and herself insulted by the vile favourites of the nabob; and that the women and children—a very numerous brood—of the late nabob, including Asoff-ul-Dowla's own brothers and sisters, were all left in a degrading state of destitution. At the same time the younger Begum raised fresh complaints against her unloving son; and Middleton, by his reports to the council at Calcutta, seemed to verify the charges. On the 23rd of March (1778) the council—that is to say, Hastings, Barwell, Francis, and Wheler—wrote in the strongest terms to Middleton, commanding him to take immediate steps for preventing these acts of violence and robbery. He was to represent to the nabob that the *honour* and *reputation* of the company were committed by his cruelty and injustice. In what related to the grandmother and her affairs, he was only to remonstrate;—"but," subjoined these moralists, "with respect to the mother of the nabob, her grievances come before us on a very different footing. She is entitled to our protection by an act not sought by us, but solicited by the nabob himself. We therefore empower and direct you to afford your support and protection to her in the due maintenance of all the rights she possesses."* Now that it was determined to tear up the family treaty, and utterly despoil both the ladies of all their money and all their jaghires, it was thought expedient to devise some means of colouring over the transaction, so as to save the *honour* and *repu-*

* Parliamentary Reports; Minutes of Evidence taken at Hastings's trial.

tation of the governor and council. Hastings's only excuse—allowing any excuse to be admissible—would have been contained in a simple fact, which might have been announced in words like these:—"India must be saved; it cannot be saved without more money; and were the Begums my own mother and grandmother I would have their treasure!"—But this enunciation would have been too bold; and, daring as he was in action, the governor-general had a natural turn for subterfuges, and an earnest anxiety on all occasions to make his black look white, and to pay homage, not merely to public opinion in its higher sense, but to the conventionalities and established proprieties of society. Hence, therefore, he pretended that the two poor old women were dangerous rebels and traitors to the sovereign company, and that great doubts might be entertained as to the validity of Sujah Dowla's testamentary bequests. It was said that the will, under which they claimed, had never been produced; and it was pretended also that the deceased nabob could not lawfully alienate the treasure and territory of the state, which of right belonged to his successor. But Indian princes had at all times made similar dispositions of money and lands; and the government of Calcutta had solemnly recognised the rights, at least, of Sujah Dowla's widow, without any question or doubt or reservation as to a will or any other document. The rebellion and treason were still more groundless charges. Hastings's accusations were, that the Begums by money and other means had excited and encouraged the disturbances in Oude, which had followed the insurrection at Benares. Now, the two old ladies were much too fond of money to part with it on any account; and, as to other means, in the seclusion in which they lived they had none. Whatever good cause Hastings now gave them to think otherwise, they had, up to this point, regarded the English as their best and only protectors, with whose power and authority their own fortunes were inseparably linked; and, if they could have been capable of making any sacrifices or exertions, it would assuredly have been in a direction altogether opposite to that in which they were charged with acting. Hastings, indeed, pretended that the insurrection at Benares was a planned thing, and that the rajah had been for some time preparing for a struggle with the company; but every circumstance tends to show that the insurrection was a sudden and spontaneous movement, provoked by the daring novelty of putting the nabob under arrest in his own palace. If there had been any preconcerted scheme, nothing could have contributed more to its success, or have been more easy of execution, than the cutting off of the governor-general, or the making him a prisoner, which might have been done by a little stratagem and very little force, either on his journey between Buxar and Benares, or in the latter city the night after his arrival. If the insurrection was—as we firmly believe—wholly unpremeditated and unforeseen, there was not time between its breaking out and the first tumultuary movement in Oude for the Begums to do anything, as those two ladies were shut up in the palace of Fyzabad, which is about 115 miles in a straight line from Benares, and a great deal farther by travelling distance. Nor had the Begums time to do much between the tumult at Benares and the arrival of their grandson and son at Chunar and the conclusion of the treaty of spoliation. The insurrection happened on the 16th of August, the treaty was signed on the 19th of September. "The Begums, who had first to hear of the insurrection at Benares, and then to spread disaffection through a great kingdom, had, therefore, little time for the contraction of guilt. Besides, when the government of the nabob, as the English themselves so perfectly knew, had fallen into contempt and detestation with all his subjects, it was very natural to suppose that the servants and dependants of the Begums, who were among the severest of the sufferers, would not be the least forward in exhibiting their sentiments. And, as the seclusion of the Begums rendered it impossible for them to superintend the conduct of their servants abroad, they were less than other people responsible for their conduct."* The people of Oude that lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Benares were excited against the English by the violence offered to Cheyte Sing; but whatever disturbances had happened in the interior of Oude had arisen not out of any malice or any project against the company, but out of a detestation of the nabob; and the English resident himself had represented to the governor-general and council, many months before—nay, more than three years and a half before the present troubles—that revolt and insurrection were inevitable in Oude, and that the filthy vices of the nabob and the violence and injustice of his execrable favourites would drive every man of any property or reputation out of the country.† Hastings, however, chose now to consider that any attack on Asoff-ul-Dowla amounted to the same thing as a direct attack upon the company; and, though no connexion could be proved between the Begums and the discontented people, it was no doubt easy to prove that there had been at least some rioting in the country. Yet even on this point no proofs were adduced but rumours; and rumours reported by men who rumoured whatever the governor-general desired were considered evidence enough to settle the whole question and every part of it; and, perhaps, in the mighty heap of hurried mistakes or deliberate misstatements, accumulated through ages in histories and biographies, there is not to be found a single passage wider of the truth, or more revolting to humanity, than that in which Hastings's recent biographer winds up his account of these transactions, including the imprisonments and the tortures, with the brazen declaration that nothing was done but what was just and proper.‡ The two ladies at

* Mill.

† Mr. Middleton, Letter dated Fyzabad, 3rd of February, 1778.

‡ The Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A., Chaplain to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, and Rector of Ivychurch, in Kent. Mr. Gleig has printed

Fyzabad were neither present at these examinations, nor represented by any vakeel or agent; they knew nothing of what was going on until judgment was passed, and that judgment was even carried into execution without their ever having been informed of the charges against them! The decision was, that the treaty or family agreement, solemnly guaranteed by the governor and council, should be thrown to the winds; that the nabob should be allowed to seize and appropriate the Begum's jaghires for his own use, and to seize the treasure for the use of the company, who were to take it in liquidation of the debt he owed them or was said to owe them. Even the heart of Asoff-ul-Dowla misgave him when he returned to Lucknow to carry this judgment into execution. Perhaps he felt some natural compunction, some return of tenderness for the mother that had borne him; perhaps he only feared the effect that might be produced on the minds of his people by such atrocious acts; but what is certain is, that he hesitated and hung back from the execution of the treaty of Chunar. Even Mr. Middleton, the chosen agent of Hastings, the man who had managed the arresting or inveigling of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy, the active and ready instrument of the governor-general on all occasions, seems to have shrunk from the odious work. But Hastings wrote both to nabob and agent to tell them of his impatience and to urge them on, and Middleton was ordered to do the work himself if Asoff-ul-Dowla would not. Hereupon the nabob, to save his authority, proceeded to take possession of the jaghires which were to be *his* (at least after some payments to the company, if the money of his mother and grandmother should not prove enough); but a fresh wavering and hesitation came over him when he was urged or commanded to seize the treasure which was to be the *company's*. It appears that the pen of Sir Elijah Impey, the supreme representative and chief of English justice or law in Bengal, was employed in impressing on the mind of Middleton the necessity of doing what was to be done speedily; and that Hastings threatened to go on to Fyzabad and perform the part of spoliator himself. But at last the nabob and the resident, with a body of English sepoys, set out from Lucknow for the dwelling of the Begums at Fyzabad, or the "Beautiful Residence," pleasantly situated among streams, and woods, and hills, about eighty miles to the east of Lucknow. Several days were spent in negotiations with the Begums, who, as tenacious of their money as ever, would accede to no terms though they could make no resistance. Orders were then given to storm that quiet town and the defenceless palace. Little or no opposition was made; the sepoys took possession of the palace, the shrieking women shut themselves up in the innermost apartment, but the treasure was not to be found, nor would any one give information of the place or places where it was hidden. But the nabob was familiar with the detestable practices of the East—with the processes usually, and in most instances successfully, adopted by Hyder Ali in discovering money secrets,—and the mind of Mr. Middleton, Englishman, and English gentleman, as he claimed to be, does not appear to have shrunk from their adoption. Hastings was not on the spot, but it is impossible to doubt that if he had been there he would have been as acquiescent or passive as his agent was. There were two old eunuchs in the palace, Jewar Ali Khan and Behar Ali Khan, who had been the favourites and most confidential servants of Sujah Dowla, and who, ever since that nabob's death, had continued in the service of his widow, the Bhow Begum. There could be no doubt that these two unhappy beings knew where the money lay, or, if they did not, it was thought probable that their sufferings would work upon the Begums' hearts and extract the key; and therefore it was determined to throw them into a dungeon, to load them with irons, to starve them, to torture them, as the best means of getting at the rupees, directly or indirectly: and, at this stage, Hastings's agent and friend was more than acquiescent in the damnable atrocity; for the officer in command of the sepoy guard placed over the two old men received his orders from Middleton. The sufferings of the old men, or their own sufferings and alarms, for they, too, were close prisoners, overcame the passion of avarice in the Begums, and a large sum of money was handed over to the English agent. But this sum fell far short of the amount of the nabob's debt to the company, and still farther short of the supposed amount of the treasure. The elder Begum solemnly protested that she had no more money, that she had nothing left except some goods; but Middleton would not believe her, and he left the two eunuchs in their horrible captivity, and the Begums themselves such close prisoners, and so straitened in their supplies that they, with their numerous female attendants, were half-starved. Eight days after the first storming of the palace Middleton wrote to the officer commanding the sepoys: "Sir, when this note is delivered to you, I have to desire that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them from all food, &c., agreeable to my instructions of yesterday." It seems scarcely possible to credit that such a note could be written by any English-

many interesting letters, which will continue to give some value to his three thick volumes. But it happens rather unfortunately and curiously, that in several instances—like the present—where the conduct of his hero is most censurable, *he gives hardly any of Hastings's letters*. Was there a deficiency just at these critical points, or were the materials not proper to make out Mr. Gleig's case? He inserts one letter to Sulivan; but in that letter Hastings enters into no details, referring to other letters written to Major Scott, and to an appendix and a narrative of the Begum transactions which he had also sent to Major Scott. Mr. Gleig inserts none of these. In the letter to Sulivan, which he gives, there is one brief passage—one of the most general and least reliable of *ex parte* statements—on which the reverend biographer seems to build up all his conclusions. The passage is to this effect:—"On the revolt of Cheyte Sing, she (*the Bhow* Begum), and the old Begum, Sujah Dowlah's mother, raised troops, caused levies to be made for Cheyte Sing, excited all the zemindars of Garookpoor and Bareich to rebellion, cut off many parties of sepoys, and the principal Aumil and a favourite of the younger Begum openly opposed and attacked Captain Gordon, one of our officers stationed in his neighbourhood. Let this be an answer to the men of virtue who may exclaim against our breach of faith and the inhumanity of declaring war against widows, princesses of high birth, and defenceless old women. These old women had very nigh effected our destruction."

man at the end of the eighteenth century. A more infernal document never proceeded from King John, or the worst of his agents, when it was the fashion to torture Jews in England for the same purpose, and when the nation had hardly begun to emerge from barbarity. Middleton's cool "&c.," which might include every horror that man can inflict or endure, seems to us the maximum—the very essence of the atrocious! Under fresh sufferings the two eunuchs undertook, by a written engagement, to furnish some more money on their own credit or out of their own effects in the course of one month. Middleton took their engagement, but kept them in their dungeon all the same. The avarice of the Begums relented again, and they produced more money, and then more, until upwards of 500,000*l.* sterling were received by Middleton, who then began to doubt whether they really had any more. The last payment was made in clearance of the engagement or bond which had been extorted from the eunuchs, but it fell short of the total amount of that bond by several thousand pounds. It was therefore resolved to continue the imprisonment, the starving, and the torture of those two beings, who, like their mistresses, vowed that there was no more money—that not a single rupee more could possibly be procured unless they were restored to their liberty, and allowed to go forth among friends and bankers to raise money upon credit. But Middleton and Hastings, and their active agents in these money-extorting processes, thought that suffering and agony might quicken the old men's memories and lead to the discovery of some other hiding-places, and they were ordered to be kept where they were, and as they were, with their emaciated bodies loaded with chains. When months had passed, the officer in command of the sepoy guard wrote to Middleton at Lucknow, to inform him that the two prisoners, Behar Ali Khan and Jewar Ali Khan, who seemed to be "very sickly," implored that their irons might be taken off for a few days, and that they might be allowed to take a little air in the garden. "Now," said the officer, "as I am sure that they will be equally secure without their irons as with them, I think it my duty to inform you of this request. I desire to know your pleasure concerning it." The resident's pleasure was that the prayer should be refused, and that no alleviation of misery should be allowed. And a few days after this the two eunuchs were informed that, unless they produced more money, they would be brought in their chains over to Lucknow, there to be subjected to a still harder fate, and made to answer for other crimes. These threats terrified the old men out of their senses, and seemed to make a deep impression on the Begums, who did not, however, come forward with any more money. The captives were therefore carried to Lucknow, the capital of Oude. There they were kept in an English prison, or, at least, their gaolers and guards were English officers and sepoys in the company's service. But, out of deference to the superior skill of the nabob's people in the art of torturing, or out of some lingering remains of English feeling, or out of a paltry notion of cheating the fiend with a "Thou canst not say I did it," Middleton and his gang now left the more active part of the business to the *officers* or torturers of Asoff-ul-Dowla. The assistant resident wrote to the English officer a note perhaps more atrocious than that which Middleton had written at Fyzabad. Like that note it was horribly brief. It was to this effect:—"Sir, the nabob having determined to inflict corporeal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper." While these things were doing at Lucknow, the imprisonment of the Begums and the semi-starvation of their household were continued at Fyzabad. At last, however, when the horrible proceedings had lasted altogether more than a year, and when Hastings had procured, in specie, in jewels, in bills, in household goods—for nothing was spared—not even the table utensils of the Begums—a sum considerably exceeding a million sterling, orders were sent from Calcutta, through the resident at Lucknow, to cease the persecution of the two old women in "The Beautiful Residence," and to liberate the two old eunuchs, who had been restored to their original dungeon at Fyzabad. The governor-general and the resident hoped that they had so managed the whole transaction that the cruelty and the rigour, or the greater part of it, would fall to the share of the nabob, and the mildness and the mercy to themselves. The resident declared to the Begums that it was none but the governor-general that had restored them "to their dignity and consequence;"* and the two broken-hearted old men were told that they owed their life and liberty to the resident at Lucknow and the great man at Calcutta. The English officer commanding the sepoy guard at the time of the liberation—apparently a silly man, but not bad-hearted—was taught the same lesson. In describing to the resident the enlargement of the two eunuchs, and the joy of the Begums, and of the city of Fyzabad in general, this officer said—"In tears of joy, Behar and Jewar Ali Khan expressed their sincere acknowledgments to the governor-general, his excellency the nabob-vizier, and to you, sir, for restoring them to that invaluable blessing, liberty; for which they would ever retain the most grateful remembrance; and at their request I transmit you the enclosed letters. I wish you had been present at the enlargement of the prisoners. The quivering lips, with the tears of joy stealing down the poor men's cheeks, was a scene truly affecting. If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will at the last trump be translated to the happiest regions

* The resident at this moment was not Middleton but Bristow, the former nominee of Francis, Clavering, and Monson, who had been reinstated at Lucknow by the positive commands of the court of directors. It does not appear, however, that Bristow was a whit more scrupulous or merciful than Middleton, whom Hastings, in more than one letter, treats as a milksop, deficient in energy, too much moved by old women's tears, &c. &c.

in heaven." We are not informed how the resident looked, or how Hastings felt, at the perusal of this letter, and the reference to the day of judgment, when all secrets would be revealed, and when no juggle or mystery would avail them. As all the money extorted—wrung, at last, from the Begums and their servants, drop by drop, like blood from their hearts—was not enough for the wants of the company, for the support of the ruinous war in the Carnatic, for the operations on the side of Bombay, and for subsidies or presents to keep the Mahrattas quiet, and as the sums collectively did not cover the debt claimed from the nabob of Oude, the revenues of the jaghires which had been taken from the Begums were claimed and appropriated by the governor-general. During the conferences at Chunar the nabob offered and Hastings accepted a present of 100,000*l.* This, on the part of the governor-general, was altogether illegal, for, though there had been no such laws at the time of Clive's dealings with Meer Jaffier, there now existed the most positive prohibitions against the company's servants receiving any such presents. Hastings and his friends appear, at first, to have maintained that he only accepted the present in order to have something more to apply to the public service. But, as the nabob had no ready money, he drew bills upon one of the great Indian bankers, and these bills could not be negotiated without giving publicity to what was in itself an illegal act. A good many months after, Hastings revealed the transaction to the court of directors; but, as it has been observed—"as the intention of concealing the transaction should not be imputed to Mr. Hastings, unless as far as evidence appears, so in this case the disclosure cannot be imputed to him as virtue, since no prudent man would have risked the chance of discovery which the publicity of a banker's transactions implied."* Hastings, moreover, in this letter to the directors, begged to be permitted to keep the money as a reward for his late important services. He had hitherto saved little, and the 100,000*l.* would not have been a bad contribution to a fortune to retire upon.

In the same conferences at Chunar, the affairs of Fyzoola Khan, the last of the great Rohilla chiefs that remained in Rohilcund, came under discussion. By the treaty between this chief and the Nabob of Oude, which the company had guaranteed, Fyzoola Khan was to be allowed quiet possession of a certain territory near the Rohilcund frontier, with a revenue estimated at fifteen lacs per annum, he being bound, besides other sacrifices, to cease all connexion or intercourse with the other Rohilla chiefs. Complaints, true or false, had been raised by the court of Oude, that Fyzoola Khan disregarded his engagements, and was making himself strong and dangerous in Rohilcund. Yet at the breaking out of the war with France, Fyzoola, as bound by his treaty, sent some troops to join the Nabob of Oude, the ally of the English, and promised to send more. Hastings and the council hereupon recommended the Nabob of Oude to make an instant demand for 5000 Rohilla *horse*, "as the quota stipulated by the treaty." But the treaty stipulated no such thing—what it stipulated was that Fyzoola Khan should never retain in his service more than 5000 men, and that, whenever the nabob-vizier wanted them, he should send 2000 or 3000 of his *troops* to join him—the word in the treaty was *troops*, not *horse*. Fyzoola Khan represented these things to the nabob, assuring him that all the cavalry he had did not exceed 2000. The nabob reported the khan's answer to Hastings, who, after some curious quibbling about the meaning of the treaty, ordered that a deputation, consisting partly of officers from the Nabob of Oude and partly of English officers to represent the company as guarantees of the treaty, should immediately wait upon Fyzoola Khan, to demand on the instant 3000 *horse*, and, in case of any refusal or evasion, to declare the treaty broken and the guarantee of the company void. The khan again quoted the document, which said *troops*, not *horse*, and which stipulated that the number of his contingent was to be 3000, or only 2000, according to his ability; but after making these representations he offered to furnish 2000 horse and 1000 foot if a little time were allowed him, to pay down in advance money enough to satisfy these troops for a whole year, and to be regular and punctual in his future payments. But the deputation would not accede to propositions which far exceeded what the Rohilla chief was bound to, and they, in obedience to their orders, made the declaration and protest which left the treaty a piece of waste paper. The meaning of all this was that Asoff-ul-Dowla was hankering after the remnant of Rohilcund, and that Hastings was determined to gratify him. Except the protest, nothing, however, was done till Asoff-ul-Dowla and Hastings met face to face on the rock of Chunar, and the nabob consented to the conditions which have been described. Then, in the treaty there made, the governor-general inserted and signed an article affirming that, as Fyzoola Khan had, by breach of treaty, forfeited the protection of the English government, and was causing "by his present independent state, great alarm and detriment to the nabob-vizier," he the said nabob should be permitted, "when time should suit," to resume possession of his territory. This clause, however, was scarcely signed ere Hastings informed the council at Calcutta that it was to be looked upon as a mere sham to gratify the Nabob of Oude for the present; that no active measures for dispossession were to be allowed, as he was of opinion that neither the real interests of Oude nor the interests of the company would be promoted by despoiling Fyzoola Khan, or depriving him of his independence. "And I have therefore," said he, "reserved the execution of this agreement to an indefinite term; *and our government may always interpose to prevent any ill effects from it.*" Asoff-ul-Dowla's impatience, however, was not to be controlled; and when the company had got the money of the

* Mill.

Begums, and nearly all the advantages for which Hastings had stipulated in the Chunar treaty, he became clamorous for permission to drive out the last of the Rohillas. At the time of the first Rohilla war that turbulent and martial people were, no doubt, dangerous to Oude and to the territories of the company, but this could scarcely be the case at present, when the far greater part of them were dispossessed and scattered over Upper India, unless the danger consisted in their presenting an opening across the frontier, and into the heart of Oude, to some fresh invaders—some confederacy of Rohillas and other kindred tribes in the north of India, whose faces were generally turned towards the rich south. It does not appear, however, that this cause of alarm was set forth, or that there was any proof or even appearance of Fyzoola Khan's entertaining any views beyond the quiet possession of the territory ceded to him. In a short time Hastings induced the nabob to agree that it would be proper and advantageous to give up the notion of invasion and dispossession for another payment in hard cash; and an English officer was dispatched to ask fifteen lacs of rupees from the khan, who for this sum was to be secured anew in his jaghire, and that jaghire to be made perpetual and hereditary in his family. The money was to be paid into the hands of the company, who were to keep it in part liquidation of the Nabob of Oude's inextinguishable debt. But Fyzoola Khan protested that he had not fifteen lacs—that there was not so much money in all his country;—and the bargain could not be concluded. As there was no money to be procured, Hastings, who afterwards confessed that his conduct towards the Rohilla chief had been blameable, put his interdict on any hostile proceedings by the Nabob of Oude, and Fyzoola Khan kept possession of his territory till his death, which happened thirteen years after, and when he had attained a patriarchal age. This able chief, favoured by political circumstances which he neither made nor controlled, but which were of inestimable benefit to him as tending to keep him and the country around him comparatively undisturbed, left his little dominion in a high state of cultivation and prosperity. The thriving and peaceful aspect which this corner of Rohilcund presented at the end of the year 1794 seems to be incorrectly assumed by some writers as true of the whole of the country at the time of the first Rohilla war in the year 1774.

The business of Benares and Chunar cannot be dismissed without some brief allusion to the part which Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice, took in it. Some weeks after Hastings and the nabob had made their bargain and issued their mandates for punishing the Begums as guilty, Impey, happening, it is said, at the moment, to be engaged in a tour of inspection among the provincial courts of Bengal, joined the governor-general at Benares, and, at his bidding or request (or, as Hastings says, at his own suggestion) went on to Lucknow to take the depositions of witnesses, touching the alleged offences of the ladies. Impey's jurisdiction did not extend to the kingdom of Oude; as a judge he had no more right or authority at Lucknow than he could have had at Lisbon or any other capital of a foreign state; but he appears to have thought that, in a country where there was little law of any kind, the presence of a great English lawyer, the head of the supreme court, would impart a dignity to irregular and slovenly proceedings, and give a colour to all that Hastings had done and was doing. A host of witnesses, not differing much from those who had been collected at Calcutta by Nuncomar to swear away the character and life of the governor-general, now appeared before his friend Impey at Lucknow to swear against the Begums, with affidavits ready drawn in their hands. It has been said that Sir Elijah, who took no sworn interpreter with him, was wholly ignorant of the two languages in which the native witnesses spoke and the affidavits were written; but this, we are informed upon good authority, was not the case. We are assured, on the contrary, that he had long and diligently studied the vernacular idiom—the Bengalee—and the Persian and Arabic tongues; and that he retained a competent knowledge of these languages many years after his return to England, where he had few opportunities of exercising himself in them. He must, therefore, have been able both to understand the witnesses and to read the affidavits; but we confess the suspicion remains strong on our minds that he did not allow himself time to hear the depositions or to read the papers before administering the oaths. There were shoals of affidavits, hundreds of witnesses, and brevity is not a characteristic of the Oriental style either in speaking or in writing. Even according to Hastings's account the chief-justice got through the business hastily, and haste in such matters is a fair presumption of irregularity and incorrectness. "The evidence," says the governor-general, "*was collected in a hurry, and on the suggestion of Sir Elijah Impey, who told me that facts of the most stamped notoriety here would be doubted at home, unless such means were taken to establish their reality.*" Nay, in the course of the confessions which were wrung from him by the managers of Hastings's impeachment, Impey himself declared that he never once asked any of the deponents whether they knew the contents of their affidavits; and that he had "no means of knowing whether the deponents in the Persian or Hindostanee language understood anything of the depositions which they gave, except that they brought their affidavits ready drawn." Even the few depositions taken in his own language—from two or three English officers who had been allowed to enter the pay and service of the Nabob of Oude, or to rent districts under him—were of the most vague and inconclusive kind; being rumours of rumours, or paltry stories of *squabbles* with the Begums' agents and people. Moreover, neither the character nor the motives of these men were

above suspicion. One of them, a Colonel Hannay, appears to have been better qualified for the dock than for the witness-box, if only half of what was said against him be true.* As soon as Sir Elijah Impey had administered the oaths, he hurried back to Benares and thence to Calcutta. His "authentic evidence," as it was styled by the governor-general, was used as an appendix to a narrative of the transactions regarding Cheyte Sing and the Begums, drawn up at Benares by the pen of Hastings, and by him transmitted in justification of his own conduct to the court of directors. Was it not, even according to Hastings's showing, in his own words which we have just quoted, for this sole use and purpose that the evidence was wanted? Was it not procured merely for the sake of the incredulous "at home?" What applicability could it have to the guilt or punishment of the Begums, when the forfeiture of their jaghires and treasure had been decreed at Chunar weeks before any witness or affidavit had been seen—weeks before the chief-justice reached Benares? Sir Elijah Impey, who retained the friendship and esteem of some of the best men in England, was assuredly not the man that Burke represented him to be; but his memory, like that of his friend and schoolfellow, must in these matters remain subjected to some dark imputations, lightened only by the same excuses, or the extreme difficulty and urgency of the case, and the anomalous, undefined nature of the company's relations with the native princes. And, in reality, though Oude was nominally an independent kingdom and not included in the act or acts which prescribed the limits of the jurisdiction of the supreme court of Calcutta, it was, to all intents and purposes, a conquered and a dependent country. Even Sujah-u-Dowla, who "wanted neither pride nor understanding," and who had kept together an army and a government far stronger than those of his contemptible son and successor, would have thought it an honour to be called the vizier of the king of England, and had actually offered to coin his money in the name and with the effigies of George III.† If the offer of sovereignty had been accepted—if the company or nation had frankly proclaimed themselves, what they were *de facto*, the lords and rulers of Oude and Benares, the mission of Sir Elijah Impey might have borne a somewhat different aspect; and if the rule had been adopted at an earlier period—if when, by arms or by policy, the English obtained dominion over principalities and powers, they had assumed their proper style and title, instead of calling themselves protectors, allies, auxiliaries and the like, (with a false moderation of language which deceived no one, either in Europe or in Asia,) Lord Clive, as well as Warren Hastings, would have been relieved from many a false position, and actions not warranted by their *nominal* relations with the native princes would have been reconcilable to the law of nations. There was more form of law and regularity in it, yet Impey's conduct in the capital of British India was made the subject of severe animadversion. As soon as the governor-general had sufficient power in the council so to do, he had made him a judge in the company's service, removable at the pleasure of the government at Calcutta, that is to say, at the pleasure of Hastings himself. There must have been some difficulty in reconciling and uniting the opposite characters of an irremovable judge appointed by the crown, and of a judge named not even by the company, but by the council at Calcutta, who were to retain the power of dismissing him; but Sir Elijah accepted the new office, which added 7800*l.* a-year to the 8000*l.* a-year he enjoyed as king's chief justice; nor could all the exertions of Francis, who was yet in the country, prevent the transaction. In this arrangement more blame has been imputed to Impey and a defective act of parliament than to Hastings. Impey's appointment did not, it is said, proceed from any friendship or partiality, or desire of obtaining, for the bad deeds he might commit, the connivance of the chief-justice; but it was adopted as the only available manœuvre for correcting the blunders of the British legislature, and keeping the supreme court within limits. The regulating act of 1773 contained no proper limitation or definition of powers, no line of demarcation between the council or political government of Bengal and the judicial; and Impey and his juniors on the bench, unshackled by the act, seemed at one time determined to make their supreme court of law supreme in all things. Except in ordering the marches and countermarches of the troops there was hardly anything but what these lawyers meddled with. And in erecting their new tribunal they adopted all the most costly and all the harshest forms and procedures of English law, in spite of the remonstrances of Hastings, who represented that nothing could be so grievous to the uninformed natives. They brought into practice arrest for debt—arrest on mesne process—a scourge and a curse in England, but trebly horrible in India, where any arrest was considered by the higher castes as the extremity of degradation. They insisted that the door of no sanctuary should be closed against their writs; that the officers of English law should be allowed to penetrate into the zenanas of the highest and noblest, to remove the perpetual veil from the faces of women in public, and to drag matrons and virgins, high and low, into court or into prison. As their English law or practice at that time called for oaths and affidavits with a blasphemous profusion, as their minds were familiarised with the wholesale swearings going on daily and hourly in England before excisemen and custom-house officers, they thought it no harm to exact an equal number of oaths from the Indians, forgetting that their oaths, though worth little when obtained, were always given with great

* It was said, for example, that Hannay, on entering the nabob's service in 1776, was poor and in debt, and that, before the end of the year 1781, he was understood to have realised, by all kinds of extortion and violence, a fortune of 300,000*l.*

† Letter from Hastings to Mr. Elliott.

pain and reluctance by the more respectable part of them. The governor-general's code and courts, which he had set up before the arrival of these judges, and when there was not a lawyer in Calcutta to assist him, had been based upon very different principles, and, as compared with the nabob's or naib's courts at Moorshedabad, they had become acceptable to the natives, who had seen with pleasure the revocation of the order of the supreme council—carried when Francis, Clavering, and Monson had the ascendancy—for restoring the chief courts at Moorshedabad. But the judges had not been long in the land ere the people considered their court as the greatest calamity that had hitherto befallen them, and the pens, the bailiffs, and the runners of the law as things far more terrible than swords, and bayonets, and cannon-balls.* Hastings had been befriended and materially served by the supreme court, and particularly by his school-fellow Impey. He had expressed his gratitude in the warmest manner, and it had been his constant habit to speak of Impey as one of the oldest and best of his friends; but about the year 1779 his correspondence was filled with grievous complaints of the conduct of Sir Elijah, and of the trouble and discord caused by the constant disputes between the supreme council and the supreme court of judicature. In a letter to Sulivan he says, "I suffer beyond measure by the present contest, and my spirits are at times so depressed as to affect my health. I feel an injury done me by a man for whom I have borne a sincere and steady friendship during more than thirty years, *and to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation*, with a tenfold sensibility. And under every consciousness of the necessity which has influenced my own conduct, and the temper with which I have regulated it, I am ready to pass the most painful reproaches on myself on the least symptom of returning kindness from him. Such is my weakness, if this be a weakness. . . . . We are both of us unhappily situated and associated; myself linked in the same cause with a man equally his enemy and mine [apparently Francis]; he with one man [apparently Hyde] who has made no scruple to avow himself my enemy—God knows why—and with another man [apparently Chambers] who, though not personally indisposed to me, but governed by a harsh and petulant temper, and possessed of the most extravagant opinion of the omnipotency of his office, is the acting justice of the peace, and issues almost every preparatory process of the court, which his colleagues must maintain, or their authority and dignity suffer by a diminution of his."* But no gratitude, past services, or hope of future services, could prevent him from interfering when these proceedings and the resentments they provoked appeared to threaten disorganization and ruin to the whole of Bengal. But when he stepped in between the people of India, the supreme council, and the judges, Impey made show of a spirit as high and absolute as his own: he appealed to the authority vested in him by the sovereign and parliament of Great Britain; he recited the clauses of the regulating act, which defined nothing and set no discoverable limits to his authority; and, as a climax, the governor-general and all the members of the council were served with summonses to appear before the king's justices, and there answer for some of their public acts. Hastings refused to obey the summons, and proceeded to set at liberty a number of persons who were under arrest by process of the court. Francis, who never agreed with him cordially, either before or after, fully concurred in this war with the judges, for he hated Impey even more intensely than he hated Hastings. His nature too seemed to derive sustenance and joy from the bitterest flowers and fruits, from deadly animosities and fierce contentions, and if he had been allowed his way this war with the judges would have been pushed on *ad internecionem*. But Hastings, who seldom resorted to violence when his end could be obtained by other means, was fully sensible of the perils he might incur through a loose act of parliament and the tight grip of the law, and of the propriety of separating the court of appeal, called the Sudder Dewanee Adaulut, from the supreme council, and surrendering it to the control of the chief-justice, who hitherto had had little or no authority or influence over the dewanee adauluts of the provinces. This surrender would remove *the one great cause of dissension*, and would place the whole business of justice or law in the hands of the supreme court; and, as the labours of Sir Elijah Impey would be greatly increased by this double appointment, it would appear proper to double his pay out of the company's exchequer. It is said, on one side, that Impey took a different reading of the regulating act the moment he got this new salary; it is urged, on the other, that his opposition to the council ceased, *because* the grounds and sources of dispute were removed by extending his authority, &c., and that there was no compromise of principle, nor anything dishonourable, in his taking additional pay for additional toil and study. Perhaps the following confidential explanations, given by Hastings to a friend, may enable the reader to form his opinion as to the motives which led to this "domestic arrangement." After describing certain measures of finance, the governor-general says:—"To these I will add another domestic arrangement, calculated both for

* Letter to Sulivan.

* It appears that the judges quarrelled among themselves before they began their quarrels with the supreme council. In a letter written in November, 1776, Hastings says, "Great dissensions have arisen between the judges. They first arose from a difference of opinion concerning the legality of the powers exercised by the Calcutta committee. Why this should have created a personal misunderstanding between them I cannot tell; but it has lately broken out with great violence on the occasion of an application made to the court by the company's advocate for a rule to prevent the debtors of government in revenue cases from eluding its authority by collusive suits in the supreme court. This rule could not be granted without a virtual acknowledgment of the right of the company to imprison their dewanee debtors in the town of Calcutta. It passed with the casting voice of the chief-justice (Impey), who was joined by Mr. Chambers. The other two judges have protested."—*Letter to Mr. Elliott, as given by Gleig.*

the effectual administration of justice, and for the prevention of future contests between the government and superior court, by the appointment of the chief justice to the office of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut. This measure was received by the public with all the prejudices which might be naturally expected to influence the minds of men heated by the late acts of the body of which Sir Elijah was the chief, and who, regarding it as an accession of power to the court itself, conceived themselves exposed to the worst effects of its resentment; but the most intelligent, and many even of the most violent, begin already to moderate their opinion of it. Indeed, I should wonder if they did not, for it requires very little sagacity to discover that an exclusive advantage conferred on one member of the court is by no means likely to increase either the authority of the whole body, or to strengthen its animosities. The chief justice, whose heart, though warm in both extremes, is animated with as much natural benevolence as that of any man living, not having the actions of others to defend, but left to his own impulse, will soon regain in this office the popularity which he once acquired and lost. The court will find him a milder advocate for an extension of authority which certainly did not belong to it, and which is now rendered less necessary, even on their own grounds, than it was when, by the terrors hung over our judicial as well as ministerial officers, the course of justice had, in effect, no free current but in the channel of the supreme court." Many of the proceedings most offensive to the natives were stopped, many most injurious to their purses were continued, but there was never again any collision between the members of the supreme court and the members of the supreme council. Impey's juniors subsequently received company's places or gratifications; at least Chambers—afterwards Sir Robert Chambers—one of the bench, was made company's judge at Chinchura.* The judicial power of the chief justice over the natives was immense, for in his new capacity all appeals from the dewannee adauluts, in all civil causes up the country, left to the native courts, were to be made to him, and he was to have the naming of all the native district judges! When his appointment was reported to the court of directors it gave rise to much doubt and debate, for the compatibility of the two places, and the two salaries, did not appear so clearly to the eyes of other men. The case was laid before the company's solicitor, Mr. Rous, and was further submitted to the consideration of Dunning and of the attorney and solicitor general. Possibly these eminent lawyers did not wish to discourage a precedent of such a profitable duality, or so fine a thing among the prizes in the lottery of their profession; possibly they may only have consulted the wishes of the directors; but, whatever were their motives, Dunning, Wallace, and Mansfield agreed, in a written opinion, that the appointment of the chief justice to the new office, and the giving him a salary for it, besides what he was entitled to as chief justice, did not appear to them to be illegal, either as being contrary to acts of parliament, or as being incompatible with his duty as chief justice; and further, that they did not see anything in the regulating act that affected the question. A few days after, however, Mr. Mansfield stated in a short note to the directors that doubts had arisen in his mind whether the acceptance of a salary, to be held at the pleasure of the company or their servant, was not forbidden by the *spirit* of the act. This honourable man and upright lawyer could—as a lawyer—only doubt; but there was another place where the whole question could be judged in equity, and free from the trammels imposed by legal doubts and ambiguous acts of parliament. Two committees of the House of Commons on Indian affairs were sitting at the time. Burke took the lead in one of them, and Henry Dundas, at that time lord-advocate of Scotland, in the other; and both these able but very different men exercised great activity in obtaining information and drawing up reports, together with an uncompromising severity towards the company and their chief servants in India. In reporting upon the power conferred on Sir Elijah Impey in his new capacity, they declared that it was exorbitant and dangerous, irregular, illegal, and a bargain between Hastings and him not to be permitted; that, by selling his independence to the governor-general, he sold the administration of justice and vitiated his tribunal—"so far as a place of great power, influence, and patronage, with near 8000*l.* a-year of emoluments, held at the pleasure of the giver, can be supposed to operate on gratitude, interest, and fear." The House fully and warmly concurred in the reports of the select committee. A new act was introduced to correct the errors of the regulating act, and to remodel in a wiser and a more intelligible manner the supreme court of Bengal. Soon after this—on the 20th of March, 1782—Lord North resigned, and the formation of the joint Rockingham and Shelburne administration brought Burke into place, though not into the cabinet. Various changes and reforms were then precipitated, and measures of rigour adopted, which the indolence and good nature of the late premier had shrunk from. On the 3rd of May an address to the king was carried in the House of

* Chambers was an early college friend and afterwards club companion of Dr. Johnson. When Hastings was in England, some time between the years 1764 and 1769, he became acquainted with Johnson; and when the doctor's friend, Chambers, was going out to India as one of the judges, Johnson gave him a recommendatory letter to the governor. Johnson described Chambers as a man of great "*purity of manners and vigour of mind.*"

Hastings was in the habit of writing occasional letters to Johnson. One of these letters, printed in Mr. Gleig's 'Life,' was written only a few hours after the execution of Nuncomar. It bears no sign of an uneasy mind or disturbed conscience. It is very long. It thanks the doctor for a present he had sent him of Jones's Persian Grammar, then recently published, and which had been delivered to him by Judge Chambers; it describes the interest he was taking in subjects connected with the laws, languages, and literature of the East; the pleasure with which he had read Johnson's account of his visit to the Hebrides; and it alludes with much animation to Tibet, Bootan, with its Lama, and to the journey of Mr. Bogle into those parts. It is such a letter as a literary man, with no other occupation, and in perfect tranquillity of mind, might have written to a literary friend. There is not a syllable in it about the execution.

Commons by a large majority, for the immediate recall of Sir Elijah Impey to answer to the charge of having "accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III." The king assented, and Impey was recalled by a letter from Lord Shelburne, secretary of state.* On the 24th of June notice of motion was given in the Commons for a *censure* upon Chambers, for accepting the office of company's chief justice at Chinchura; and it was intended to follow this with a resolution for his recall. But General Smith put off his motion for the next session, and, in the end, Chambers was let off easily. Hastings himself had run a narrow chance of being recalled as a criminal at the same time. On the 9th of April (1782), almost a month before the vote against Impey, Dundas, as chairman of the secret committee, moved that their reports should be referred to a committee of the whole House; and in the speech which he delivered on this occasion he condemned everything that had been done in India, and held up the conduct of all the three presidencies, of nearly every important functionary of the company, to censure and abhorrence. A bill of pains and penalties was brought in against Sir Thomas Rumbold, late president of Madras, which was read a first time, and afterwards dropped in a manner not very honourable either to the House or to the party accused. On the 30th of May, Dundas, who had grounded his accusations on intelligence then recently received and scarcely authenticated, of the destruction of the Rajah of Benares, moved a resolution to the effect—"That Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General of Bengal, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the directors to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said governor-general, &c., and to recall him to Great Britain."* But this motion was made at a moment when the danger of India was at its height—when, according to the last news that could have been received in England, Hyder Ali and the French were masters of a great part of the Carnatic, and Bussy was expecting great reinforcements from Europe; and, notwithstanding many quarrels or disagreements with him, a majority of the court of directors, and a most decided majority among the holders of India stock, were of opinion that Hastings alone was capable of guiding their interests through this terrible storm, and of profiting by the calm that might follow it. There was, moreover, the instinctive dread of any interference or exercise of direct authority by the crown or by parliament, which were about equally suspected of the design, or at least of a wish, to assume the entire powers of government in India. The measure also lost the efficacious countenance and protection of ministers, or of that part of the ministry where hostility to Hastings and deference to the opinions of Burke were most prominent—for the Marquess of Rockingham died at this critical moment, and, though Dundas's resolution had been adopted, no further steps were taken. Indeed, this inactivity would be sufficiently accounted for by the immediate disseverance of the Rockingham and Shelburne parties, by the bitter contentions which ensued between them, and by the all-absorbing

* One of the great drivers in this business, though he was not yet in parliament, was Sir Philip Francis, a man possibly not devoid of sentiments of patriotism and justice, but whose motives of action seem always to have had a large alloy of personal feelings and animosities. The following story of his Indian life is told by one who was personally acquainted with most of the parties mentioned; and, as far as we know, no important particular in it has ever received contradiction:—"Strong resentment was a leading feature in his (Francis's) character. I have heard him avow this sentiment more openly and more explicitly than I ever heard any other man avow it in the whole course of my life; I have heard him publicly say in the House of Commons, 'Sir Elijah is not fit to sit in judgment on any matter where I am interested, nor am I fit to sit in judgment on him.' A relation of the ground of this ill-will may be amusing. Mrs. le Grand, the wife of a gentleman in the civil service in Bengal, was admired for her beauty, for the sweetness of her temper, and for her fascinating accomplishments. She attracted the attention of Mr. Francis. This gentleman, by means of a rope-ladder, got into her apartment in the night. After he had remained there about three-quarters of an hour there was an alarm, and Mr. Francis came down from the lady's apartment by the rope-ladder, at the foot of which he was seized by Mr. le Grand's servants. An action was brought by Mr. le Grand against Mr. Francis, in the supreme court of Calcutta. The judges in that court assess the damages in civil actions without the intervention of a jury. The gentlemen who at that time filled this situation were Sir Elijah Impey, chief justice, Sir Robert Chambers, and Mr. Justice Hyde. I was intimate with the first and the third from early life, having lived with them on the Western Circuit. On the trial of this cause Sir Robert Chambers thought that, as no criminality had been proved, no damages should be given. But he afterwards proposed to give 30,000 rupees, which are worth about 3000*l.* sterling. Mr. Justice Hyde was for giving 100,000 rupees. I believe that Mr. Justice Hyde was as upright a judge as ever sat on any bench; but he had an implacable hatred to those who indulged in the crime imputed to Mr. Francis. Sir Elijah Impey was of opinion that, although no criminal intercourse had been proved, yet that the wrong done by Mr. Francis to Mr. le Grand in entering his wife's apartment in the night, and thereby destroying her reputation, ought to be compensated with liberal damages. He thought the sum of 30,000 rupees, proposed by Sir Robert Chambers, too small; and that proposed by Mr. Hyde, of 100,000, too large. He, therefore, suggested a middle course of 50,000 rupees. This proposal was acquiesced in by his two colleagues. When Sir Elijah Impey was delivering the judgment of the court, my late friend, Mr. Justice Hyde, could not conceal his eager zeal on the subject; and when Sir Elijah named the sum of 50,000 rupees, Mr. Justice Hyde, to the amusement of the bystanders, called out, 'Siccas, brother Impey,' which are worth eleven per cent. more than the current rupees. Perhaps this story may not be thought worthy of relation; but it gave occasion to that animosity which Mr. Francis publicly avowed against Sir Elijah Impey; and the criminal charge, afterwards brought against him in the House of Commons, was the offspring of that animosity. I will follow up this anecdote by mentioning the consequences of the action brought by Mr. le Grand. The lady was divorced; she was obliged to throw herself under the protection of Mr. Francis for subsistence. After a short time she left him and went to England. In London she fell into the company of M. Talleyrand de Perigord. Captivated by her charms he prevailed on her to accompany him to Paris, where he married her."—*Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs, during the Reign of George III.; by John Nicholls, Esq., Member of the House of Commons in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth Parliaments of Great Britain.*

If the stories told by the Parisians of Madame Talleyrand, Princess of Benevento—whom by the way they call Madame Grant, and not Madame le Grand—be true, the lady's accomplishments were not of a literary kind. Madame le Grand was a native of Pondicherry; Monsieur, her husband, was a Swiss. He lost his fortune, including Francis's sicca rupees; and, at the peace of Amiens, went over to Paris to seek a new one, or to solicit a place under Napoleon's government, through the patronage of his ex wife and M. de Talleyrand! What followed was a *tour d'adresse* worthy of the great master, Talleyrand. He was sent out as governor to Batavia, but *without proper credentials*, and was disclaimed at the seat of government! He resented this treatment by writing a libel on Madame la Princesse, who bought up and destroyed the few copies that were printed. The end of M. le Grand we know not; but for the humanity of Talleyrand it might be very well fancied he ended his days in Finistrelle, or some other fortress, as a state prisoner. It appears that, during his stay in India, Francis lost his own wife by death; and Lord Byron somewhere mentions a letter written by the unloving husband, while her dead body was yet in the house, that struck him with horror.

* Dundas's resolution included William Hornby, Esq., president of the council of Bombay, who was charged with the same general faults, and who was also to be recalled.

subject of the American peace then negotiating. On the other side, the directors and the shareholders friendly to Hastings were uncommonly active and determined. At a great meeting of the proprietors of India stock, held on the 31st of October (1782), it was determined by a large majority that the resolution of the House of Commons should be set at defiance, and that Hastings should not be recalled; and a resolution of their own was adopted, affirming, with perfect truth, that they were intrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their governor-general; and that they were not bound to obey the directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal. At the re-assembling of parliament Dundas harangued against these proceedings in Leadenhall-street, as being of a most dangerous tendency, and, in the highest degree, insulting to the authority of the House. But in the middle of this session—on the 5th of April, 1783—the Shelburne ministry, which had been patched up on the death of Lord Rockingham, was shattered and dissolved, after being only nine months in office, by the jealousy and enmity of the Rockinghamites. Then the memorable coalition ministry succeeded to a still shorter tenure of office; and Dundas, who was too cunning to couple his fortunes with it, remained in a high patriotic state of opposition—in a state not likely to win ministerial favour to any scheme of his proposing; and the coalition, unpopular as it was out of doors, commanded an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. Besides, Indian reforms were the peculiar province of Burke.* It must, therefore, have been without any hope of success that Dundas rose on the 14th of April to introduce a bill, providing that the king should have the power of recalling the principal servants of the company, &c.; to repeat his former arguments for the recall of Hastings; and to recommend Lord Cornwallis, who had recently lost his army and capitulated to the Americans and French, as the proper man to be the Governor-General of India. Although Cornwallis had been so unfortunate, he retained the esteem and warm good-will of the king; and, though not a man of brilliant abilities either as a general or as a statesman—we believe that there would have been in India some worse capitulation than that of York Town if his lordship had been in Hastings's place between the years 1779 and 1783—he had many estimable and even high qualities; among which was a disinterestedness or a disregard to money, marvellous in those days; but Dundas's eloquence on this occasion provokes a smile, or a less pleasant emotion, for the memory of his own administration of the Indian patronage, when he had it afterwards at his disposal, rushes to the mind, and peeps through the periods of his patriotic oratory, like a grinning imp. "Here," exclaimed Dundas, alluding to Lord Cornwallis, "here is no broken fortune to be mended, no avarice to be gratified! Here is no beggarly mushroom kindred to be provided for! No crew of hungry followers gaping to be gorged!" Fox's unfortunate East India Bill, which was brought forward on the 11th of November of the same year (1783), and which would have overthrown Hastings if it had been passed, overthrew the coalition ministry. Mr. Pitt then ascended the stage which he was destined to occupy for so long a period; and it was under his first administration that the sceptre of the Governor-General of Bengal was broken. On the 13th of August, 1784, Pitt's Indian Bill was passed into a law.* It instituted, as we have mentioned, the Board of Control, by which ever since the government of India may be said to have been directed. It did not, like Mr. Fox's bill, claim the nomination of the members of this controlling power for the House of Commons, but left it solely to the crown. It did not abolish the two existing courts of directors and proprietors as Fox had proposed to do, but it created a *secret* committee, which was to absorb nearly the whole of the diminished power that was left to the directors, and it greatly curtailed the powers of the court of proprietors. It enacted that every individual who had held any office of trust in India should, on his return home, disclose the amount of the fortune he brought with him, and it provided a new tribunal for the trial and punishment of offences liable to be committed in India, or "for the prosecuting and bringing to speedy and condign punishment British subjects guilty of extortion and other misdemeanors, while holding offices in the service of the king or company in India."† The board of control was to be composed of six commissioners, all members of the privy council, chosen by the king, of whom the chancellor of the exchequer and one of the principal secretaries of state were to be two; and, in the

* Major Scott relates some amusing particulars about Lord North at this time. Burke, among other crimes and misdemeanors, had imputed *peculation* to the governor-general. "Do you know," said Lord North, speaking to Governor Johnstone, while the major was present, "that Major Scott flew into a violent passion yesterday in his majesty's presence? and what do you think it was for? Why, because Mr. Burke had made use of the word *peculation* in the House. Now you know that *peculation* is a very common word in our House, and strict parliamentary language." The major said that was true enough, and that he had often heard Mr. Burke apply the same word to his lordship. "There was a time, my lord," added Scott, "when Mr. Burke persecuted your lordship with as much inveteracy as he does now Mr. Hastings." "True," replied the easy-minded ex-minister; "they badgered me till they turned me out; and shall I tell you a secret? They will badger Hastings till they rout him out too."—*Letter to Hastings, dated the 18th of July*, 1783, *as given by Gleig.*

In an earlier letter Scott describes the character of North with some truth. He tells Hastings—"If he had remained in office you would have been supported as vigorously as it was in the nature of Lord North to support any man. His lordship, with wit, knowledge, integrity, and abilities equal to any of his successors, was certainly so indolent as to be the worst minister for the public this country has ever had."—*Id.*

* See ante, vol. i. p. 509.

† This clause, which, as it originally stood, was strangely conceived, soon became a dead letter, and was, we believe, never once acted upon. The new and extraordinary court for the trial of Indian delinquents was to be formed of four members of the House of Lords and six of the House of Commons, to be chosen by their respective Houses, and of one judge from each of the common law courts in Westminster Hall. They were to have power to send for papers, persons, and records; to commit to prison for all prevarication; to compel witnesses, by punishment, as for a misdemeanor, to attend their summonses, and to force them to give evidence, by fine or imprisonment, at their own discretion. The British subjects in India took the alarm, as well they might, and soon began to pour in petitions and representations. Subsequently the clause was somewhat remodelled and changed.

absence of the chancellor of the exchequer and the principal secretary, the senior of the remaining four was to preside. As neither of the two great functionaries named were ever likely to find time for a constant attendance, the whole business soon rested with that senior, known by the name of the President of the Board of Control, who is essentially a secretary of state for the India department. In the act, however, the authority was vested in the plural number—in commissioners. These commissioners were not to interfere in commercial matters, but in all other matters their power was most extensive. They were vested with a control and superintendence over all civil, military, and revenue officers of the company, and the directors were obliged to lay before them all papers relative to the management of their possessions, and to obey all orders which they received from them on points connected with their civil or military government, or the revenues of their territories. The commissioners were obliged to return the copies of papers which they received from the directors in fourteen days, with their approbation, or to state at large their reasons for disapproving of them; and their dispatches, so approved or amended, were to be sent to India, unless the commissioners should attend to any representations of the court of directors respecting further alterations in them. The court of directors had no power to send any orders regarding their civil or military government without the sanction of the commissioners; but these might (if the directors neglected to send true copies of their intended dispatches, upon any subject, within fourteen days) send by themselves orders and instructions relative to the civil or military concerns of the company to any of the presidencies of India; and these instructions the court of directors were, in such case, bound to forward. If the commissioners forwarded any orders to the court of directors on points not relating to the civil or military government, or to the revenues of the territorial possessions of the company, the directors might appeal to the king and council. In all cases of secrecy, and particularly such as related to war or peace with the native powers of India, the commissioners had the power of sending their orders to the local government of India through a secret committee of the court of directors, which committee, by the act, could in this case only be considered as the vehicle of the instructions to the local authorities of India. The chief government in India was to consist of a governor-general and a council of three, of whom the commander-in-chief of the forces for the time being was to be one, and to have a voice and precedence next after the governor-general; but the said commander-in-chief was not to succeed as governor-general in the event of a death or vacancy, unless by a special appointment of the court of directors. The constitution of the government of the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay was the same as at Bengal, and at both the governor had, like the governor-general, a casting-vote in council. But these two minor presidencies were placed completely under the rule of the governor-general in council, on all points connected with their relations or negotiations with the country powers, peace or war, and the application of their revenues and military forces. These subordinate presidencies were strictly prohibited from making war or peace without orders from the governor-general at Calcutta, or from the court of directors, or the secret committee at home, except only in cases of sudden emergency or imminent danger, when it would be ruinous or unsafe to postpone such hostilities or treaties. The supreme government at Calcutta was to be intrusted with the power of suspending the governors of Madras and Bombay in case of any disobedience of orders; but the power of war and peace was now to be restrained even in the supreme government at Calcutta, it being declared by this act that, as the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honour, and the policy of the British nation, it was not lawful for the governor-general in council, without the express authority of the court of directors or of the secret committee, to commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the native princes or states in India, or into any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of such princes or states, except when hostilities had been commenced or preparations actually made for the attack of the British nation in India, or of some of the states and princes whose dominions the British nation was engaged by subsisting treaties to protect and defend. The right of recall was vested wholly in the crown:* the king was to have power to recall the governor-general or any other officer of the company; and, if the court of directors did not within two months nominate to vacancies which might occur in any of the principal charges or employments, such as governor-general, governor, commander-in-chief, or member of council, then the crown became possessed of the right to make such nomination. The patronage of India, by this bill, was left to the directors, but with material deductions; for the king was to name the commander-in-chief, who was always to be second in council; and the governor-general, governors of Madras and Bombay, and members of all the three councils, were subject to the approbation of the king, who was to have the power of recalling any or all of them. The secret

* The directors were soon made to feel that this right of recall was pretty nearly tantamount to the right of nomination. In the month of October, 1784, before Pitt's bill was two months old, the directors appointed Mr. Holland, an old servant, who had been long at Madras and was reputed to have ability, integrity, and an extensive knowledge of the country, to succeed Lord Macartney in the government of that part of India, in case of his lordship's resignation, death, or removal. The board of control objected to the choice. The court of directors persisted in their appointment, and intimated that the board of control were meddling in a matter that did not belong to them, inasmuch as by the late act the power of appointing to such places rested with the directors. Hereupon the board of control said:—"If the reasons which we have adduced do not satisfy the court of directors, we have certainly no right to control their opinion." But at the same time they informed Mr. Holland that if he accepted the appointment and went to India, he would be recalled the moment he got there. This settled the dispute; and Mr. Dundas was allowed to nominate Sir Archibald Campbell, who, whatever were his other qualifications, had the merit of being Dundas's friend.

committee, which in effect was to share nearly all power with the board of control, was to be chosen by the directors, and not to exceed the number of three. By the clause in which the commissioners or board of control was authorised in all cases requiring secrecy to transmit their orders through this secret committee of three without communicating them to the court of directors, and to receive answers under the same concealment, the board of control and the committee of secrecy could interrupt and suspend, as often as they thought proper, the power of the court of directors. In fact, as far as related to all the higher functions of government in India, the court of directors was reduced to three, and these three, in conjunction with the president of the board of control, formed the executive. The greatest outcry raised against Fox's India Bill was that it went to increase in a most dangerous degree the influence of the minister.* As Pitt's bill followed so closely on that scheme, and as all the exclamations and declamations made by himself and his party were fresh in the public mind, it was incumbent on him to shun as much as possible any appearance of an intention to increase the ministerial patronage, or that most envied part of it which lay in the distribution of new places of great profit. Hence no salaries were annexed to the offices of president or member of the board of control, Pitt pretending and openly stating, to serve the purpose of the moment, that these offices might always be filled without any increase of expense to the nation, or of influence to the crown, by individuals holding other places of profit. So glaring an anomaly as that of public men doing double duty without double pay must have shocked the tenderest sensibilities of many members of both Houses; and every one that reflected on this new constitution for the India Company, and on the extent of difficult and important business it put into the hands of the board of control, must have foreseen that so much work would not long be done for nothing. Burke, who is generally believed to have had more to do in the composition of the unfortunate India Bill brought in by the coalition than Fox, whose name it bears, declared that Pitt's bill in reality vested in the crown an influence paramount to any that had been created by Mr. Fox's bill—that it put the whole East India Company into the hands of the crown. Fox said,—"By whom is this board of superintendents to be appointed? Is it not by his majesty? . . . . Is not this giving power to the sovereign for the ends of influence, and for the extension of that system of corruption which has been so justly reprobated? . . . . The last parliament, to their immortal honour, voted the increasing influence of the crown to be inconsistent with public liberty. The right honourable gentleman, in consequence of that vote, finds the influence probably unequal to the great objects of his administration. He is therefore willing to take the present opportunity of making his court where he knows our late doctrine will never be acceptable; and the plain language of the whole matter now is, that the patronage of India must be appended to the executive power of this country, which otherwise will not be able to carry on schemes hostile to the constitution, in opposition to the House of Commons." And, indeed, it can scarcely be denied that Pitt's bill gave as much influence and patronage to the crown as Fox's bill would have given to parliament; but, as, by the rejected bill, parliament was only to name the board of seven directors in the first instance, the power would in four years have reverted to the crown, so that the operation of the two bills in increasing the power of the crown would have been pretty nearly equal. Fox did not indeed propose the creation of a board of control out of the members of his majesty's privy council; but the seven supreme and controlling directors named by the king could not be less dependent on the crown than the members of the privy council selected by his majesty to be a board of control. In either case the influence of the crown would be nearly the same; but, in other points of view, Pitt's scheme seems preferable to that of Fox. It had, for example, become essential that there should be, at least in all political matters, such as wars, treaties, &c., a perfect accordance between the government at home and the government in India; and that the two should not be pulling different ways, as they had so often done, not less to the dishonour than to the loss of the nation, and not less to the disgrace of the home government than to the danger of the governor-general, governors, and councils in India. Now, the only way of securing this perfect accordance was to blend the two governments, and to put at the head of them, with an ample controlling power in India, men who were members of the British administration, or—as happened almost immediately after—a man who was in fact king's secretary of state for Indian affairs, and one of the most essential parts of the national administration. It is altogether beyond our ingenuity to conjecture how the Indian executive could have been reduced to a proper working number, or how the agreement and concord between the national government and the company, and its servants in India, could possibly have been brought about, without increasing the power and influence either of the crown or of the parliament. In which hands, for the greater benefit of the liberties of the nation, the deposit ought to have been made, we will not determine; but it appears to us that the surest way to throw the affairs of India into hopeless confusion, and eventually to lose our empire in the East, would have been to have left it wholly dependent on the

* In the debate on Fox's motion for leave to bring in his India Bill, Pitt had said, among other things still more pointed: "Was it not the principal and declared object of this bill, that the whole system of Indian government should be placed in *seven persons*, and those under *the immediate appointment of no other than the minister himself*?" In a subsequent debate he had said that he objected to the bill, "because it created a new and enormous influence by vesting *in certain nominees of the minister* all the patronage of the East." But Pitt's exquisite alarms about the crown and constitution all subsided when these *seven men*—soon reduced, in effect, to *four*—were to be appointed *solely by himself*; when the three directors and the members of the privy council were to be, to all intents and purposes, *his own nominees*.

conflicting votes of a popular assembly, not exempt from the ordinary vices and passions of mankind, not self-denying patriots or martyrs, but, at the time, rather unhappily distinguished by what Oliver Cromwell called "self-seeking."

The enormous debts of Mohammed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic, or, as he was more commonly called in England, "the Nabob of Arcot," had been several times the subject of parliamentary discussion, and had for a long time excited the atten-

Nabob of Arcot. From a Painting by Willison.

tion of the nation, who had been taught to believe that the greater part of the claims of the nabob's creditors were fictitious and fraudulent. Mr. Macpherson, a man of intrigue and ability, had come over to England as far back as the year 1768, to plead the cause of the Indian prince with the English ministry, but in a secret and underhand way. To the Duke of Grafton, who was then at the head of the cabinet, the acute Isle-of-Skye man represented that the nabob had personal merits as a statesman and gentleman; that Great Britain owed the rise of her power in India chiefly to him; that he was treated with indignity, and even tyranny, by the company; and that the servants of the company claimed from him sums of money which he did not owe. Macpherson employed his pen, which was a good one, in advocating the cause of the nabob in many publications; he offered bribes or presents to the minister—Grafton, that compound of villany and violence according to Junius and John Wilkes—who refused to accept them; he offered bribes to the minister's secretary, but he also rejected them; and he next offered to advance seventy lacs of rupees, or even more, to the minister, as a loan for the public service, at the low interest of two per cent., but this also was declined. Either to rid themselves of a troublesome opponent, or from a sense of his very great address and abilities, the company promoted instead of dismissing this intriguing servant; and from the time that Macpherson had attained the rank of a member of the supreme council of Calcutta, he had ceased to care about the surcharged debts and grievances of the Nabob of Arcot. The select committee of the House of Commons not only expressed their disapprobation of Macpherson's appointment, but accused him of having, by his "flattering delusions," encouraged extravagant hopes and expectations in the nabob of becoming an independent prince; and this, they said, had disturbed the peace of India, shaken the lawful government of the company at Madras, &c. There were other recondite passages into which we cannot enter, in this almost interminable business. "The debts of the Nabob of Arcot," "the Nabob of Arcot's debts," were sounds that rang through the land session after session, year after year, like some mysterious *Shibboleth*; and in every bill, in nearly every discussion on Indian affairs, it was said, and by every party in turn, that something must be done to effect a settlement, and to check a progressive increase, by interest and compound interest, by agencies, brokerages, and additions of all kinds, that bade fair to rival the national debt of Great Britain. Dundas, in his scheme for the management of Indian affairs, had proposed that the governor-general and the council "should take into consideration the present state of the affairs of the Nabob of Arcot, and inquire into and ascertain the origin, nature, and amount of his just debts;" and then take the most speedy and effectual measures for discharging them. Fox's India bill contained a clause to the same effect, together with a provision to prevent those evils in future, by declaring it "unlawful for any servant, civil or military, of the company, to be engaged in the borrowing or lending of any money, or in any money transactions whatsoever, with any protected or other native prince." Pitt's India Bill was still more explicit. The clause in it was—"Whereas very large sums of money are claimed to be due to British subjects by the Nabob of Arcot, ... be it enacted, that the court of directors shall, as soon as may be, take into consideration the origin and justice of the said demands; and that they shall give such orders to their presidencies and servants abroad for completing the investigation thereof, as the nature of the case shall require; and for establishing, in concert with the nabob, such fund for the discharge of those debts which shall appear to be justly due, as shall appear consistent with the rights of the company, the security of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the said nabob."

As this bill, and all the parts of it, had become law, and as further delay seemed impracticable or dangerous, the court of directors proceeded to act upon it, considering that, by the words of the clause, which mentioned nothing about the board of control, first called into existence by this bill, it was clearly and wholly devolved upon them; nor do the words of the clause admit of any other interpretation. Accordingly the directors drew up a set of instructions for their presidencies and servants in India, to inquire into the origin and justice of the said demands, &c.; and they transmitted copies of these instructions to the board of control merely for approbation: but, to their astonishment and consternation, the board of control, with the prepotent Dundas at its head (for he had assumed the lead immediately after the passing of Pitt's bill, although Lord Sydney, one of the secretaries of state, had been appointed to the office of president), took the whole matter into their own hands, and, with an intrepidity in injustice which has not often been surpassed, commanded and decreed that the Nabob of Arcot's debts should be admitted *in toto*, without any inquiry at all. Dundas said, in this famous decree, that they were also to be discharged *in toto;* but to extract payment for such enormous sums was beyond his power and the limited duration of the life of man. The debts were divided by the board of control into three classes; and twelve lacs annually were to be set apart by the nabob or by the company administering for him, to pay interest for, and to go to the gradual liquidation of, the said debts. The current interest was to vary from six to ten and twelve per cent. The court of directors, whose hostility to Fox had materially contributed to place Pitt and Dundas in their proud pre-eminence, and who had expected a large return of ministerial gratitude—so credulous at times are the most practised politicians—concealed their rage, and mildly represented to the board of control that the debts ought to be examined before being admitted; that they considered the inquiry as left to them; that the portion of the debts owing to the company as a body ought certainly to be discharged before any private claims, &c.: they submitted to the consideration of the board whether inquiry could have done any harm; and they said, with a little more boldness, that their duty required them to state their strongest dissent to the appropriation of the twelve lacs of rupees per annum by the board. They represented that the nabob had, long before the passing of the act, agreed to pay them seven lacs per annum in liquidation of their arrears; and they declared that, until their own debts should be discharged, they could by no means consent to give up any part of the seven lacs to the private creditors.* This correspondence between the court of directors and the board of control passed in the autumn of 1784. Soon after the re-assembling of parliament, Fox, not without a little malicious exultation at the woful discovery made by the directors, that they had caught a Tartar in Dundas, moved that the directions for inquiry, &c., which had been transmitted to India by the court of directors, should be laid before the House. The foulest motives were attributed to the great manager of the board of control in rescinding those instructions. Dundas undertook the defence of the board of control, which was his own defence. He maintained that the conduct of the board had been within the strict letter of the statute (Pitt's bill), inasmuch as that board was enabled by a clause in the act to originate orders in cases of urgent necessity, and to direct their being transmitted to India; nor had the orders of the board about the nabob's debts been given till after a careful and *sufficient* examination into the subject and the justice of the claims. He contended that the papers in the company's records at the India House—which by the way Dundas had hardly seen, even at a distance—contained as full information on every transaction relating to the nabob's debts as the court of directors could ever hope to receive. He next proceeded to justify all the claims made on the nabob, merely hinting that inquiry would still be open as to some of the private creditors. (This last hint, however, differed widely from the official letter of the board of control, which indicated no such possibility of inquiry, but affirmed—1. That it was inexpedient to keep the nabob's debts longer afloat; 2. That the final conclusion of the business would tend to promote tranquillity; and 3. That the debts were admitted, inasmuch as the debtor, Mohammed Ali, had concurred with the creditors in establishing the validity of their claims.) Dundas concluded with cautioning the House, if they wished to have an established government in India, not to suffer themselves to imbibe prejudices against a board that was but newly instituted, and not to interfere with the *executive power on all frivolous occasions*. Mr. Smith, the chairman of the court of directors, said that some of the private debts ordered to be paid by the board of control, without inquiry, might be just and unexceptionable; but that others were of a very different complexion. He might be supposed to know as much of the records at the India House as the recently appointed board of control could possibly know; and he was of opinion that they did not contain all the information required. Smith was followed by Sir Thomas Rumbold, the late governor of Madras, whom Dundas had previously threatened with impeachment or a bill of pains and penalties. Rumbold threw suspicion on nearly all the debts public or private—the old debt of 1767, the cavalry loan of 1777, and the consolidated debt of the same year, which last, he said, swallowed up all the others, by its magnitude and enormity. Many of the sums, he affirmed, had been lent to the nabob, in direct contradiction to the standing orders of the company, which prohibited their servants from lending money to the princes of the country; and he added that he believed this was not the worst circumstance attending that particu-

* Appendix to Burke's Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

lar debt. But the impression made by these two speeches was nothing compared to the effect produced by Burke, who rose on this evening—the 28th of February, 1785—to deliver his wonderful speech "on the Nabob of Arcot's debts." Under the touch of this great master the crooked figures of accounts turned into glorious figures of rhetoric; and a subject as dry as the sand of the desert became interesting, succulent, and full of life, like the luxuriant vegetation of some Indian valley. Where Pitt was to be humbled and Dundas exposed, there could scarcely be a want of the vehement and denunciatory parts of eloquence, which are esteemed by some the parts that most constitute a great orator:—"The times we live in, Mr. Speaker," said Burke, "have been distinguished by extraordinary events. Habituated, however, as we are, to uncommon combinations of men and affairs, I believe nobody recollects anything more surprising than the spectacle of this day. The right honourable gentleman (Dundas) whose conduct is now in question formerly stood forth in this House the prosecutor of the worthy baronet who spoke after him (Rumbold). He charged him with several grievous acts of malversation in office, with abuses of a public trust of a great and heinous nature. In less than two years we see the situation of the parties reversed: and a singular revolution puts the worthy baronet in a fair way of returning the prosecution in a recriminatory bill of pains and penalties, grounded on a breach of public trust, relative to the government of the very same part of India. If he should undertake a bill of that kind, he will find no difficulty in conducting it with a degree of skill and vigour fully equal to all that have been exerted against him.* But the change of relation between these two gentlemen is not so striking as the total difference of their deportment under the same unhappy circumstances. Whatever the merits of the worthy baronet's defence might have been, he did not shrink from the charge. He met it with manliness of spirit, and decency of behaviour. What would have been thought of him if he had held the present language of his old accuser? When articles were exhibited against him by that right honourable gentleman, he did not think proper to tell the House that we ought to institute no inquiry, to inspect no paper, to examine no witness. He did not tell us (what at that time he might have told us with some show of reason) that our concerns in India were matters of delicacy; that to divulge anything relative to them would be mischievous to the state. He did not tell us that those who would inquire into his proceedings were disposed to dismember the empire. He had not the presumption to say that, for his part, having obtained, in his Indian presidency, the ultimate object of his ambition, his honour was concerned in executing with integrity the trust which had been legally committed to his charge; that others, not having been so fortunate, could not be so disinterested; and therefore their accusations could spring from no other source than faction, and envy to his fortune. Had he been frontless enough to hold such vain, vapouring language in the face of a grave, a detailed, a specified matter of accusation, whilst he violently resisted everything which could bring the merits of his cause to the test; had he been wild enough to anticipate the absurdities of this day—that is, had he inferred, as his late accuser has thought proper to do, that he could not have been guilty of malversation in office for this curious reason, that he had been in office; had he argued the impossibility of his abusing his power on this sole principle, that he had power to abuse, he would have left but one impression on the mind of every man who heard him and who believed him in his senses—that, in the utmost extent, he was guilty of the charges." But it was for the House to consider whether the chancellor of the exchequer and his friend the treasurer of the navy, acting as a board of control, were justified by law or policy in suspending the legal arrangements for inquiry made by the court of directors, in order to transfer the public revenues to the private emolument of certain servants of the company without the inquiry prescribed by parliament. He maintained that the board of control had no right whatsoever to intermeddle in that business; that the intermeddling of ministers was a downright usurpation, and a forcing themselves into a very suspicious office, which every man delicate as to his character would rather have sought to avoid. He maintained that the court of directors, in transmitting their instructions to India to institute an inquiry on the spot, had done no more than what they were absolutely bound to do by the clause in Pitt's India act; that it was not a case of option, but of necessity, with them; that they could not, had they wished, have done otherwise than obey the letter of the bill. It had been objected, over and over again, that gentlemen living all their lives in England could not comprehend the labyrinths of Indian affairs. "But," exclaimed Burke, "on

* The charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold, late governor of Madras, &c., and assuredly a corrupt and mercenary man, had been sufficiently heavy. The company, discovering, among other particulars, that, though his salary and emoluments did not exceed 20,000*l.* a-year, he had remitted to Europe as savings made in less than three years 164,000*l.*, dismissed him from their service in 1781, together with four members of the council of Fort St. George. In April, 1782, Dundas, as chairman of the secret committee, had presented such a report and made such a speech against Sir Thomas, that it was impossible to avoid criminal proceedings. Accordingly, some months after, Dundas himself had been allowed to draw up articles of charge, and to bring in a bill of pains and penalties for high crimes and misdemeanors committed by the said Sir Thomas Rumbold. But Rumbold had made an able defence, and, as the House grew weary of the business, and were agitated by the war of parties, the bill had been neglected, and after the dismissal of the coalition ministry a motion had been carried for adjourning the further consideration of the bill for six *months*; and so the whole matter was let drop just at the time when Dundas, the original prosecutor, by coming into power with Pitt, might have continued the prosecution with sure effect. As long as the Rockingham party or the coalition had been in office, Dundas had bitterly complained of obstacles thrown in the path of justice, of the thin attendance and the indifference of the House to the delinquencies of Rumbold. It was impossible that all these circumstances should not give rise to rumours very unfavourable to Dundas. One of these rumours, as reported by Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, was that Sir Thomas Rumbold entered into a very close connexion with Rigby, who was the intimate friend of Dundas, and, though no longer in office, "still possessed great capacities of being useful, and was not supposed to lie under the dominion of any fastidious scruples."

any specific matter of delinquency you are as capable of judging as if the same thing were done at your own door. Fraud, injustice, oppression, peculation, engendered in India, are crimes of the same blood, family, and caste with those that are born and bred in England. To go no further than the case before us: you are just as competent to judge whether the sum of FOUR MILLIONS STERLING ought or ought not to be passed from the public treasury into a private pocket, without any title except the claim of the parties, when the issue of facts is laid in Madras as when it is laid in Westminster." He called the nabob's debts "a gigantic phantom of debt," "a prodigy that would have filled any common man with superstitious fears." Any man but the confident young minister "would have exorcised that shapeless, nameless form, and, by everything sacred, would have adjured it to tell by what means a small number of slight individuals, of no consequence or situation, possessed of no lucrative offices, without the command of armies, or the known administration of revenues, without profession of any kind, without any sort of trade sufficient to employ a pedler, could have, in a few years (as to some, even in a few months), amassed treasures equal to the revenues of a respectable kingdom? Was it not enough to put these gentlemen, in the noviciate of their administration, on their guard, and to call upon them for a strict inquiry (if not to justify them in a reprobation of those demands without any inquiry at all), that, when all England, Scotland, and Ireland had for years been witness to the immense sums laid out by the servants of the company in stocks of all denominations, in the purchase of lands, in the buying and building of houses, in the securing quiet seats in parliament, or in the tumultuous riot of contested elections, in wandering throughout the whole range of those variegated modes of inventive prodigality which sometimes have excited our wonder, sometimes roused our indignation; *that, after all, India was four millions still in debt to them!*" He told Pitt and Dundas that, even if they had looked into the records at the India House, they would have found that there was not the concurrence of the great debtor with his creditors they spoke of; that in a letter to the court of directors, written by the nabob at the very period when the great body of these debts were contracting, they would have found that prince declaring that the company's servants were robbing him and the company at one and the same time.—"Your servants," said the nabob, "have no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages, yet in a few years they return to England with many lacs of pagodas. How can you or I account for such immense fortunes acquired in so short a time without any visible means of getting them?"—Dundas had made some sneering allusions to Fox's India Bill, and the way in which it dealt with the present question. "It is not necessary," exclaimed Burke, "that the right honourable gentleman should sarcastically call that time to my recollection. Well do I remember every circumstance of that memorable period. God forbid I should forget it! O illustrious disgrace! O victorious defeat! May your memorial be fresh and new to the latest generations! May the day of that generous conflict be stamped in characters never to be cancelled or worn out from the records of time! Let no man hear of us, who shall not hear that in a struggle against the intrigues of courts, and the perfidious levity of the multitude, we fell in the cause of honour, in the cause of our country, in the cause of human nature itself! But, if fortune should be as powerful over fame as she has been prevalent over virtue, at least our conscience is beyond her jurisdiction. My poor share in the support of that great measure no man shall ravish from me. It shall be safely lodged in the sanctuary of my heart; never, never to be torn from thence but with those holds that grapple it to life." He denied that these private debts were ever protected, or funds provided for them, by Fox's bill, which positively forbade any British subject to receive assignments upon any part of the territorial revenue of the nabob. He accused ministers of having wickedly put their hands in the public purse for this, and for transactions ten times worse than this. The motive, he said, was plain—it was to obtain *parliamentary influence*, that source of all our misgovernment, and of almost all our misery. To that influence everything was to be sacrificed by a remorseless administration. "Our wonderful minister, as you all know, formed a new plan, a plan *insigne, recens, indictum ore alio*—a plan for supporting the freedom of our constitution by court intrigues, and for removing its corruptions by Indian delinquency. To carry that bold paradoxical design into execution sufficient funds and apt instruments became necessary. You are perfectly sensible that a parliamentary reform occupies his thoughts day and night. In his anxious researches upon this subject, natural instinct, as well as sound policy, would direct his eyes and settle his choice on Paul Benfield.* Paul Benfield is the grand parliamentary reformer, the reformer to whom the

* This money-getting man enjoyed but an indifferent reputation for honour or honesty. Terrible things had been related of him in committees of the House of Commons, and afterwards published in parliamentary reports, &c. The select committee at Fort St. George had, in 1783, accused him of almost every possible rascality in his transactions in the Carnatic, and with the nabob in particular. They said that, to secure the permanency of his own power and profit, he had kept the nabob an absolute stranger to the state of his affairs; that he had kept the accounts and correspondence in the English language, which neither the nabob nor his son could read; that he had surrounded the nabob on every side, keeping him totally at his mercy, and "*making him believe what was not true, and subscribe to what he did not understand.*" They solemnly declared, not as parties in a cause, or even as voluntary witnesses, but as executive officers in the discharge of their duty, and under the impression of the sacred obligation which bound them to truth and justice, that Paul Benfield and his creatures had prosecuted projects to the injury and danger of the company and individuals, and that it would be improper to trust and dangerous to employ them any longer. Mr. Petrie, late resident at Tanjore, on his examination before the select committee of the Commons, deposed to the facts that Paul Benfield had abused his authority, and had been a great extortioner. Being asked whether he was not informed by the rajah or by others, that Mr. Benfield, while he managed the revenues of Tanjore, treated the inhabitants with great rigour? he said, he did hear from the rajah that Mr. Benfield *did treat the inhabitants with rigour.* In reply to other questions Mr. Petrie alleged that Benfield had often treated the Rajah of Tanjore, the Nabob of Arcot, and the nabob's eldest son, in a very harsh manner.

whole choir of reformers bow, and to whom even the right honourable gentleman himself must yield the palm: for what region in the empire, what city, what borough, what county, what tribunal in this kingdom is not full of Paul's labours? Others have been only speculators—he is the grand practical reformer; and, whilst the chancellor of the exchequer pledges in vain the man and the minister to increase the provincial members, Mr. Benfield has auspiciously and practically begun it. Leaving far behind even Lord Camelford's generous design of bestowing Old Sarum on the Bank of England, Mr. Benfield has thrown in the borough of Cricklade to reinforce the county representation. Not content with this, in order to station a steady phalanx for all future reforms, this public-spirited usurer, amidst his charitable toils for the relief of India, did not forget the poor rotten constitution of his native country. For her he did not disdain to stoop to the trade of a wholesale upholsterer for this House, to furnish it, not with the faded tapestry figures of antiquated merit, such as decorate, and may reproach, some other houses, but with real, solid, living patterns of true modern virtue. Paul Benfield made (not reckoning himself) no fewer than eight members in the last parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have transfused into the veins of the present! But what is even more striking than the real services of this new-imported patriot, is his modesty. As soon as he had conferred this benefit on the constitution, he withdrew himself from our applause. He conceived that the duties of a member of parliament might be as well attended to in India as in England, and the means of reformation to parliament itself be far better provided. Mr. Benfield was therefore no sooner elected than he set off for Madras, and defrauded the longing eyes of parliament. We have never enjoyed in this House the luxury of beholding that minion of the human race, and contemplating that visage which has so long reflected the happiness of nations." But, though Paul was gone to India, he had left his representative and exact resemblance behind him in that grand contractor Mr. Richard Atkinson—" a name that will be well remembered as long as the records of this House, as long as the records of the British treasury, as long as the monumental debt of England shall endure." " This gentleman, Sir," continued Burke, " acts as attorney for Mr. Paul Benfield. Every one who hears me is well acquainted with the sacred friendship, the steady mutual attachment, that subsists between him and the present minister." He would not, he said, determine how much Mr. Richard Atkinson had been consulted in the original frame and fabric of the bill commonly called Mr. Pitt's India bill; but the public was an indignant witness of the ostentation with which that measure was made his own, and the authority with which he brought up clause after clause, to stuff and fatten that corrupt act. These clauses were all received by the new minister with implicit submission: the reformation might be estimated by seeing who was the reformer; and Paul Benfield's associate and agent was held up to the world as legislator for Hindustan. Burke next proceeded to couple more closely the Indian interest and the parliamentary majority which Pitt had so suddenly obtained by the general election in the preceding year; and though, as we have stated, the unpopularity of the coalition ministry and other causes were in operation, few men will now doubt but that an immense influence was exercised by the richest of the nabobs, and by others not quite so rich, in favour of the young premier. " But," said Burke, " it was necessary to authenticate the coalition between the man of intrigue in India and the minister of intrigue in England, by a studied display of the power of this their connecting link (Atkinson). Every trust, every honour, every distinction was to be heaped upon him. He was at once made a director of the India Company; made an alderman of London; and to be made, if ministers could prevail (and I am sorry to say how near, how very near, they were prevailing), representative of the capital of this kingdom. But to secure his services against all risk, he was brought in for a ministerial borough. His advertisements show his motives and the merits upon which he stood. For your minister this worn-out veteran submitted to enter into the dusty field of the London contest; and you all remember that in the same virtuous cause he submitted to keep a sort of public office or counting-house, where the whole business of the last general election was managed. It was openly managed by the direct agent and attorney of Benfield. It was managed upon Indian principles, and for an Indian interest. This was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornications of rapine, usury, and oppression, which was held out by the gorgeous Eastern harlot, which so many of the people, *so many of the nobles*, of this land have drained to the very dregs. Do you think that no reckoning was to follow this lewd debauch—that no payment was to be demanded for this riot of public drunkenness and national prostitution? Here! you have it here before you! The principal of the grand election-manager must be indemnified: accordingly the claims of Benfield and his crew must be put above all inquiry! For several years Benfield has appeared as the chief proprietor, as well as the chief agent, director, and controller of this system of debt. The worthy chairman of the company has stated the claims of this single gentleman on the Nabob of Arcot as amounting to 500,000*l*." But Burke went on to show that the debts or claims of the great Paul were continually varying in their dimensions, expanding, and contracting, and then expanding again, according to circumstances, now sleeping under one rate of interest, and now waking to clutch some four or six per cent. additional interest. According to the orator's calculation, by the scheme now adopted by ministers, the smallest of the sums ever mentioned for Mr. Benfield would form a capital of

592,000*l.*, at the interest (fixed at last) at six per cent.* "Thus," said he, "besides the arrears of three years, amounting to 106,500*l.* (which as fast as received may be legally lent out at twelve per cent.), Benfield receives by the ministerial grant an annuity of 35,520*l.* a-year. . . . Here is a specimen of the new and pure aristocracy created by the right honourable gentleman (Pitt), as the support of the crown and constitution against the old, corrupt, refractory, natural interests of this kingdom; and this is the grand counterpoise against all odious coalitions of these interests. A single Benfield outweighs them all!" † After giving many details of this dark transaction—and his assertions were never satisfactorily answered—after holding up to scorn the education, the manners, the meannesses of the great Paul, Burke concluded:—"I believe, after this exposure of facts, no man can entertain a doubt of the collusion of ministers with the corrupt interest of the delinquents in India. . . . I have thus laid before you, Mr. Speaker, I think with sufficient clearness, the connexion of the ministers with Mr. Atkinson at the late general election; I have laid open to you the connexion of Atkinson with Benfield; I have shown Benfield's employment of his wealth in creating a parliamentary interest to procure a ministerial protection; I have set before your eyes Benfield's large concern in the debt, his practices to hide that concern from the public eye, and the liberal protection which he has received from the minister. If this chain of circumstances does not lead you necessarily to conclude that the minister has paid to the avarice of Benfield the services done by Benfield's connexions to his ambition, I do not know anything short of the confession of the party that can persuade you of his guilt." But votes in the House of Commons were submissive to other influences than those of astounding eloquence and still more astounding facts; and Fox and Burke were out-voted by a majority of nearly one hundred—the numbers being 164 against 69. But out of doors—for Burke immediately published his speech, with a copious appendix of facts and parliamentary reports—the effect produced was tremendous. Many men were made to doubt whether the young premier was a "heaven-born minister," and imputations were heaped upon Dundas, from which he never escaped during the rest of his public life. ‡ The nabob's debts, classed or lumped, were all to be discharged in process of time; and the high interest upon them was guaranteed and secured by the faith of the British government. If they are all discharged even now, it is but a few years since there was still, under the wing of the treasury, a snug little office with two or three gentlemen with large salaries for doing nothing, and three or four clerks with small salaries for doing little, charged with the interminable examination of accounts for the liquidation of the Nabob of Arcot's debts. The diminished phantom will be seen flitting across the stage more than once ere this reign closes; but to assist in the formation of an idea as to the extent of the audacity of the Pitt administration in admitting all the claims of the Paul Benfields and others, it may be well to mention in this place what happened under other administrations between the years 1805 and 1815. The commissioners appointed by act of parliament in 1805 to examine and decide upon the claims of the private creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, had, by the month of November, 1814, adjudicated on claims to the amount of 20,390,570*l.*, of which only 1,346,796*l.* were admitted as good, all the others, to the amount of 19,043,774*l.*, being rejected as bad!

It was about six weeks after this great debate, in which Burke so happily described Paul Benfield as the greatest of parliamentary reformers, that Pitt appeared for the last time in that character. With the recollection of Burke's great speech it must have been difficult for the premier and some others to keep their countenances, as Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament, &c.* The representation of the people was left as it was, the motion being nothing but a grand sham; but in the course of the year 1786, before Pitt's India bill was two years old, it was found necessary to explain and amend it by three new bills, introduced by the minister and his friend Dundas. The first of these bills freed the governor-general from his dependence upon the majority of his council—a dependence which Hastings had found so irksome, and at times so dangerous—by enabling him to act, in extraordinary cases, by himself and on

* Paul Benfield was not so green in these practices as to keep all these shares or claims of debt in his own hands or under his own name. They were assigned over, or, as Burke said, "the general corps of creditors, as well as Mr. Benfield himself, not looking well into futurity, nor presaging the minister of this day, thought it not expedient that such a name as his should stand at the head of their list. It was therefore agreed amongst them that Mr. Benfield should disappear by making over his debt to Messrs. Taylor, Majendie, and Call, and should in return be secured by their bond."

† Here Burke spoilt one of the best parts of his admirable speech, by one of his offensive outbreaks of grossness and bad taste: he added, as descriptive of Benfield and the fate he merited—"A criminal *who long since ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal* is by his majesty's ministers enthroned in the government of a great kingdom, and enfeoffed with an estate which, in the comparison, effaces the splendour of all the nobility of Europe."

‡ To some of the vulgar imputations Burke's speech certainly gave no countenance. He did not mean to imply that Pitt and Dundas were to go shares with Paul Benfield, or meddly to put any part of the money into their own pockets for their own private uses. He drew a strong distinction between two bad offences—both bad, but one more mean than the other. "I know," said he, "that ministers will think it little less than acquittal, that they are not charged with having taken to themselves some part of the money of which they have made so liberal a donation to their partisans. If I am to speak my private sentiments, I think that, in a thousand cases for one, it would be far less mischievous to the public (and full as little dishonourable to themselves) to be polluted with direct bribery, than thus to become a standing auxiliary to the oppression, usury, and peculation of multitudes, in order to obtain a corrupt support to their power. It is by bribing, not so often by being bribed, that wicked politicians bring ruin on mankind. Avarice is a rival to the pursuits of many. It finds a multitude of checks and many opposers in every walk of life. But the objects of ambition are for the few; and every person who aims at indirect profit, and therefore wants other protection than innocence and law, instead of its rival becomes its instrument; there is a natural allegiance and fealty due to this domineering paramount evil from all the vassal vices which acknowledge its superiority, and readily militate under its banners: and it is under that discipline alone that avarice is able to spread to any considerable extent, or to render itself a general public mischief. It is, therefore, no apology for ministers that they have not been bought by the East India delinquents."

* On April 18th (1785): See ante, p. 6.

his own personal responsibility, after the opinions of the members of the council, and the reasons with which they supported them, had been duly heard and put upon record. The same bill gave the same discretionary powers to the governors of Madras and Bombay; but it gave the power only to such governor-general or governors as were specifically appointed at home, and not to their casual successors in case of death, &c.; and it did not extend the discretionary power to cases of a judicial nature, or to the alteration of any established regulations for the civil government of the British settlements. It also enabled the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief to be united in the same person. This was done in order to keep the military power dependent upon the civil power, and so prevent the jealousies and conflicting authorities of the two powers when separate. Burke made one of his most eloquent and vehement speeches against these innovations, which, he said, were calculated and solely intended to establish an absolute despotism in India. Dundas said that despotism might exist in the hands of many as well as in the hands of one; and that the responsibility of the governor-general to parliament and the nation would be increased in exact proportion with the increase of his power. The second of these three acts was a sham—a barrel thrown to amuse that credulous whale the public; it repealed the clause in Pitt's original act which made necessary the approbation of the crown in the choice of the governor-general; but it left undisturbed the king's power of recall! The third of these amending acts was to repeal, as inquisitorial, and as contrary to the spirit of English law and liberty, that part of Pitt's original bill which bound the servants of the company, on their return home, to give in a schedule of the property they brought with them or had made in India. If there could have been a chance of obtaining correct schedules this might have proved an effectual check on rapacity and corruption. But this was clearly an impossibility, unless recourse were had to inquisitorial proceedings of the most odious kind. Indeed, it may be doubted whether any measures short of those employed upon the two old men at Fyzabad would, in some cases, have extracted an accurate account, or anything approaching to it. Either the clause must have remained a dead letter, or an excess of odium must have been produced without any benefit; and it was therefore proper to rescind it. In the course of the same session—in the month of June, 1786—another bill was carried, granting relief to the company, who had petitioned for it, and enabling them to raise money by the sale of 1,207,559*l.* 15*s.* of the 4,200,000*l.* which they had lent to the public; and also by adding 800,000*l.*, by new subscriptions, to their capital stock.

In the mean time Hastings had not been recalled, but had resigned. The two last years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity which had not been known for ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Notwithstanding some great exploits, like Rodney's victory and Elliot's defence of Gibraltar, the war had been more dishonourable to England than any in which she had been engaged in modern times: America was lost—disasters had attended her flag almost everywhere else except in India, where her power and reputation were far greater at the end than they had been at the beginning of the war. Nor was it a vain boast in Hastings to say—"This is my work! Whatever else I have done, I have done this—I have rescued the Carnatic when at the last gasp; I have preserved and extended the British empire in the East!" No one in India, either native or British, doubted the fact. In the supreme council all opposition ceased or became of the mildest kind, and the records and protests of Clavering, Monson, and Francis were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that if their schemes had been followed India would have been lost, like America. At the interview at Chunar, Hastings had proposed—or, as he says, Asoff-ul-Dowla had requested—that there should be an annual meeting in Oude between the nabob and the governor-general, in order to settle any difficulties that might arise. Early in the year 1784 Major Palmer, who was commanding the troops there, represented the whole country of Oude as being in an alarming state that called for the presence of the governor-general. At the same time the nabob and his chief minister made similar representations, and implored Hastings to make a visit to Lucknow. The necessary consent of the council was obtained on the 16th of February, and on the following day the governor-general, who had not hitherto been so far up the country, set out for the capital of Oude. In passing through Benares he made some very necessary changes in the government or sub-government of that province, which had suffered severely by the insurrection and the short war of Cheyte Sing, and by the contributions levied afterwards. He arrived at Lucknow on the 27th of March, and staid there five months, busily engaged with the ministers of the nabob and the agents of other native princes. The poor Great Mogul, Shah Alum, was again a prisoner in the hands of the turbulent chiefs, at Delhi or somewhere in that neighbourhood; but his eldest son waited upon Hastings to solicit his protection, and the assistance of the company, in a plan he was entertaining, and which, we believe, was rather to secure the imperial dignity with some territory for himself, than to liberate his helpless, unhappy father. Hastings discovered in this young prince considerable ability and spirit, and a good knowledge of the affairs of the country; he treated him with high distinction, but did nothing for him beyond recom-

mending him to apply for aid to Scindia, the greatest of the Mahratta princes, who at that time kept his court at Agra, and was the friend and ally of the English. The application was made; and Scindia, though he did not go in person, sent his most confidential ministers to Lucknow to confer with the governor-general and the prince. The result of these conferences appears to have been, that Scindia was to assist the prince, and that the dominions of the Nabob of Oude and of the company were to be respected in any war that might take place. It is supposed that the governor-general clearly foresaw that the ambitious Mahratta would enter into this struggle only for his own benefit, and that he did not disapprove of his intention of making himself master of Delhi and all Upper India; but this conjecture is scarcely borne out by any evidence; and Hastings afterwards declared that, though he must have been a madman to have involved the company in a war with the Mahrattas on account of the Mogul or his son, he had never entered into any treaty or any negotiations with Scindia for delivering the Mogul into his hands. It, indeed, appears certain that the Mahratta wanted neither encouragement nor assistance from the company. It was quite enough for him that the English remained neutral; and this they had determined to do.* To prevent what followed in a very few months—that is to say, the alarming increase of the Mahratta power—Hastings, instead of being strictly bound by orders from home to preserve peace at all hazards, ought to have been empowered to renew the war on the Jumna, and ought to have had armies at his disposal strong enough to scour the Mahratta dominions and to occupy Delhi. His first business with the ministers of the Nabob of Oude was to procure more money, and he succeeded in obtaining a considerable sum. He agreed to relieve the nabob by withdrawing some more of the company's troops, for which that prince had all along been made to pay enormously. The court of directors having taken into consideration the insurrection at Benares, the treaty of Chunar, and the spoliation which had followed it, had been somewhat startled at the daring conduct of their governor-general, and, with a kind of half justice, had ordered that the jaghires of the Begums should be restored, taking care to say not one word touching their treasure, which had all been spent long ago.* In conformity with the commands of the board, Hastings ordered the jaghires to be given up; and the nabob, to use his own words, "went to Fyzabad for the express purpose of making a respectful tender of them in person to the Begums."† It is, however, quite certain that the nabob made but a very incomplete restitution, holding back for himself a large portion of the jaghires, and pretending that the Begums had made a *voluntary* concession of it to him.‡

On the 27th of August, Hastings left Lucknow, and, after staying some time at Benares, he continued his journey to Calcutta, where he arrived at the beginning of November. As far back as the month of March of the preceding year (1783), which was not only previous to the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill, to which his resignation has sometimes been attributed, but even previous to the bringing in of Fox's bill, Hastings had requested the court of directors to name his successor. Some time before undertaking his late journey to Lucknow, which was also many months before the news of Pitt's bill could reach India, he had sent home Mrs. Hastings, whose health was declining; and no one who knew his devotedness to his wife could doubt that in parting from her he had fully made up his mind to resign the government, and follow her as soon as possible. He now wrote to inform the directors that he was coming to England; and that, as a successor had not been appointed, his duties would be discharged, *pro tempore*, by Mr. Macpherson, senior member of the council. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes: by military officers, by the civil servants of the company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as by Europeans. If he had been an oppressor at Benares and in Oude, he had been, on the whole, a benefactor to the people of Bengal,

* Two facts are proved—1. That the court of directors did so determine. 2. That Hastings, who loved new adventures and enterprises, disliked their determination. In a letter written from Lucknow to Major Scott, his agent in London, the governor-general says, in very evident ill-humour:—"I desired powers to relieve the king (Shah Alum), declaring that I believed I could do it without hostility or expense, provided I had the power of the former, and that I would undertake nothing without a moral certainty of avoiding both.' They have 'exhorted me to avoid most sedulously and cautiously in my correspondence with the different princes of India whatever may commit, or be strained into an interpretation of committing, the company, either as to their arms or treasure.' These are their words, and they are fulsomely loud in their applause of the '*wisdom and sound policy*' of the company's orders against our interference 'in the objects of dispute between the country powers.' Yet they 'hope that I shall be enabled to effect the return of the Shazada to his father with safety and credit to the prince.' As if I could negotiate with my hands tied." What follows in the same letter is truly characteristic of Hastings:—"I have, however, stated the necessity of my having powers so strongly, that I think they will be perplexed to justify their refusal. Yet I know they will refuse, and sincerely hope they will; for, though I have urged this point with all the vehemence of a man whose heart is devoted to the point which he pursues, I have opposed my own interest, ease, and inclinations in it. Some good I will yet do, and may draw the means of it from the over-shot caution with which the instructions of the board are guarded."—*Letter, as given in Gleig's Life.*

* The letter of the board of directors is sufficiently curious; it shows that they had not given credit to Hastings's accounts of the rebellion of the two old ladies. "It nowhere appears," say they, "from the papers at present in our possession, that the Begums excited any commotions previous to the imprisonment of Cheyte Sing, and only armed themselves in consequence of that transaction; and it is probable that such a conduct proceeded from motives of self-defence, under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarrantable contributions." They therefore ordered that an inquiry should be made by the supreme council at Calcutta into the whole business, and that if, upon such inquiry, it should appear that the two ladies were not guilty, then their jaghires should be restored, and an asylum offered them in the company's territories. To order an inquiry by the council at Calcutta was, as the council was then constituted, very like ordering an inquiry by the governor-general himself into his own conduct. Hastings disregarded the order, and never instituted any inquiry. Besides, if the Begums were innocent, it would have been difficult to show why their money should not be restored as well as their estates.

† Letter to the council.

‡ Id.

who certainly regarded him with warm good will, and who had conceived a romantic or superstitious admiration of his fortune or luck, of his commanding yet conciliating manners, and of the splendour and pomp with which he always surrounded himself. They regarded him, in fact, in no other light than in that of their sovereign; and not a few shed tears at the thought of losing him. As to the civil servants of the company, many of them owed to him their appointments or promotions, and all had been impressed by his commanding ability and marvellous rapidity in business; but the admiration and affection of the army, for a mere civilian, was more extraordinary. They had been won by Hastings's new and bold conceptions at the beginning of the war, by the flattering confidence he always reposed in the troops, and by the honours and distinctions with which he treated them on all proper occasions. Thus, when the detachment of Colonel Pearse, which made the remarkable march from Calcutta to Madras, returned after an absence of five years, reduced from 5000 men to 2000, he heaped every distinction upon them: he visited them in their camp, and he passed them in review. Dressed in a plain blue coat, and with his head uncovered, he rode along the lines, producing as much excitement and enthusiasm as the most successful of generals could have done, though attended by all that dazzles and delights the eyes of soldiers, or all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war." One of his last public acts was the issuing of a general order to the army in Bengal, expressing, in forcible language, his sense of its past services, and affirming that there were no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise was not capable of surmounting. It was this conduct that made Hastings as dear to the army as to the other branches of the service. The dark faces of the sepoys looked darker at his departure. When he delivered up the keys of office, and walked down, a private man, to the place of embarkation, his friends and admirers formed a complete avenue, standing on either side of his path; many barges escorted him far down the Hooghly, and some friends did not leave him until the pilot left the ship, far out at sea. During his voyage, which was unusually short for those times, he amused himself with reading, and with writing verses; and in the course of the last novel occupation, he translated that well-known ode, wherein the Roman poet expresses his philosophic indifference to wealth and worldly grandeur, and his love of a humble retirement, with an ease not to be purchased by jewels nor by gold.* And of gold Hastings had comparatively but little. It has been calculated that he might with ease to himself have brought home from two to three millions sterling: what he brought was less than 130,000*l.*—was less than the fortunes which had been made by Barwell, and other members of the council—less than what the patriotic Francis had made in six years; and Hastings, who had been thirteen years a governor-general, had been altogether more than thirty years in India! Nor would he have had even this moderate fortune if it had not been for the forethought and management of his wife, who, it is said, accepted presents which he refused, and saved money in private corners which he would have spent in the public service in supporting the almost regal splendour of his establishment. He landed at Plymouth in the month of June, and posted up to London to court, confident of a good reception.

Notwithstanding some irregularities in her marriage, and the severity with which the queen was known to regard all lapses of that kind, Mrs. Hastings, on her arrival, had been received at court most graciously, and had been honoured by marks of her majesty's special favour. Such a relaxation of rigour provoked many comments not very favourable to Queen Charlotte.* People

* "Otium Divos rogat."—*Horace.*

The ode was inscribed to his friend Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.—See *Art. in Edin. Rev.*, No. cxlix., *on Gleig's Life of Hastings.*

* Hastings was twice married. His first wife, the widow of a Captain Campbell in the company's service, died in India, and two children she had by Hastings died in their infancy. On returning from England in 1769, as second in council at Fort St. George, Hastings found among his fellow-passengers on board the 'Duke of Grafton' a young and handsome German lady with her husband and two or three children. This husband, who had the style and title of Baron von Imhoff, was a native of Franconia, and in very reduced circumstances: he was going to Madras in the hope of bettering his fortune by painting portraits, or by such other means as might occur in a land abounding in rupees and pagodas. It seems to have been evident from the first that he cared little for his wife or his own honour, and that she did not attempt to conceal how little she cared for her husband. The lady was accomplished and graceful in no common degree: she was a fascinating woman even in her old age. Hastings admired her and became greatly attached. During the long passage he fell ill, and, during his illness, the baroness waited upon him day and night, administering his medicines with her own fair hand. This brought matters to their climax. On landing at Madras a good house and separate establishment were provided for the complaisant Franconian baron and his family, Hastings in the eyes of the world being nothing more than a frequent visitor and warm friend. But we hear no more of the portrait-painting scheme. Monsieur le Baron had entered into arrangements with the second in council and Madame la Baronne which would render such occupations unnecessary, and secure him a return to a cooler climate and a snug retreat in his own country. A suit for divorce was instituted by the lady in the courts of Franconia, the baron conniving, and Hastings oiling the slow wheels of the law. It appears to have been part of the agreement that the second in council should take the children as well as the wife. The reverend biographer of Mr. Hastings, who, after exonerating the lady and the lover, and even the *husband*, probably thinking it necessary to pay homage to established notions *somewhere*, blames the looseness of the laws of Protestant Germany in reference to the marriage contract, or the facility with which they grant sentences of divorce. It appears, however, that the suit lasted several years. In 1771, when Hastings removed from Madras to assume much higher functions at Calcutta, the baron and his wife—for they were still man and wife, and well conducted, *respectable* people in the eyes of society—went with him, and continued at Calcutta what the biographer calls "the same wise and judicious plan" they had followed at Madras. At last the tedious suit, which must have cost the governor of Bengal no small matter, came to an end; and a decree was received from the Franconian courts divorcing Imhoff from his wife. The baron forthwith left Calcutta with money enough to buy a good estate in "Protestant Germany," leaving his two sons behind him. To use again the words of the biographer, "the Baroness Imhoff became Mrs. Hastings, and the baron returned to his native country a richer man than he ever could have hoped to have become by the mere exercise of his skill as a painter." (Does Mr. Gleig mean this for a lesson and encouragement to future indifferent portrait painters with fascinating wives?)

The new marriage, which must have taken place some time in the year 1777, or some eight years after the first acquaintance on board the 'Duke of Grafton,' is said to have contributed to free the *lucky* governor-general from his dangerous rival or opponent General Clavering. "The event," says a recent article in the Edinburgh Review, "was celebrated by great festivities; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the government-house. Clavering, as the Mahommedan chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as it should seem, success in ambition and in love had put into high good humour, would take no denial. He went himself to the gene-

who fancied that the wife of the governor-general must be a congeries of diamonds and jewels accounted for the phenomenon by a very easy inductive process. But the "elegant Marian," as Hastings calls his wife in one of his letters to herself, was a graceful, accomplished, and engaging woman, and, what was more, she was a German. These circumstances, perhaps, may account for her majesty's unusual benignity, though we will not venture to say that the predilection for Mrs. Hastings may not have been warmed and increased by the present of a few diamonds and the splendid ivory bedstead, which made as much noise as the Trojan horse. Few women's hearts are proof to such emollients, and Queen Charlotte, with many good essential qualities, was rather fond of getting and hoarding. The reception of Hastings was not less gracious; the king treated him with distinction—a distinction to which the man that had saved India might lay some claim;—the whole court put on its blandest smile, and the governor-general felt by anticipation a coronet on his bald brow—made bald by cares and toils and the burning air of Bengal, rather than by years, for his age did not much exceed fifty. He knew indeed that his conduct had been arraigned in the House of Commons by all parties in turn, and by few men with more violence than by Pitt and Dundas, of whom the one was now prime minister and the other at the head of the board of control, with India and all her affairs subject to him. He knew that Burke had saluted his arrival by giving notice of a motion against him, and he had only to look at the daily papers for proofs of the injury which his character had sustained. Yet the applauses of his numerous friends, the blandishments of the court of St. James's, and the approbation of the court of directors, who had received him in a solemn sitting, and whose chairman had read him a vote of thanks for his great achievements, which had been passed without one dissenting voice,—his recollection of what much louder talk and longer debate had ended in, before now, in the House of Commons,—all lulled him into a happy security. When Lord North, after a thousand menaces and at least a hundred set speeches from Burke and Fox, had not been impeached for losing America, was it possible to expect that they would impeach him for saving India? When Lord Sandwich had escaped prosecution, was it likely that they would prosecute Warren Hastings? The elasticity of his own conscience had prevented any dint or wound being made upon it; and he firmly believed that the means he had employed were justified by the ends he had obtained, and that the most violent things he had done were not merely excusable, but laudable, considering the difficulties of the game and the high stakes that he and the company and the nation were playing for. He believed that his country would reproach him as little as his own conscience. In a letter, written two or three months after his arrival in England, he says—"I find myself everywhere and universally treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country." By this time the king had prorogued parliament, and Burke's menaces had not gone beyond the notice of motion. Hastings spent the recess at Cheltenham gaily with his wife, or only making a pleasant journey or two to settle for the purchase of Daylesford, a small part of the estates which had belonged to his ancestors in ages when Bengal was unknown. For, like Clive and other men who could boast a long pedigree, one of the first or most ardent wishes of the ex-governor-general on returning to his native land was to obtain possession of some of the ancestral acres, and to revive in the country the long-eclipsed honours of the family name.*

Parliament did not re-assemble until the 24th of January (1786). The first night was passing off in debating the address, in reviewing the mad struggles in Holland between the oligarchy and the democrats, and in censuring or defending the recent foreign policy of Mr. Pitt and his cabinet. Hastings and India seemed to be forgotten, when an officious member, who had often wearied the patience of the House, rose to put a question, through the Speaker, to Mr. Burke. This member, whose officiousness was not altogether a voluntary contribution, was Major John Scott,† whom the governor-general, by a remarkable mistake, had chosen some two or three years before, when accusations first began to thicken, to be his parliamentary champion and principal penman and pamphleteer. It has been hinted that he could not have found a more injudicious defender on any bench of the House of Commons, or a worse scribbler in Grub-street; but, in our opinion, his abilities were by no means so contemptible, though he was certainly wanting in tact, discretion, and parliamentary knowledge. It has been doubted whether, if Major Scott had never appeared within the walls of the House or exerted his pen for the ex-governor-general, Hastings would ever have been impeached at the bar of the Lords. This is allowing too much importance to injudicious speeches and pamphlets; but it is quite certain that Scott hurried on the proceedings. It was his harping that had helped to keep Burke's mind to the subject,

ral's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease—Clavering died a few days later." One of Imhoff's sons died young, but the other, assisted by the powerful patronage of the governor-general, rose to rank and distinction, which he is said to have merited, however, by his own excellent abilities and conduct. Mrs. Hastings, as such, was irreproachable. She appears to have conciliated the esteem of society in England. The worst that was said of her in Bengal was that she took presents with alacrity, without the connivance of Hastings, and that her private hoard amounted to several lacs of rupees; and of this, we believe, no proof was ever given.

* While in India Hastings had repeatedly instructed his attorney to keep his eye on this property, which belonged to Mr. Knight, a London merchant, whose family had possessed the domain for two generations. Hastings now offered far more than the place was worth, but Mr. Knight was not disposed to sell, and the descendant of the ancient lords of the soil did not acquire the property until August, 1788. In the mean while he bought a small estate, called Beaumont Lodge, on the skirts of Windsor Forest.—*Gleig. Life.*

† Better known, at a later period, as Major Scott Waring.

and to make that great orator exclaim towards the close of the late session, in giving his notice of motion, that, if no other member would undertake the business against "a gentleman just returned from India," he would. And the question the Major now put in a tone of defiance was, whether he intended to produce his charges? Thus braved, Burke could not do less than accept the challenge, and his party were bound to stand by him, although several of them were far from feeling any decided vocation for the laborious and invidious task of public accusers. Even Burke himself declared that "he was called upon and driven to the business." On the 17th of February he commenced operations with a call for papers and correspondence deposited at the India House. A notion had got abroad that the king and the whole court were devoted to Hastings, and that ministers had made up their minds to show him all possible favour. Burke, therefore, opened his speech by desiring that two of the resolutions which had been moved and carried on the 29th of May, 1782, by Dundas himself, and which contained an unmitigated censure on the conduct of Hastings, should be read. When this was done he tried to tie ministers, like bears to a stake, to their former votes and opinions —to opinions expressed in the heat and vehemence of opposition; and he told them that the task he was now undertaking would better become them as the authors of those extreme resolutions against the governor-general, and that it would particularly become Dundas, who had now all the powers and resources necessary for a complete examination as an influential member of the board of control. After uttering a terrible philippic against men whose notions of right and wrong varied according to their own circumstances, depending on their being out of office or in office—against men who could find everything wrong in India in 1782, and yet make no attempt to punish or correct in 1784—he said that the time was now come for the House to institute penal proceedings. There were, he said, three modes of proceeding against the great offender. The House might order a prosecution by the attorney-general, but to this mode he must object, because the person holding that office appeared unfriendly to the prosecution, so that no reliance could be put upon his exertions; because a jury would not be qualified to decide upon matters of this description; and because he considered the Court of King's Bench a tribunal radically unfit to be trusted in questions of a nature so extensive and so elevated. The House, again, might proceed by a bill of pains and penalties; but this mode he considered as unfair, as being attended with great hardship and injustice to the party prosecuted, by obliging him to anticipate his defence, and as it put the House in a situation of shifting its character backwards and forwards, and appearing in the same cause one day as accusers and another day as judges. But there remained one other way of proceeding, the only process that did remain, and that was by the ancient and constitutional mode of impeachment; and this mode he would advise the House to adopt, being careful at the same time to proceed with all possible caution and prudence. It had been usual, he said, to resolve, in the first instance, that the party accused should be impeached, and then to appoint a committee to examine the evidence, and find the articles on which the impeachment was to be founded. This method, and the heat and passion of men's minds, had led the House, on more than one occasion, into the disgraceful dilemma of either abandoning the impeachment they had voted, or of preferring articles which they had not evidence to support. It was upon these grounds that he moved that such papers as were necessary for substantiating the guilt of Mr. Hastings, if guilt there was, should be laid before the House; and that these papers, with the charges extracted from them, should be referred to a committee of the whole House and evidence examined thereon: then, if the charges should appear what he believed them to be, charges of the blackest and foulest nature, and supported by competent evidence, the House might proceed with confidence and dignity to the bar of the Lords. He justified his motives in taking on himself the duties of a public accuser, and he declared his intimate conviction that there had been enormous peculation and gross corruption, and that a torrent of violence, oppression, and cruelty had deluged India during the administration of the late governor-general. Dundas, in reply, said that he had indeed been a member of the secret committee that passed the strong resolutions against Mr. Hastings which had just been read; that he would even confess that he himself had suggested those resolutions; nor had he the smallest scruple to admit that the sentiments he entertained respecting Mr. Hastings, when he proposed those resolutions, he entertained *now*, unchanged and unalterable. But would any one, he asked, pretend that those sentiments or resolutions went so far as to suppose Mr. Hastings to be a fit object for a criminal prosecution? The resolutions went to recall Mr. Hastings, but certainly not to impeach him. In continuing his speech the leader of the board of control seemed to qualify what he had said as to his sentiments remaining unchanged since the time when the resolutions were passed. He said he thought that the conduct of Mr. Hastings since that period had been not only not criminal but highly meritorious, and he had for that reason approved of the vote of thanks which the court of directors had unanimously conferred upon him. He said that, the more he examined the conduct of the late governor-general, the more difficult he found it to fix any criminal intention, or to separate it from the conduct of the directors at home, who had expressly commanded or urged him on in so many particulars. With his eye fixed on Fox, who was in power at the time alluded to, he said that, after India had been glutted by the directors, no fewer than thirty-six writers had been sent out in one year—in that year of purity when the situ-

ation of the present accusers sufficiently indicated the *shop* from which the commodity was supplied. This called up Fox, who solemnly declared that he had never been the cause of sending out more than one writer to India, and that that appointment had been obtained under Lord Shelburne's administration. But he did not disprove Dundas's assertion; he did not even attempt to deny or reduce the number of appointments which had been made, not by him or at his recommendation, but doubtless at the recommendation of some of his colleagues. Dundas had said that he was ready to meet his accusers face to face. "God knows," said Fox, "the power of facing is not to be numbered among the honourable gentleman's wants; even when driven, as on the present occasion, to the miserable necessity of applauding in the latter part of his speech what he condemned in the former." Pitt rose to defend his colleague and bosom friend from the charges of inconsistency and the other keen attacks of Fox. The deadly sin of the coalition, revived on all occasions when the reputation of Fox was to be injured, was used with great effect on the present occasion. "Who is it," asked the premier, "that accuses my honourable friend of inconsistency and guilt in now applauding the man whom he had formerly condemned? Who but he, who, in the face of Europe, has united counsels with the man whom for a series of years he had loaded with the most extravagant epithets of reproach, and threatened with the severest punishment?" After more declamation of the same kind, and after charging Fox with being quite capable of the baseness of those who changed their sentiments in politics according to their interests or position, Pitt extenuated the Rohilla war, which he and Dundas had formerly condemned, and concluded by applauding the *latter part* of Hastings's administration even more warmly than Dundas had just done. This latter part, it must be remembered, embraced the affairs of the Rajah of Benares, the Begums, and Fyzoola Khan, together with some other of Hastings's most questionable proceedings: but this latter part had also contained the triumphant result of the whole, the preservation of India, which was a very hypothetical case when Dundas's resolutions were adopted. From the speeches of Pitt and Dundas, and from sundry other indications in the House, the idea was confirmed that Hastings was to be supported by the whole weight and influence of the cabinet, and that even an inquiry into his conduct would be so hampered as to render it of no avail. Burke's call for papers, however, was not opposed until, on the following day, the 18th, he asked for those relating to the affairs of Oude, in the latter part of Hastings's administration—the part which ministers insisted was free from spot and blemish. The premier and Dundas said that this would be introducing new and endless matter, and that the inquiry, at least for the present, ought to be confined to the period embraced in the reports of the year 1781. But Hastings's friend and advocate, Major Scott, said boldly that the Oude papers would establish and raise the reputation of the late governor-general, and that they ought to be produced. The ministerial objections were then waived. Having carried this demand, Burke, on the 3rd of March, asked for all the papers relating to the Mahratta peace; for it had been determined to find guilt even in that masterpiece of Hastings's policy. Ministers objected that this would be making public diplomatic secrets which could not be revealed with safety; and the papers were refused.* On the 6th of March a demand was made for all papers connected with the negotiations with the son of the Mogul carried on during Hastings's residence at Lucknow. This was refused and out-voted. On the 17th Fox repeated the motion, restricting the production to the correspondence of Major Brown, who had visited Delhi on a mission from Hastings. This, too, was refused by 140 against 73. Copies of many parts of Major Brown's correspondence were in the hands of private individuals, and were read in the course of the debate, to prove the unjust and criminal conduct of Hastings towards that *poor shadow*, the Great Mogul, who could not help himself, and whom no party in India could or would help, who was about the most contemptible of all the native contenders for territory and dominion, and not a jot less faithless than the worst of them, but who had found a place in the ardent sympathies of Mr. Burke, to whom he had probably been recommended by that tender-hearted man Sir Philip Francis, the chief source of information to the opposition and prosecution in all matters concerning the governor-general's dealings with the native princes, rajahs, and begums, and a source which had been flowing in full torrent ever since the return of the ex-member of the supreme council of Calcutta to England, with the wound received at Hastings's hand fresh on his body, and a thousand animosities, personal and political, rankling in his mind. Burke's spirit was indisputably high and noble; but he must have been blinded by his enthusiasm in what he considered the greatest cause in which he ever engaged, before he could accept, without doubt or softening, the evidence of a man like Francis in such a case. But that he and his party did so is even more notorious than the fact that the ex-member of the council —who by means never explained had accumulated in six years, and had brought home, a great deal more money than the governor-general—possessed the most vindictive and blackest heart of any public man of that day. We shall soon find Francis himself declaring, from his seat in the House of Commons, that he "supplied the information," that he "furnished the materials," that he "prompted the

* Dundas and Pitt opposed the motion on two grounds; first, that *the treaty in question was a wise and salutary treaty, and had saved the British empire in Asia;* and secondly, that the production of the papers moved for would discover transactions relative to that peace which ought to be kept a secret from the country powers in India, inasmuch as it would disclose the means by which the several states that were confederate against England were made jealous of each other, and the intrigues by which they were induced to dissolve their confederacy.

prosecution!" In the course of the present debates, which succeeded each other at such close intervals, Burke proclaimed, with as much truth, we believe, as eloquence, the perfect sincerity of his conviction, and the purity of his own motives. He had been told that not merely would he be opposed by connexions of the first weight and influence in the country, but that the prosecution would be unpopular with the people of England, who would refuse to follow him in the pursuit of a great man who had rendered such eminent services. "Oh, miserable public!" he exclaimed. "What! For having taken up the cause of their injured and oppressed fellow-subjects in India; for attempting to bring to justice the plunderers of mankind, the desolators of provinces, the oppressors of an innocent and meritorious people, in every rank, sex, and condition, the violators of public faith, the destroyers of the British character and reputation—am I to be unpopular? Those who raise monuments of their benevolence by providing asylums and receptacles for human misery are justly ranked among the benefactors to mankind; but even these acts of patriotism and charity are not to be compared to the noble work of supporting the most sacred rights and valuable interests of mankind, by bringing to public justice the man who has sacrificed them to his cruelty, his avarice, and his ambition." And, however incorrect or overcharged were many of the articles upon which he built his conviction, however erroneous may have been his judgment, and whatever faults may be detected not merely in the forms and technicalities but in the virulent spirit of his procedure, Burke spoke and acted from first to last like one that felt he had a mission from Heaven to redress the wrongs and prevent the miseries of a large but weak and helpless portion of his fellow-creatures. There was, perhaps, a lack of coolness and discrimination, but assuredly there was no want of honesty, in Burke. With a positive knowledge that some dark deeds had been committed, he was prepared to believe in others. He had listened to stories until he believed that Hastings was an incarnate fiend. His glowing wrath seldom permitted him to look either to the tremendous difficulties of the case, or to the final success of the governor-general's measures and policy; he had persuaded himself that still more advantageous ends might have been obtained by purer means, and, like some other good men, not statesmen or politicians, he thought it better to lose India than to save it by fraud and cruelty. The paltry motives attributed to Burke by narrow-minded men incapable of understanding his ardent, imaginative character, or of conceiving how he could toil and struggle as he did for years in this one cause without some personal incentive to such wonderful exertions, seem to us ridiculous or insufficient to account for his conduct. It is said, for example, that his animosity arose out of some slight which Hastings had shown to his relation, William Burke, in India, many years ago. We can believe that William Burke may have received some rebuff from Hastings, who could occasionally depart from his habitual artificial suavity; we can believe that the orator, whose affections were all warm and impetuous, would resent this, and even, unconsciously, allow the circumstance some influence in his mind when he came to form his opinions of Hastings's public conduct; but what we can never believe is, that this family pique was the real cause of the present prosecution. Others have asserted that the whole thing was a mere party business, and that Burke was impelled by a bitter remembrance of the fate of Mr. Fox's bill and the fall of the coalition, which he attributed to the East India interest, at whose head Hastings was now to be considered; but his hostility to the governor-general had begun in 1781, two years before the coalition between Fox and Lord North was thought of, and more than two years before Fox's India bill was introduced; and this animosity to Hastings continued as strong as ever when Burke had quarrelled with Fox and taken his seat on the treasury bench between Pitt and Dundas. As a secondary motive, however, these feelings, no doubt, had, at this time, some effect, for Burke certainly attributed both the downfall of the coalition ministry and Pitt's triumphant majority at the next general election to the East India interest and the gigantic bribery exercised by Paul Benfield and his agent Atkinson. Others, again, have fancied that his imagination was captivated by the vastness, the grandeur, and comparative novelty of the subject; that he took it up as a great poet would his theme, and clung to it and transfused the soul of his genius into it, as the subject of all others best suited to his powers, or fullest of oratorical inspiration. This, too, may go as an additional incentive, as a minor motive—and the springs of all human actions have many such—though not as the *primum mobile*, for, like all great orators, Burke had the imagination of a poet, with something of that oriental twist which has been noticed in several of his distinguished countrymen; and he had read, studied, and dwelt upon India, its scenes and affairs, with intense interest, and for many years. The Indian field, as he called it, had occupied his thoughts so long, that it might be called *his own* field. Every man who really knew Burke was convinced of his enthusiastic sincerity in this cause. "I feel strong," said he, "only in the goodness of my cause." Pitt recommended a calm dispassionate investigation; but this was impossible, for Burke was incapable of it, and, though it was not a mere party question with him, it was evidently nothing more with many who voted on his side of the House, and who had made up their minds before a tittle of evidence was produced. But by this time doubts began to be entertained as to the real intentions or wishes of the premier, and sundry old political stagers, like Rigby, predicted that ministers would abandon Hastings at some subsequent stage of the prosecution. Several motives might lead to this abandonment. As Burke's eloquence roused the attention of the country, the alleged criminal

could not be openly protected without some damage to the ministerial character; Pitt was little likely, where his interests were not concerned, to incur such an odium for any man, and, as for Hastings, there had never been any friendship between them. The premier, though he could always command a majority of about two to one, could not always escape unhurt from the fierce attacks of the opposition, with Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Wydham, and all the best orators of the House, at their head; and he might very well see, with satisfaction, some of these incessant attacks turned from him to fall upon the great nabob. He must have known that the war, once begun, would last a long time, and would absorb the attention of Burke, with a great deal of denunciatory eloquence which must otherwise fall on his own head and the heads of his colleagues. It has even been assumed that Pitt was jealous of the great court favour shown to the ex-governor-general, and apprehensive of his being elevated to the peerage and a place in his majesty's council. The young prime minister could certainly have nothing to fear from a man who had passed his whole life in India, and who was inexperienced and even strangely ignorant in home politics; but the case perhaps might, in some degree, be different with his friend Dundas, who had got the management of Indian affairs, and was most anxious to keep it. Neither Pitt nor Dundas, however, could at any one moment have coolly contemplated proceeding to extremities against a man whose services were so highly appreciated by the king. At the same time, the Lord Chancellor Thurlow was the resolute friend and advocate of the party accused. The two great lawyers of the day had changed sides and views from motives which will never be sought for in rigid honesty and conviction: thirteen years before, when the Commons were engaged against the hero of Plassey, Thurlow was the bitterest assailant, and Wedderburn the warmest defender and chosen champion, of Lord Clive; and now Thurlow was the champion of Hastings, and Wedderburn one of his bitterest foes. The whole interest of the court of directors, with all the votes they could command in the Commons, were on the side of the accused; and, though these were not powerful or numerous enough to shake the huge ministerial majority, they were sufficiently important to make the minister feel their loss if they should settle into a constant ill-will or opposition against him. Several vacillations that occurred in the course of the proceedings will explain themselves, or will be easily understood by a reference to the various agencies and motives at work in different directions, and at times counteracting each other. Having procured an enormous heap of papers, though far from all he asked for, Burke, on the 3rd of April, proposed calling to the bar some of the gentlemen who had been ordered to attend as witnesses. He was opposed on this occasion by all the crown lawyers, who had previously complained of his method of collecting evidence before bringing forward any specific accusations. They now represented that he ought to produce his charges first, and that no proofs ought to be admitted except such as were strictly applicable to the charges. This was the mode of proceeding in the courts of law, which, in the opinion of the crown lawyers, ought to regulate the proceedings of the House of Commons. Burke and his friends, on the other hand, represented that the House had already adopted a different mode of proceeding—had granted the power of taking evidence, had formed itself into a committee to receive evidence, and had summoned the witnesses who were then waiting to be called in. They accused the lawyers of a design to cover the guilty by restricting evidence; but the lawyers were backed by the ministerial majority, and carried their point. On the 4th of April Burke, in his place, charged Warren Hastings, Esq., late governor-general of Bengal, &c., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles. The principal subjects of these were—the Rohilla war; the affairs of Benares; the depriving the Mogul of Corah and Allahabad, and of his tribute from Bengal; the various transactions in Oude, with the treatment of the Begums, &c.; the Mahratta war and the Mahratta peace; the internal administration of Bengal and the administration of justice; the death of Nuncomar and the hard treatment of Mohammed Reza Khan; disobedience of orders; extravagant expenditure; the enriching of dependants and favourites, and the acceptance by the governor-general himself of enormous presents or bribes. On the 6th of May another charge, being the *twenty-second*, was added to the list: it related solely to the treatment of Fyzoola Khan, the Rohilla chief. But before this last article was presented, Hastings, by petition, requested to be heard at the bar of the House in his own defence, and to be allowed a copy of the several articles of charge. Both requests or demands were granted, though Fox loudly inveighed against granting copies of the articles. In this debate, Martin, the member for Tewkesbury, who had been for years bawling himself hoarse against Lord North, and then against the coalition, said that he had not made up his mind as to the present prosecution, but that whenever it should be disposed of there would still remain an impeachment to be undertaken in justice to the country against the noble lord in the blue ribbon, who in the present state of parties seemed to think that he might bid the country do that which the dignity of the House and his respect for them prohibited his mentioning within those walls. This led to a violent debate in which Hastings had no manner of concern. After it was agreed that he should be heard, Kenyon, the master of the rolls, insisted that the House ought not to advance another step until he was brought before them; and Jenkinson, who continued to be considered the chief

of the king's friends, and who had hitherto taken no direct part in favour of Hastings, insisted as strongly as Kenyon that nothing more ought to be done until they heard what the late governor-general could say in his own defence. Burke fell upon them both. Looking fixedly at the master of the rolls, he exclaimed, "The learned gentleman may repeat his practice of embarrassing the discussion—of varying his opinion and suggesting different advice according to circumstances: I will not abandon the cause. I consider one arm as already lopped off. If I lose a leg I will, nevertheless, persevere; if deprived of both legs, I will fight, like Witherington, on my stumps." Then, looking more sternly at Jenkinson, he said, "Judging from all that I have heard on the present evening, I fear it is intended to quash the prosecution. It is, indeed, evident by the language of a gentleman who is commonly supposed to have been the sinister adviser of his majesty—though I by no means assert the fact, or that he ever offered other than good advice;—it is, however, evident that one half of my charges are already struck with the dead palsy. . . . . But the failure of the charges is impossible. They contain matter that no sophistry can defeat. If, therefore, the House shall think proper to crush the proceeding, the disgrace will be theirs, and not mine; I have done my duty." Bearcroft, an eminent lawyer, took an active part in the debate, and endeavoured to convince the House that the late governor-general, being heard, might prove the accusations to be irrelevant, or at least destitute of criminality; and that his conduct ought not to be judged by ordinary rules. Another great lawyer was of a different opinion: Hardinge, solicitor-general to the queen, as if officially to clear her majesty from some popular aspersions, spoke in a tone of rigid justice. He admitted that Burke in his accusations was diffuse, but he denied that he was unintelligible. With respect to the argument used by Bearcroft and others, that, even although charges so serious could be proved against Hastings, yet they might and would be overbalanced by his great public services, Hardinge said, he could subscribe to no such doctrine. "Never," said he, "will I admit the justification which in technical phrase is denominated a *set-off*. In cases of a criminal nature, or where specific delinquency can be proved, no *set-off* will satisfy my mind." These opinions of the queen's solicitor-general are said to have sunk deep in the public mind; but they certainly did not efface the impressions already there, and carefully strengthened by opposition orators and writers day after day, that the favour of the court would, if it could, protect the accused. Mr. Anstruther spoke as strongly as Mr. Hardinge against the mischievous doctrine of a *set-off*, a thing clearly inadmissible in law.

On the 1st of May, the day appointed for him, Hastings came to the House, which was crowded to see him. One of the members present says: "His entrance excited a strong and a general emotion. It was to me a painful spectacle to behold a man who during twelve years had governed the rich and extensive provinces of Asia, from the mouths of the Ganges almost to Delhi, and who, without a metaphor, might be said to have occupied the throne of Timur, now, when his period of life seemed to demand repose, and when he might have anticipated honours or rewards, dragged before a popular assembly, there to defend himself against impeachment. His person, if not dignified, was interesting, and his look commanding, as if accustomed to power."* He laboured under great and manifest disadvantages both in the manner in which he appeared in the House and in the mode in which he delivered his defence. Clive and Rumbold, as members of the House, had been enabled to reply from their places to their accusers; he, having no place in the House, was obliged to take his station where men rarely appeared except to be censured and browbeaten by the Speaker. Clive was an admirable speaker, and Rumbold no mean debater; but Hastings, more a man of the pen, untrained to any debating or speaking except at a council-board, with closed doors and with only three or four to hear him, was no parliamentary orator, and never attempted to make himself one. He had written his defence, and he was to read it like a dry sermon, and that to an assembly whose ears and eyes were accustomed to the almost nightly displays of men who, whatever else they were or were not, were assuredly great masters of eloquence. The effect could not be otherwise than cold and flat. The exposition of his case might be, and was, skilfully and clearly drawn up, but the auditory were wholly unaccustomed to have expositions *read* to them. Being called to the bar he was allowed a chair; and Mr. Markham, (a son of the Archbishop of York,) who had formerly been his resident at Benares, where he had performed the duty of putting Cheyte Sing under arrest, was allowed to attend on him for the purpose of supplying him with the documents or papers he might want while reading his defence. After a very short speech, in acknowledgment of the indulgence the House showed in hearing him at that early stage of the prosecution, he sat down, opened his manuscript, and began to read. Like Clive, he referred to the votes of thanks, and the entire approbation of his conduct, received from his employers, the court of directors. He also referred to his indisputable popularity in India. "I left Bengal," said he, "followed by the loudest proofs of universal gratitude; and since I landed in England I have had the unanimous thanks of the court of directors for my services of five-and-thirty years. Furnished with such proofs of the approbation of those for whose benefit I had conducted the affairs of India, it did not occur to my mind that any other person could urge an accusation against me. Much less did I conceive that high crimes and misdemeanors could be alleged

* Sir N. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs of his own time.

in this House as grounds for my impeachment before the Peers. Doubtless in the course of my administration I have committed many errors; but I have endeavoured so to conduct the government of India that it might prove beneficial to the company at home, while it diffused repose and felicity abroad." He said that he was conscious that by standing forward as he was doing he might furnish proofs of his own misconduct; that, however, he was willing to disclose the facts and measures that took place while he held the first office in Bengal, whatever personal disadvantages might accrue therefrom. After taking a general view of the accusations, he began to read separate answers to each of the charges. But by this time he had read himself hoarse, and he felt exhausted. Mr. Markham, therefore, came to his assistance, and made the matter still colder and flatter, by reading a composition not his own, and in defence of another person. When more than five hours had been thus employed, and when so many members had been read out, that the House, from a very full one, had become almost empty, Pitt moved an adjournment. Two more days dragged heavily on in the same manner; and at the request of Hastings his defence was ordered to be laid upon the table of the House, and printed for the use of the members. He ought to have begun with this request instead of ending with it; he ought never to have attempted trying the patience of that assembly with the reading; for, after hearing the long defence, or parts of it, most members would consider themselves exonerated from the task of perusing it afterwards in print. From various circumstances, one might be led to believe that Hastings had left his shrewdness and his wits behind him at Calcutta, or that, after developing themselves and growing to maturity under the bright and fervid sky of India, they were affected by English clouds and fogs. It is true, indeed, that he had gone to India a mere stripling; that he had passed his youth and the best of his manhood out of England; it is quite certain that the management of affairs in India by council minutes, dispatches, and correspondence, and the management of affairs in England by parliaments, debates, and the nice balancing of parties, with a free press in the one case, and no press at all in the other, are two very *different things*; yet it might have been expected that a man with a sagacity and genius that had triumphed over many new and unforeseen difficulties, and that had led him through many a labyrinth in the East, would not have been long in hitting upon the right path at home. It is evident, however, that what was said of him was correct;—that, having passed his best years out of his native country, he knew London and parliament only by description, and that, having trained himself thoroughly to one system, which was in good part of his own creating, he was slow in catching the step of movements new to him, and regulated by numerous and independent agencies.

On the 1st of June Burke brought forward the first charge—the Rohilla war. The House was pretty full at the usual hour of business, but he intreated a pause for a few minutes; wishing, he said, that the members present might be proportionate to the importance of the matter. When he saw that the benches were crowded he rose, and, with more oratorical form than would please the present times, he began his speech by a solemn invocation to British justice. He solemnly disclaimed any personal motive or any private malevolence. "My anger," said he, "is not a private, but a public resentment. Not all the political changes of administration which we have witnessed during the last five years—neither summer retirement, nor winter occupation, nor the snow which nature has plentifully showered on my head during that period—none of these has had power to cool the anger which as a public man I feel, but which in my individual capacity I never have nourished for a single instant." He drew a vivid but certainly over-poetical picture of the character and condition of the Rohillas previous to the invasion of the troops of the Nabob of Oude and the company; and, with a bold flight of imagination, he described that race as having been annihilated; the fact being, that, after the one battle, the Rohillas, as far as life was concerned, suffered little or nothing, retreating with a good face to the foe, and then retiring with their wives and families to seek some other settlement with the same strong arm with which they had settled themselves in Rohilcund some forty years before. The other inhabitants of the country, who out-numbered them at about the rate of twenty-five to one, who were anxious for their expulsion, and who preferred the government of the Nabob of Oude—though they had afterwards no cause to congratulate themselves on their choice or preference—were, as we have stated, the real sufferers by the barbarities of the nabob's troops; it was their houses Colonel Champion saw burning,—it was their pleasant villages and well-cultivated fields, their women and children, that he attempted to save (not less from his own feelings than from the feelings and express commands of the governor-general) from the insane fury of Sujah Dowlah; but upon this class Burke neither in his article of charge nor in his speech lavished any sympathy. At the time the arrangements were entered into with Sujah Dowlah the power of making peace and war with "the infidels in India" was still in the company, subject to no control of the British ministry. Hastings had, indeed, proceeded without orders even from the company; but the company wanted money; he got them forty lacs of rupees, besides freeing them from the expense of maintaining a considerable part of their troops, and, after some of their ordinary vacillations, quibbles, and contradictions, they approved and sanctioned all that had been done. In truth, their approbation was given to this Rohilla war the moment they accepted the money for which Hastings had entered upon it. We cannot help thinking that this was one of the

weakest of all the charges. The reason why Burke placed it in the van of his battle was evidently this: Dundas in one of his resolutions had strongly condemned the war in Rohilcund, and he must either abide by that former opinion or incur the imputation of inconsistency. This was urged with all the powers of rhetoric. The treasurer of the navy and arbiter of Indian affairs was not disconcerted. "I admit," said he, "that these animadversions seem to be warranted by my conduct in 1782; but, though I then moved for Mr. Hastings's recall, I did it solely on grounds of expediency, and not with the slightest intention of instituting criminal proceedings." He acknowledged that he did not even now approve either the justice or the policy of the Rohilla war. "It must, however, be recollected," said he, "that since that period Mr. Hastings has been appointed by act of parliament governor-general of Bengal. I consider his appointment as a tacit, if not avowed, pardon for acts which preceded it. Subsequently he has rendered the most splendid services to his country. An impeachment, therefore, at this distance of time, upon this article, would be unreasonable, and injurious to our interests in the East." Pitt did not open his lips; but when the division came he voted with Dundas. But that division was still far off. The debate lasted till half-past three o'clock in the morning; and, being renewed on the following evening, it did not terminate till half-past seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of June. In this debate a first appearance was made by a young man who came into the House with a brilliant reputation from Eton and the university. This was Lord Mornington, now the Marquess Wellesley, who was destined to fill, only twelve years later, the place which Hastings had occupied in India. He spoke ably in defence of the late governor-general, and joined the master of the rolls in making severe reflections on Lord North, who, though he did not vote, spoke against Hastings and the Rohilla war, which he had winked at when it happened. The queen's solicitor-general, who again took a strong and even violent part against Hastings, admitted that, though every other individual present should join against that gentleman, the noble lord in the blue ribbon must vote for his acquittal on the actual charge. Poor North, indeed, whose spirits were depressed and whose wit or humour was damped by the fast approaches of a terrible calamity—total blindness—was assailed almost as much as Hastings. And there seemed some ground for these attacks, as, though he now condemned the Rohilla war as deserving impeachment, he had, after that war, and between the years 1774 and 1781, while at the head of the government, allowed Hastings to be thrice named by parliament Governor-General of Bengal. In his defence, North said that he had endeavoured to procure, by means of the court of directors—the only means that could then have been legally employed—his immediate recall; and that his endeavours were defeated by the court of East Indian proprietors, who insisted that Hastings should be continued. These facts could not be disputed, but they could be conveniently forgotten by his assailants. Public political memory is even a more treacherous thing than private memory. Nothing so easy as to forget and confound events and circumstances, or to make other men forget and confound them. Thus many members in the House would be altogether oblivious as to the difference between the controlling powers of ministers at two different epochs, and might fancy that the power now vested in ministers by Pitt's India Bill was not greater than that which had been possessed by Lord North, and that therefore his lordship might have recalled Hastings if he had chosen, which certainly was not the case. North withdrew before the question was put from the chair; but this might proceed more from illness and weariness than from any other cause. When debates lasted till half-past seven in the morning there was seldom a very numerous attendance at the division. On the present occasion there had been nearly a full House when Burke began his grand but too long speech; but from 200 to 300 members were wearied out and went home to their beds before he got to the end of it. Hastings's now printed defence was harshly criticised both by Burke and by Hardinge. The queen's lawyer said—"I see in it a perfect character, drawn by the culprit himself; and that character is his own. Conscious triumph in the ability and success of all his measures pervades every sentence. Not a crime remains. All is talent conducted by wisdom and virtue." Francis gratified his revenge by a terrible speech. He was listened to with great attention, as he had been six years in India, and was supposed to know the subject thoroughly; but there was that in his history, in his Indian adventures, and in his personal and deadly animosity against Hastings, which ought to have detracted from the weight and value of everything he said. Wyndham, Wilbraham, Powis, Anstruther, Michael Angelo Taylor, and many others, including Fox, the greatest of them, spoke on the same side: on the other side Dundas was supported by Lord Mornington, Lord Mulgrave, William Grenville, Burton, Scott, and many others, including Wilberforce, who continued his close friendship with Pitt, and who had by this time made himself a very accomplished speaker, whose clear and melodious voice was always listened to with pleasure, and with the greater attention from the notion that, he very often took his cue from the premier.*

When the division, long and clamorously called for from every part of the House, did at length take place, Burke's motion, declaring that there was ground for charging Warren Hastings, &c., with high crimes and misdemeanors on the matter of the

* In the spring of the present year we find Wilberforce, though "an altered man," and visiting the bishops to concert with them the establishment of an association for the discouragement of vice, saying in his Diary—"Though I had told Pitt that I could not promise him unqualified support, *I was surprised to find how generally we agreed.*"

Rohilla war, was negatived by a majority of fifty-two, the numbers being 119 against 67. The friends of Hastings hailed the result as a triumph; and, if they did not expect that the whole proceeding would be quashed at once, they confidently anticipated that the next charge would undergo a like defeat, and that Burke would then give up the prosecution in despair. The talk in clubs and drawing-rooms was, that the king's estimation of Warren Hastings would soon be seen in his elevation to the peerage, and in his introduction to his majesty's privy council, and a seat at the board of control, from which he would again regulate the empire in the East. Nay, the gossips *par excellence*, those men that whisper in corners with mysterious and portentous looks, denoting that they know a great deal more than they choose to tell, even affirmed that the title was chosen and the patent all but ready—that Hastings was to take his title from the seat of his ancestors—that he was to be Baron Daylesford. And there was far better foundation for these reports than club-house gossips usually trade upon. It was certain that the only obstacle to the peerage was the censure of the House of Commons; it was known that Lord Thurlow had expressed his contempt for this objection even before Burke's failure in the Rohilla charge, and had told the chancellor of the exchequer that, if he was afraid of the Commons and their recorded votes and resolutions, there was nothing to prevent him as lord chancellor and keeper of the great seal from obeying the king's pleasure about a peerage patent. There were still, however, some heads shaken in the manner of Lord Burleigh; there were still some doubts expressed whether it would suit Dundas to have Hastings at the board of control, or whether it would square with the calculating policy of Pitt to persevere in crushing Burke's charges, and thereby bring odious popular charges upon himself, for the nation was roused, and, though the people might not understand the complicated business, they were quite capable of being excited by Burke's eloquence, and by the pictures he had drawn and would still draw of cruelty and oppression. And, in effect, the fair prospects of the late governor-general were soon overcast. On the 13th of June, immediately after the Whitsuntide recess, Fox brought forward the second article of charge; namely, the treatment of Cheyte Sing, Prince or Zemindar of Benares. The attendance fell short of the numbers present at the preceding debate; but there was still a pretty full House, and a great anxiety to hear what side the premier would take on this occasion. Some were of opinion that, with the single exception of Dundas, none of the individuals on the treasury-bench knew, at the moment when the debate began, how the chancellor of the exchequer would vote, or what sentiments he would deliver. This anxiety, however, was soon removed, for Pitt, who had sat silent during the previous discussion, rose at an early stage of the debate, after Fox and Francis had spoken. He declared that he had attentively studied the whole subject, and that he had come to the conclusion that the governor-general was fully justified in calling on Cheyte Sing for aid, both in money and in men; that he was equally justified in imposing fines when that assistance was contumaciously withheld; and, finally, that the conduct of the governor-general, his firmness, decision, and vast resources of mind, during all the dangers of the insurrection, called for the highest admiration and praise. With a commanding flow of words, he accused Burke and Fox both of oratorical exaggeration and of party misrepresentation; but the bitterest part of his speech was reserved for the bitter Francis, who had seconded the present motion. Pitt reprobated the malignant spirit of that ex-member of the supreme council, questioned the rectitude of his character, and censured his conduct both in India and in that House, as being as dishonest as it was malignant. But the ears of the friends of Hastings had scarcely drunk in these pleasant sounds ere the premier filled them with much less welcome notes. Having made up his mind to a middle course, to a miserable compromise, not between right and wrong, but between what he considered as expedient and profitable, and what the country considered as wrong, Pitt went on to say that, though Hastings unquestionably had the right of demanding aid and imposing fines, he *thought* that the fines he had imposed were too great in amount, and his behaviour too severe on the occasion. It appears that these words dropped from him hesitatingly, and with a look that seemed to say he would blush if his hard, stiff face were capable of blushing; but that he afterwards added, with a little more energy—"The

WILBERFORCE. From an early Portrait by J. Rising.

fine imposed on Cheyte Sing was exorbitant, unjust, tyrannical. I therefore shall agree to the motion before the House. But I confine myself solely to the *exorbitancy* of the fine, approving every preceding as well as subsequent part of the late governor-general's conduct throughout the whole of that transaction."* This was all the argument he used to reconcile his numerous followers and retainers who had gone down to vote for Hastings, but must now trim their sails for a different tack, and vote against him. The great flock were ready to follow the great bell-wether; but there were men who could not so easily reconcile their inclinations and their consciences. Pitt's own near relative, Mr. William Grenville, his bosom friend and *protégé*, Arden, attorney-general, and Lord Mulgrave, who were seated near the minister, protested that they must differ from him; that, as honest men, they could not think Hastings deserving of impeachment on this charge, or concur in the vote. There was murmuring and whispering in some other parts of the ministerial benches. Wilberforce, who, with all his humanity, believed that the conduct of Hastings was in part justifiable and in part excusable, and who had been taught so to believe by his friend Pitt—for his own thoughts at the time were more engaged about a scheme for putting down vice by means of bishops and royal proclamations, than about the affairs of India—was evidently puzzled and confused. Pitt, quitting his seat, sat for some time by Wilberforce's side explaining his unexpected conduct, justifying it on scruples of conscience which he knew would have their weight on his conscientious and devout friend, and very earnestly declaring that this business of Benares was *too bad*, and that he had found it impossible to stand any longer by Hastings. He succeeded in convincing Wilberforce of the sincerity and purity of his motives;† but in the minds of other men the course he took continued to be accounted for in a very different manner, and few but those who were sold body and soul to the minister had the face to deny that his conduct, if nothing worse, was mean and evasive. Even Major Scott was listened to when he reprobated the paltry quibbling, and said that the minister, after acknowledging the transcendant services of Hastings, was now abandoning him to his enemies, on account, as he said, of the quantum of a fine, levied, not from any corrupt motive, but for the public service, in a moment of danger and distress. Dempster, a Scotch member and country gentleman, who had usually voted with the party of Fox and Burke, maintained that Hastings had been the saviour of our possessions in the East; and that the only fault he had committed was in returning to this country with a very limited fortune. Dundas, to whom unfavourable suspicions attached, perhaps more closely even than to Pitt, never opened his lips during the debate—but when the division came he voted with the premier. That division affords a curious index to the state of conscience of the House of Commons. Exactly the same numbers—119—that had acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge voted him guilty on this Benares charge, the minority voting in his favour being 79. According to the calculation of a member who voted in the minority, full fifty individuals followed the voice and signal of Pitt without conviction, examination, or hesitation. "Every first minister of England," says this worthy member, who is neither so dull nor quite so incorrect as he has been represented, "must be able to rely on such a phalanx, who ask no questions: such is necessarily the genius of our government and constitution in practice, though not in theory."* The friends of Hastings, all the members representing the India interest, who had been accustomed to give a general support to administration, and who on some other questions had been just as subservient to Pitt, exclaimed against the baseness of those who had followed him on this occasion, and attributed to the premier and to Dundas the selfish motives which others suspected them of; that is to say, they accused the head of the government and the head of the board of control of a jealousy and

* Hastings, in a letter to a friend in India, written a few days after this debate, says—"You will hear from others what justice I have received. With ministry and opposition both united against me I have been declared guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, in having *intended* to exact a fine too large for the offence—the offence being admitted to merit a fine—from Cheyte Sing. This has given consequence to my accuser, who was sinking into infamy, and had every reason to expect punishment for the baseness and falsehoods of his charges against me. It is new to me to see a criminal prosecution hang over a man's head the length of a chancery suit in a land where the laws will not permit the jury to sleep over a trial for murder."—*Letter to Mr. Thomson, dated 18th July, 1786, as given by Gleig, Life.*

† We glean these particulars from the writer in the Edinburgh Review, who, we divine, has had family sources of information and ample means of hearing Mr. Wilberforce's sentiments from his own lips. He says that that good man used often to relate the events of this remarkable night, and describe the amazement of the House at Pitt's unexpected conduct. The sons of Mr. Wilberforce and the authors and editors of his Life and Correspondence seldom deign to notice such profane matters. It would be difficult to find in any other case seven long volumes (there are five of the Life and two of the Letters) relating to a public man so destitute of information about public affairs. In opening the Life at this particular point we find quotations from Mr. Wilberforce's diary like these—"Oh, give me a new heart, and put a right spirit within me, that I may keep thy statutes and do them."—"Near three hours going to and seeing Albion Mill. Did not think of God."—"Meditation; what shall I do to be saved?"—"23rd. Thought too faintly. Meditation; heart deceitful above all things.—25th. I this day received the sacrament."—Things proper for Mr. Wilberforce to note in private memoranda, but neither proper nor profitable to others, and which we scarcely think he himself would ever have consented to publish. A great part of the Life is made up out of these disjointed notes. In looking into the Correspondence we do not find one syllable about the Benares charge and his friend Pitt's conduct upon it. The shortest note, struck off at the moment, would have been interesting. At the end of the Life, among two or three scanty reminiscences, we find the following, without date—"Oh, how little justice was done to Pitt on Warren Hastings's business! People were asking what could make Pitt support him on this point and on that, as if he was acting from political motives; whereas he was always weighing in every particular whether Hastings had exceeded the discretionary power lodged in him. I well remember—I could swear to it now—Pitt listening most attentively to some facts which were coming out either in the first or second case. He beckoned me over, and went with me behind the chair, and said, 'Does not this look very ill to you?' 'Very bad, indeed.' He then returned to his place, and made his speech, giving up Hastings's case. He paid as much impartial attention to it as if he were a juryman."

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs. The baronet, however, seems to confess that, in a case like the present, where the House assumed a judicial capacity, and where the character, the fortune, and, it might be, even the life of an eminent man were concerned, "more severe scruples might have directed their votes." "These reflections," he continues, "derive strength, if we consider that the far greater number of those who divided with Pitt were men of high birth and independent fortunes, though not, it may be thought, of independent minds."

fear of the late governor-general. This was Hastings's own conviction, and he never afterwards forgave Pitt. We confess, however, that we must continue to doubt the correctness of the notion, at least in as far as relates to the premier, who, though his ruling passion might be the avarice of power, could scarcely feel either fear or jealousy of Hastings. Our doubt scarcely extends to Dundas. We also admit that, if Hastings's violent advocate Thurlow—a man, seemingly, violent in everything—really acted in the way he is said to have done, and had hinted that Hastings might have a peerage without the interference of the chancellor of the exchequer, Pitt may have been actuated by rage and indignation at what he would certainly consider an encroachment on his rights and province as premier. This greatest of peer-makers never could bear a peer to be made except at his own selection and recommendation. This, indeed, had long been an established part of official prerogative; but perhaps no prime minister had ever guarded it so jealously as Pitt. The worst impression, however, remained; and Hastings's friends did not content themselves with entertaining it in secret. Out of doors, both publicly and privately, they attributed the conduct of the premier to motives of the basest jealousy; they declared it was in the full confidence of his protection and support that they had urged Burke to bring forward the charges with which he had been so long menacing the governor-general; and that it was in this confidence that their friend had been persuaded to come to the bar of the Commons with a hasty and premature defence.* On the 14th of June, the very day after the decision of the Commons on the Benares charge, Hastings presented to his majesty a splendid diamond, sent by the Nizam of the Deccan, who had contrived to act a neutral part during the last war, but who was anxious for the friendship of the English as soon as he saw that Tippoo Sultaun was not to be the conqueror of the Carnatic or the Northern Circars. It is said that the Nizam had transmitted the precious jewel to Calcutta; that it did not arrive there until after Hastings had quitted the Ganges; that the packet containing the diamond was sent after the governor-general by the first good ship; that it did not reach him till the 2nd of June, when the Rohilla charge was pending; that a variety of casual circumstances had hindered the presentation to the king till the 14th; and that it was then presented by Lord Sydney at a levee, at which Hastings was present. It was also said that the bulse, or purse, beside the diamond of great size and value, contained a letter from the Nizam to his majesty, which clearly showed that the present proceeded from the spontaneous generosity of the Indian prince, and that the late governor-general had nothing whatever to do in the affair except as having been chosen as the proper channel for the transmission of the present. All this might be perfectly true, but the diamond was nevertheless presented at an unlucky moment. Two nights after, when Major Scott was calling the attention of the House to some alarming circumstances in Bengal, and to some suspicious preparations making in the Mauritius by the French, Sheridan said that the only extraordinary news that he had heard of was the arrival of an extraordinary large diamond, said to have been presented to his majesty at an extraordinary and critical period, and—which was also extraordinary—presented by an individual charged, by that House, with high crimes and misdemeanors! Scott harangued, explained, and read letters in confirmation of his assertions, but to little purpose. The caricaturists, pamphleteers, news-writers, song-writers, and epigram-makers of the day caught up the story, and by the united means of their various arts spread it rapidly over town and country. The "mysterious diamonds," meant to check "the impending vote," were put into smart satires and decent verses by the authors of the Rolliad, and into coarser verses by authors of less repute. The *diamonds* were sung about the streets and stuck up in the print-sellers' windows. The Nizam's unit was multiplied *ad infinitum*—there was no end to the diamonds! One ingenious caricaturist represented on one side of his picture the king on his knees, with his mouth wide open, and on the other Warren Hastings pitching diamonds into his majesty's opened mouth. Another artist represented the king with crown and sceptre huddled in a wheelbarrow, and Hastings wheeling him off, with a label from his mouth saying, "What a man buys he may sell." Luckily for the droll who made the hit, and money by it, there chanced to be exhibiting in town a man that pretended to masticate and digest the hardest stones, and the walls of London were placarded with invitations to the curious, headed

* Ann. Regist. It appears that Hastings himself never felt half the animosity against Dundas that he felt against Pitt—that he always considered that the great wrong done him was by the premier. In a letter written many years after and only four months before his death, Hastings tells Mr. E. B. Impey, the son of his old friend Sir Elijah, that he will give him "a well-attested anecdote," and then adds:—"Previous to the day on which the article of Benares was debated the ministerial members had received instructions to give their votes against it. *At an early hour of that morning Mr. Dundas called on Mr. Pitt, awoke him from his sleep, and engaged him in a contest of three hours' duration, which ended in an inversion of the ministerial instructions, of which it was my chance to be apprised the same morning.*" The inversion of the word of command to the ministerial members is quite certain, and was made evident in the debate and in some conversation across the table after the division. It was this that caused the amazement and awakened the scruples of Mr. Wilberforce. From this passage in one of the last letters Hastings ever wrote, it should appear that he firmly believed that in this matter Dundas had led Pitt, and not Pitt Dundas. Hastings states repeatedly that he was all along looking to a seat at the board of control, and to the principal management of Indian affairs, as a proper reward for his past services. Now, Dundas was the last man in the world to bear any brother near his throne, or to be over-scrupulous as to the means to be employed to extinguish so dangerous a rival as Hastings.

From pride, and perhaps from some better motives, or it might be also from a conviction that his trouble would be thrown away, as he had little money and no patronage, the ex-governor-general did not try to make a party in the House of Commons. He says:—"I have not solicited, nor will I, the interest of a single member of the House, and after what has passed am indifferent about the issue, provided only it be speedy. It hurts me, I own, to be tried by judges who vote with their party in a judicial as they do in a political question; yet people talk of it as a thing of course. In the mean time my prosecutors (for they are many, and they are also my judges) fill the papers with the most wicked lies to influence the public against me, and my friends tell me that I must not give myself any concern about them; *yet everybody believes every calumny so uttered, if they do not affect themselves, their friends, and connexions.*"—*Letter to Mr. Thompson, 18th July*, 1786.

"The Great Stone-Eater." The king was drawn with a diamond between his teeth and a heap of diamonds before him, and underneath was written, "The Greatest Stone-Eater."

The proceedings against Hastings went no further this session, which was terminated by prorogation on the 11th of July. We must now mingle what remains of that desperately long affair with our narrative of other events, which are neither very numerous nor very important, until we come to the great outbreak of the French Revolution.

On the 2nd of August, as the king on his return from Windsor was alighting at the garden door leading from the park into St. James's Palace, a female, who had placed herself by the door, presented a petition, and, as he was in the act of receiving it, struck at him with a knife which she had previously kept concealed. She aimed at the heart, but the blade being weak in the middle from frequent grinding, doubled or bent, and the king stepped back without receiving the slightest wound. Before the maniac could repeat the stroke one of the king's yeomen of the guard caught her arm, and one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king's nerves were not easily shaken: he said—"I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her." On being examined before the privy council it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, that she came from Stockton-upon-Tees, that she was a common needlework-woman and very mad, having taken it into her head that the crown of England was by right hers, and that England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations if she did not get her right. After undergoing another examination by Doctor John and Doctor Thomas Munro and the lords of the privy council, who were unanimously of opinion that she had been and was insane, the poor creature was conveyed to Bedlam, where she lived for many years. In the mean time the king, who had come up to town for the purpose of holding a levee, had dressed himself and taken his station as if nothing had happened. It was scarcely a subject for jesting; for, though the woman was mad, if she had used a stronger knife there would have been blood and very possibly death; yet the wits of the opposition party took up even this business as a matter of joke and burlesque. They ridiculed the notion of a sempstress regicide, as if a sempstress could not kill a king; they maintained that there had not been the slightest danger from the attempt; and that the addresses and congratulations from loyal counties, boroughs, universities, and bodies corporate—some of them, no doubt, exaggerated and silly enough as compositions—were all hollow farce and nonsense. It was the king's pleasure to confer the honour of knighthood on some of the bearers of these addresses, who, in several instances, had come from the furthermost parts of the kingdom to present them. The Whig wits immediately christened them all "The Knights of St. Margaret." It is said that George III. could laugh at these jests at his own expense; but many of them, hurtful to all kingly pride and state, must have rankled in his mind; and we can very well believe that the Whig party was injured by these bitter jokes, and by their own violence in parliament, and that Pitt's newly formed administration really profited by these mistakes of their rivals.

But another step taken long before this made the breach broader and more irreparable: the Whigs had rallied round the Prince of Wales, and two of their principal leaders and ornaments, Fox and Sheridan, continued to be the

The Prince of Wales. From a Painting by Sir William Beechey.

chosen boon companions of the heir apparent, whom—or so, at least, thought the king and queen—they encouraged not less in his extravagance and dissipation than in his political opposition to his father and Mr. Pitt. This young minister was so odious to the prince, that it is said his name was seldom mentioned by him at this time, without the addition of some term or terms much more energetic than princely or polite. From Fox, a man abounding in high intellectual qualities, with much goodness of heart, and even from Sheridan, with all his faults, the prince must have learned something more and better than dissipation and extravagance—supposing he needed their tuition, example, or encouragement in those particulars, which, to say the least, is very doubtful;—he must have learned something more of mankind, and of the out-of-door world and its ways, than could have been taught him by the more staid and correct and much duller society which his father would have prescribed to him—much more than he could possibly have learned from those animated or half-animated formulas, the lords and ladies, all high Tories and all highly respectable, that surrounded the king and still more the queen. It was scarcely possible for the prince to live so much with Sheridan without catching some sparks of his wit and fancy, or to live with Fox without being warmed occasionally by the glow of his loftier and more generous passions; but the prince had companions and connexions that had all the vices or faults of these remarkable men

without their genius and other qualities—men that gambled as much as Fox and drank as much as Sheridan, without having any of the bright redeeming points of either. One of his greatest intimates, the highest in rank and perhaps the lowest in character, was that scion of the ancient and most royal Bourbon stock, the Duke de Chartres, soon afterwards Duke d'Orleans, Philippe Egalité, and a headless corse. He first came over to England in 1783, shortly after the conclusion of peace with France; he repeated his visit in the spring of 1784, when he became still more intimate with the Prince of Wales, who was then in his twenty-second year. The two princes frequented the great meetings where bets are made on the speed of horses and the skill of training-grooms and jockeys; went together to Newmarket, to Epsom, and to other races, with abundance of lords, marquesses, and dukes in their train, and they won and lost large sums of money. In the autumn of the same year his Highness of Chartres came over again and revelled with his Highness of Wales at Brighthelmstone, then little better than a fishing-town, but which, from the date of this royal sojourn, began to rise in importance, and to advance, though at first by very slow degrees, to what Brighton now is. In the course of the present year (1786) the Duke de Chartres, who had lately become by the death of his father Duke d'Orleans, and the possessor of enormous wealth, again came over to visit his friend the Prince of Wales, to drink, bet at races, and gamble with dice and cards, to set him an example in waste and profusion, and to finish involving him in debts by exciting a rivalry with his own almost boundless means of riot and extravagance. We do not believe all the monstrous stories told of this unhappy man by his rabid countrymen of all parties, many of whom sought excuses for their own crimes or madness by heaping accusations upon him—a tool at the best, and nothing but a tool, in the crisis of the revolution—but, without giving credit even to half of these accusations, we are disposed to believe that drinking, gambling, and libertinism were not the worst vices of Philippe Duc d'Orleans. The orgies of his eldest son must have been particularly distressing to the regular, religious king, who just at this period had issued, at the prayer of Mr. Wilberforce and some other devout gentlemen who had formed themselves into a society for the reformation of manners, his royal proclamation against vice and immorality, and all kinds of swearing, drunkenness, and licentiousness. It was apparently during this visit of the French prince that he offered to relieve the necessities of the heir-apparent to the English throne by a round loan of French money. The thing got wind immediately, and as soon as it was known great pains were taken to prove that the Prince of Wales had immediately rejected the offer as "involving the honour of England."* It appears, however, from a letter from the great Whig nobleman, the Duke of Portland, to Mr. Sheridan, that the transaction had proceeded much farther than this, that something very like a regular bargain for the loan had been all but concluded, that it had been publicly spoken of in the presence of the French minister by *two French-women* and a Frenchman, when the Prince of Wales's friends discovered it, and, knowing the dangerous consequences that must follow such a transaction, interfered and stopped it.* If the Prince of Wales had been allowed to conclude the bargain and to take the money of the French prince, no matter upon what conditions, he would have brought down upon the Whig party of that day a darker odium than attaches to the memory of the patriots of the days of Charles II. for taking money from Louis XIV. That band of patriots were in their graves a hundred years before the prying eye of Dalrymple detected their disgraceful connexion with the court of France, and published the letters and accounts of M. Barillon.† Those Whigs had been so far fortunate that they could only be punished in their memories and posthumous fame; but the Prince of Wales's friends were living men; and, however innocent, or even ignorant, they might be of the transaction, the prince's imprudence would, in the violent party warfare of the time, have been charged upon them as a heinous state crime, for who but they were his associates, champions, and advisers? Well might the Duke of Portland, as a chief of the Whig party, feel alarmed at this "odious engagement," at this "bad business;" and well might even Sheridan, lackpenny as he was, exert himself in preventing so perilous a loan. The king himself, upon other grounds than any affection for the Whigs, must have partaken in their alarm and anxiety; and, this being the case, it is rather extraordinary that he did not make some sacrifice, or permit some effort to be made by others, in order to relieve his son from the pressure of debt which had driven him into such a negotiation. It

* Ann. Regist.

* The curious letter of the Duke of Portland was first made public by Mr. Moore in his Life of Sheridan. The duke gives the day of the week and the day of the month, but not the year. It is pretty clear, however, that the year must have been 1786, for the year before the party lending, or offering to lend, was not Duke of Orleans, but only Duke of Chartres; and there are several reasons why it could not have been later than 1786. From the Duke of Portland's letter we may conclude that his grace had been the first person to make the dangerous discovery, and that he had already spoken to Sheridan, as a favourite and confidant of the Prince of Wales, in the hope that he would warn his royal highness. In the letter, Portland tells Sheridan that he had received a confirmation of the intelligence. "The particulars," says his grace, "varied in no respect from those I related to you, except in the addition of a pension, which is to take place immediately on the event which entitles the creditors to payment, and is to be granted for life to a nominee of the D. of O——. The loan was mentioned in a mixed company by two of the French women and a Frenchman (none of whose names I know) in *Calonne's* presence, who interrupted them by asking how they came to know anything of the matter, then set them right in two or three particulars which they had misstated, and afterwards begged them, for God's sake, not to talk of it, because it might be their complete ruin. I am going to Bulstrode, but will return at a moment's notice if I can be of the least use in *getting rid of this odious engagement, or preventing its being entered into, if it should not be yet completed.*"

On the very next day the Duke of Portland writes a very short note to thank Sheridan for what he has done. "I hope," says his grace, "I am not too sanguine *in looking to a good conclusion of this bad business.*"

M. Calonne had been employed in the finances by Louis XVI., and had been sent over to England in a kind of disgrace.

† See ante, vol. iii. pp. 726, 727, 728.

is true that the danger, in the present instance, would be pretty well over as soon as the negotiation was *known;* but, if left in his embarrassment, the prince might very possibly have recourse to other means equally objectionable. It appears, however, that George III., who seldom changed a resolution which he had once come to, had made up his mind that the prince, who, in his opinion, made so bad a use of the money he already had from the nation, should not be allowed to get any more. His own economical habits indisposed him to tolerate the extravagance of others; and he may very well have foreseen that, if his son's debts were paid off now, it would only favour a fresh accumulation, to be paid off, or clamouring to be paid off, at no distant period; and his conscience, as a man of strict private morals, no doubt, stepped in to sanction his parsimony by hinting that to allow the prince more money would only be giving him the means of indulging more freely in vicious irregularities. There was also another circumstance which, in the eyes of the king, and still more in the eyes of the queen, was fraught with as much disgrace as danger, and which, in reality, was calculated to excite alarm. We mean the connexion of the prince with Mrs. Fitzherbert, which had been for some time no secret, and which we shall soon find dragged before parliament. If all these things are calmly considered, the estrangement of the king from the prince, which has been so often made the subject of wonderment and bitter condemnation, will appear neither very extraordinary nor very blameable. It was impossible that there should be any harmony between such a father and such a son. All the Georges, and we believe we may say all other sovereigns their contemporaries or predecessors, had lived on very bad terms with the heirs to their crowns: such, indeed, seems to be an inherent necessity in the royal condition, and it must be strongest and most pronounced in a free or constitutional country like England, where there ever has been and ever must be a powerful and violent opposition party, (including names, and reputations, and fortunes as high as those of the party that may happen to be in power and in the favour of the sovereign,) who are sure to rally round the heir-apparent, encouraging his discontents, his unfilial disobedience and disrespect. It may not, as we have already remarked, be very moral or even decent to throw a wall of fire between the king on the throne and the prince that is to be his successor, to pit the son against the father, to make a disruption of all the ties of family and nature that are held sacred between other individuals; but such is royalty —such is party. We are not aware that, of the two great parties that long divided the nation, either can accuse the other of being the guiltier in this respect. In George II.'s time, when the Whigs had the ascendancy, the Tories seized upon his son and heir Prince Frederic, driving him on to almost every extremity that suited the views of the opposition; and, what was more, when Prince Frederic died and his son Prince George was heir to the throne, the Tories rallied round, pitting him even as a mere stripling against his grandfather, and making him and his mother a constant thorn in the side of the old king.* George III., however, was not likely to moderate his displeasure against his heir-apparent, by the recollection of his own conduct, when he occupied something like the same position;—he indeed, besides that he was too young to be accountable for what was done in his name, had not been chargeable either with indulgence in vicious irregularities, or with anything unfilial;—and he complained, at times, it is said, with more bitterness than became his religious professions, and at times, it is said, with tears in his eyes, that his eldest son was linked with his enemies and revilers, with men who were in the daily habit of condemning his most innocent actions, and ridiculing his best. Thus, for example, at the very moment that Sheridan more than hinted in the House of Commons, that he, the king, was capable of being bribed or basely influenced by a diamond presented by Hastings, Sheridan was the chosen counsellor and most constant companion of the Prince of Wales. We mention the case of Sheridan, as the diamond question will be fresh in the reader's mind, together with the loan transaction, which shows the closeness of his intimacy with the heir-apparent; but Fox and others had said and done things far more hurtful to the king's feelings than the talk about the "extraordinary diamond;" and these gentlemen, and Fox at the head of them all, were high in the prince's favour and confidence. Against Fox in particular, George III. entertained an unmodified and unvarying dislike. It has been usual to find the cause for this strong feeling in the gambling propensities and irregularities of the idol of the Whigs; and, no doubt, the king's strict notions would be shocked by these improprieties, and dispose him to disapprove and reprobate the intimate union of his son with such a man as Fox, whose high qualities were precisely of that kind which George III. could not comprehend. But there was assuredly something more than these objections—something more than this moral squeamishness:—the king had admitted into his councils and government, and even into no small degree of favour at court, certain noblemen and gentlemen who had sinned against strict morals as much as ever Charles Fox had done, and that too in an open and barefaced manner. There was, for example, Dashwood, Lord le Despenser, the associate of John Wilkes in his worst orgies, the father-abbot or president of the obscene madmen of Medenham Abbey, who styled themselves "Franciscans," after his Christian name of Francis; —there was Lord Sandwich, whose name had become a sort of synonyme for debauchee or libertine, and one of whose amours had come before the

* See Pict. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 421, 422, 423, 424, 427, 428, 429, 455, 459, 565, 576, 584, 585, and various other parts of the narrative of the reign of George II. George II., it will be remembered, had lived on equally bad terms with his father, George I.

public in a murder trial at the Old Bailey;* yet both these noblemen were well received at court, both had been acceptable members of his majesty's government, and Lord Sandwich had only recently quitted office with a profitable appointment in lieu of a pension. We suspect that the *real* cause, or, perhaps, *the strongest of several causes*, for the great and lasting dislike to the Whig leader must be sought for in Mr. Fox's politics and change of party. He had begun public life, as we have seen, a most violent Tory, and, though but a young man when he thus committed himself, and though he went over to the opposite side before his extraordinary abilities had fully developed themselves, George III. had no belief either in the sincerity of his conversion to Whig principles, or in the sincerity of the passionate eloquence and earnestness with which he afterwards advocated those principles, carrying them out to an extent that was hardly known before, and that, in the end, alarmed and alienated more than one-half of the Whig aristocracy. We know that in private the king always spoke of Charles Fox as a deserter, and as a man not to be trusted. The conduct and character of Mr. Fox will not be weighed exactly in this royal balance: we merely mention the king's feelings to account for the king's strong personal dislike to an eminent man who was not only the idol of his party, but who had in most other instances the art or quality of winning the affection even of his political opponents. What added to the gall and bitterness in the royal mind was a conviction that, die when he would, his successor would place Fox at the head of the government; and the persuasion, inseparable from that belief, that Fox and the rest of his party must be looking with eager eyes for his decease. As if to put his other sons out of the way of temptation and of the force of the Prince of Wales's example, the king sent the Prince Frederic (Duke of York) to study the science of war, or Prussian tactics, in Hanover; and placed Prince William (Duke of Clarence) as a midshipman on board the 'Pegase;' he dispatched his fourth son, Prince Edward (Duke of Kent), to Geneva, under a governor; and soon after this he entered his three youngest sons —for the princes were seven—Ernest (Duke of Cumberland), Augustus (Duke of Sussex), and Adolphus (Duke of Cambridge), as students in the Hanoverian University of Göttingen. Except in the disposal of Prince William, his majesty incurred no trifling share of unpopularity by these precautionary measures, the queen of course having her full share of the blame, for her country was never forgotten, and it was the constant practice of murmurers to accuse her of a design of making her sons as *German* as herself. It was said by the censurers and satirists of the day that the princes were sent to get un-English notions—an anti-liberal and anti-national education; and many, not so prone to censure, doubted whether Hanover and Prussia were the best schools for British princes. It is said—what may be easily believed—that the king had many conversations with the heir-apparent on his dissipated conduct, and particularly on his extravagance. It is also said that the queen's chief concern was to detach him from the contumacious Whigs, and more especially from Mr. Fox. This also may be assumed as true, as may likewise the prince's rejoinder—"that proscriptions of persons were both impolitic and unjust, and that the time might arrive when Mr. Fox would be necessary as a check upon Mr. Pitt, if that minister, as it was likely, should grow insolent upon the security of his power." In other places the prince continued to express more generous feelings, or to give a higher cause for his marked preference of Fox, asserting that his principles of government were the best and his ability and character the foremost of the day—declaring that he loved the man, and his Whig politics as much as the man. Against Mr. Pitt the prince kept up a thorough dislike, the sincerity of which, at least at this time, there was no doubting. He had even, it is said, complained to the king, that his minister had shown him marked disrespect by bringing a city rabble in his train to shout and hoot in front of Carlton House.* Though scarcely two years older than the prince, and though comparatively almost as much in debt, the chancellor of the exchequer had no commiseration for the embarrassments of his royal highness, no feeling that prompted him to undertake a struggle with the king's love of money, or to move or approve a vote of public money. Economy could scarcely at any period be called a cardinal virtue of his administration; but here he looked upon any grant from the House of Commons as so much money to be thrown into the enemy's camp. People spoke to him of the dangerous impropriety of suffering the honour of the heir-apparent to be tarnished and his peace destroyed by clamorous creditors; but Pitt was inexorable. In the preceding session of parliament, when the minister had called the attention of the House to the civil list, which had a great propensity to get into arrears, Sheridan had taken the opportunity of mentioning the prince's debts, and he had been joined by several of the Whig party; and Pitt had then coldly replied that he had received no commands from his majesty on the subject, and could not interfere, though he would willingly obey any commands he might receive *officially* from the king. After this the prince had sent Lord Southampton, his groom of the stole, to lay the state of his affairs before the king. Lord Southampton was graciously received, but did

* Tint of the Reverend James Hackman, for the murder of Lord Sandwich's mistress, Miss Reay, in 1779. He was found guilty and executed.

* This happened in 1784, when Pitt, after his triumphant success at the general election, had been dining with his admirers at a public dinner in the city. The young premier, in the same carriage with Lord Sydney, and drawn by the mob, passed by Carlton House, opposite to which the rabble made a halt, and a terrible shouting, in which the prince's name and the name of his friend Fox were blurted with very little respect. The prince chose to consider the two ministers in the carriage responsible, and called upon the king to make them apologise.

not obtain any definite answer. The statement or schedule of his royal highness's debts was too long to admit of a prompt reply. At the end of a month his majesty informed his son, by letter, that he could sanction neither a motion in the Commons for the increase of his annual allowance, nor a motion for a grant to discharge his debts. Upon this the Prince of Wales carried into effect a plan which had been debated for some time and recommended or highly approved of by his Whig friends. The very day after receiving the king's answer, he dismissed the officers of his court, and reduced the establishment of his household to that of a private gentleman; he ordered coach-horses, saddle-horses, race-horses, all to be sold; put a stop to the works carrying on, with more expense than taste, at Carlton House; shut up the state apartments, and confined himself to the use of a few rooms. The savings, estimated at 40,000*l.* per annum, were set apart and vested in trustees for the payment of his debts.* The tender sympathies of no inconsiderable a part of the public were greatly affected by these proofs of distress and of generous self-denial. It is even said that there were wet eyes in Pall Mall as the prince's beautiful horses were led in a string through Pall Mall, St. James's-street, and Piccadilly to be sold by auction at Tattersall's. His friends, or all the gentlemen in opposition, cried out, "How great!" "How noble in the prince!" It is said that even his foes joined in the same cry of wonder and applause; but this is said by a courtly friend, and the truth of it may be doubted. Indeed it is certain that his conduct was much more censured than admired by the party in power, and by all the members of his father's court, who joined in attributing it to childish spite and spleen, or to a malicious design of injuring the popularity of his majesty and his majesty's ministers. They held that it was highly disrespectful to the king to dismiss the court or household which had been formed for him by his father, and to sink into an obscure way of living on pretence of paying his debts. It is also somewhat questionable whether the dismissed grooms of the bedchamber, gentlemen in waiting, &c. &c., very sincerely approved of a sacrifice made at their expense, although it is said that, with one single exception, they behaved with an heroical disinterestedness.† The prince, explaining and justifying the proceeding in a letter to the king, says, that he had "sent in various applications for two years successively;" that through the various delays which had occurred his original embarrassments had been greatly increased; that the pressing importunities of many indigent and deserving creditors (some of them persons whose very existence depended upon a speedy discharge of their accounts) had made too forcible an appeal to his justice and honour, and to the feelings of his heart, to permit the measures he had taken to be any longer delayed. "Another consideration," adds the prince, "is, that any further procrastination might have exposed me to *legal insults*, as humiliating to me as I am persuaded that they would be offensive to your majesty." He further told the king that he had fully determined, in case of his not being so fortunate as to meet with that relief from his majesty which he thought he had the greatest reason to expect, to exert every nerve to render that best redress and assistance to his creditors which he could not help thinking was denied to him. "These," said his royal highness in conclusion, "are the motives, Sir, that have actuated my conduct in the steps I have taken, of reducing every expense in my family, even those to which my birth and rank entitle me (and which I trust will ever continue to be the principle and guide of my conduct), till I have totally liberated myself from the present embarrassments which oppress me; and the more so, as I am persuaded that such a line, when pursued with consistency, will meet with the approbation of every candid and dispassionate mind." This letter is said to have been written after the king had sent again for Lord Southampton on learning the decision the prince had come to, and had also written to his lordship that he had not said absolutely that he would not pay the debts; but that, if the prince chose to take a rash step, he must likewise take the consequences. These letters and messages passed early in July. In August, when the maniac attempt was made upon the king's life, no notice whatever was sent by the court to the prince, who was at Brighton, and who learned it from a private correspondent. It is said that his royal highness immediately flew to Windsor, that he was received there by the queen, and that the king would not see him.* The Duke of Orleans came over in the autumn, and it appears to have been then that the loan was offered or requested. The party favourable to the Prince of Wales represent the French prince as pressing his royal highness in the strongest manner to make use of his fortune till some favourable change should take place in his circumstances, to whatsoever extent he might find necessary; and it is but fair to state that the duke had a certain generosity of disposition, and was always free of his money when friends or favourites were to be served, or any purpose pro-

* The Prince of Wales's income was—

Allowance on Civil List . . .	£50,000
Duchy of Cornwall revenues, &c. .	14,000
	£64,000

Of this sum, 20,000*l.* a-year was swallowed up by the household officers, &c., who had all been appointed by the king, and about 10,000*l.* a-year went for the expenses of the table, &c.

† "Lord Southampton and all the prince's people behaved to him in the most grateful, meritorious, and manly way, except Colonel Hotham, who has 1000*l.* a-year salary, and poundage upon all the others' salaries, which amounted to 500*l.* a-year more. This man had the modesty to write to the prince, that it was hard he should lose 500*l.* a-year, and begged of his royal highness, as he had determined upon diminishing his household, since he was so good as to keep him, to give him an equivalent to make up the 500*l.* a-year he lost by his royal highness's resolution. The prince, it is said, means to discard him. You may depend upon all I have told you for truth."—*Letter from a gentleman connected with the prince's court, as given by the late Mr. Wallace in 'Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George IV.'*

* Ann. Regist. It may be necessary to remind the reader that this respectable publication was strongly prejudiced in favour of the prince, and was completely under the control of the Whig party.

moted on which he set his heart. As there was no war to excite the people with its adventures and vicissitudes, as there was a dearth of public excitements of any kind except such as arose out of the Indian accusations, the prince's debts, next to Warren Hastings's impeachment, formed the staple of public and private discussion. Little decency was observed by the two great contending parties, who used the names of king and prince as best suited their respective views or passions. On the one side George III. was represented as an unnatural father—a merciless miser, who was hoarding up millions which he had not the taste or spirit to employ; on the other hand the prince was held up as a living miracle of honour, a martyr to his high principles and delicate feelings, and Carlton House, now shut up in gloom and silence, was represented as the very temple of taste and elegance. We believe the taste was pure in neither quarter: yet still any comparison must be disadvantageous to the cumbersome monotony of St. James's; and the prince, young, gay, and handsome, carried with him the suffrages of all the fashionable world, which is a world that will always have its weight. We are not aware when the advice was given—it might be before the prince dismissed his household and his horses, or it might be after that grand crisis—but the advice *was* given, it is said, "by several respectable members of the House of Commons," that his royal highness ought to permit an appeal to be made to the justice and generosity of the nation in parliament; or that, since the king refused to sanction any motion by ministers or their adherents for an increase of income or for a grant, some stanch members of the Whig opposition should be permitted to take the initiative. It should appear that both Fox and Sheridan assured the prince that his personal popularity was so great that a money-vote might be carried in the teeth of his father and the chancellor of the exchequer, and that, by these means, his royal highness's assent was obtained. Or, in the language of his party, "to this measure the prince appears to have assented, not more from a natural wish to free himself from his pecuniary embarrassments, than from a desire to do away any bad impression that the misfortune of having incurred the royal displeasure, and the consequent refusal of affording him any relief, might have left upon the minds of the public."* Indefatigable exertions were made in procuring the support of *independent* members of parliament—a small body, and which would have been perhaps still less numerous if any rigid inquest into, or definition of, *independence* had been established. If the term was to mean honesty and entire disinterestedness, such a party might have been covered by a cloth no broader than that which lay on the table of the House; the greater part of the so-called independent members being composed of cool, calculating gentlemen who did not bind themselves either to the minister or to the opposition, to Whigs or Tories, only because by keeping aloof they could make themselves important to both parties, and by some lucky hit, some step taken at a critical juncture, obtain to themselves far greater advantages than the ordinary ones secured to the constant and pledged adherents. These were the kind of men whom half a century before Sir Robert Walpole was accustomed to buy for the nonce with bank-notes: and, if this direct mode of dealing had gone by, the processes which had succeeded, though more refined, were scarcely more honest. It was understood by all the Whig party that a struggle should be made on the subject of the Prince of Wales's debts and distresses at an early stage of the next session; and, as so many individuals were called into consultation or solicited for their votes, it was not possible that ministers should remain ignorant of the intended blow.*

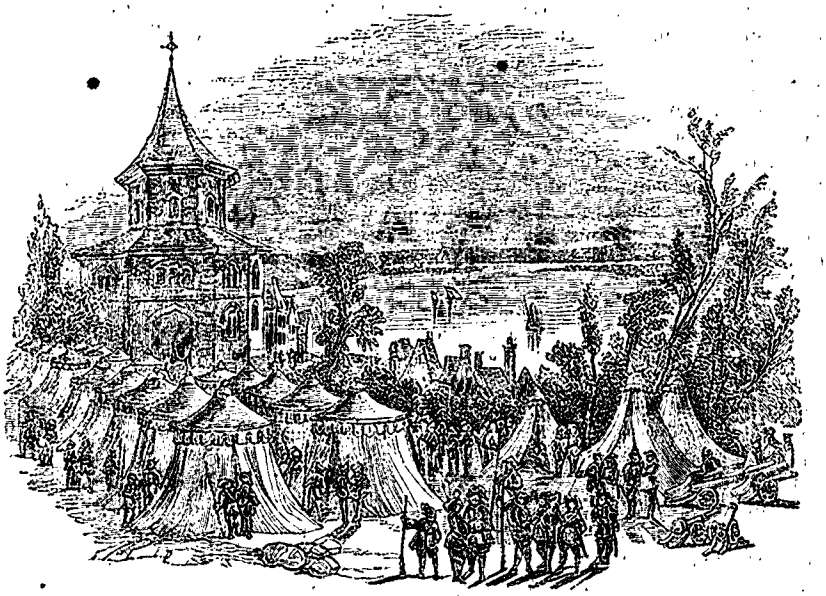
On the 17th of August of the present year (1786) Frederick the Great of Prussia, who hastened his death by the indulgence of a voracious appetite and by a sort of diet sufficient to kill a young man, expired in the 75th year of his age, self-possessed and cynical to the last gasp. He was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William, who determined to interfere immediately in favour of the expelled Prince of Orange, who was married to his own sister, a woman generally supposed to have a more manly spirit than her husband. By the democratic party, who were represented, according to men's opposite principles or prejudices, as enlightened patriots or as a stupid and selfish faction, the House of Orange had been in effect deprived of the stadtholdership and driven into a kind of exile at Middleburg. They had also undergone many personal insults and humiliations which rankled in the mind of the Prussian princess. At first his new majesty of Prussia was willing to try the effects of diplomacy and peaceful negotiation, and, jointly with the King of Great Britain, he offered himself as a mediator between the Orangists and the democratic party. But this offer of mediation was rejected by the democrats upon the ground of partiality, George III. being considered to be as friendly to the House of Orange and quite as adverse to the popular party as Frederick William himself. His Prussian majesty then proposed joining in the mediation the King of France, who had all along sustained the democratic party. The court of Versailles embraced the idea, but proposed that the King of England should be left out, and that the mediation should be managed solely by France and Prussia. It was an insult to England, but Frederick William accepted this proposal, and M. de Rayneval (the French minister) and Baron de Goertz (the Prussian minister) met at

* Ann. Regist.

* During the long recess of parliament several peerages were conferred. Jenkinson, who had begun public life as secretary to Lord Bute, and who was accused by the opposition of having succeeded to the favour and secret influence of that nobleman, was created Baron Hawkesbury, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and president of the board of trade; Sir Guy Carleton was created Baron Dorchester; and three or four Scotch and Irish peers were made peers of Great Britain.

the Hague and entered upon the difficult business of mediation. But the French court wished for almost anything rather than the re-establishment of that hereditary enemy the House of Orange; and the King of Prussia and his sister the Princess of Orange were of opinion that the only way of settling matters was by force of arms, that the democratic party must be broken and chastised, and that negotiations were only to be adopted as a decent prelude to the march of a Prussian army into the heart of Holland. At the same time the animosities of the two contending parties were enough, without any spurring, to defeat any attempt at a pacific arrangement. The democrats continued to look to France for aid and support, and the Orangists and aristocrats fixed their hopes on England, who, though set aside as a mediatrix, continued to interest herself in these affairs, not certainly from any vehement affection for the one party more than the other, but through the natural and inevitable desire of preventing France from obtaining the command of the Low Countries. As soon as the negotiations began M. de Rayneval and Baron Goertz acted as if they had met rather to make a war than to establish a peace; the Frenchman insisting that the Prince of Orange must surrender nearly all his privileges or prerogatives, or at least so much of them as would have left him with scarcely half the power of an American president; and the Prussian insisting that the Prince of Orange, as stadtholder, should have much more power than he had hitherto possessed, and that all concessions and sacrifices were to be made by the popular body. It was surely ominous to the French monarchy that, lately in America and now again in Holland, it should be committed and pledged to the support of democratic principles, and that it should persevere in so dangerous an anomaly as that of an absolute and arbitrary government making itself the protectress and champion of thorough-going and enthusiastic republicans, and that too at a time when France was in a most discontented and fermenting condition, in which nearly all men were wishing for a change, though few as yet had made up their minds to erect a model-republic on the ruins and ashes of the old monarchy. Baron Goertz accused Rayneval of arrogance and insolence, of affecting a superiority which was not to be borne by the minister of a great and warlike power like Prussia—accused him of treating the Prince of Orange like a convicted criminal, and of siding with the most violent men of a furious faction. Rayneval rejoined with interest, accusing Goertz of acting as an advocate rather than as a candid and impartial umpire, and rating the Prince and Princess of Orange as wilfully obstinate and unaccommodating. The French minister, too, was the first to break off the negotiations, which he did in an abrupt manner at the end of December, and set off for Paris. Baron Goertz was then recalled by his Prussian majesty, who had not waited so long to put an army in order and make his preparations for marching it at the proper season to the Rhine and the Scheldt. The baron did not even take leave of their high mightinesses the States-General, having merely written them a short note enclosing a letter from his royal master, who merely expressed his deep concern at the failure of his good offices for restoring the tranquillity of the country. No ill-will was expressed, no threat held out; and many over-credulous Dutchmen believed that there was no danger of their being disturbed by the prince who had inherited the renowned armies of Frederick the Great. Some even went so far as to assert that Frederick William had quarrelled with his sister and brother-in-law for not accepting the terms which had been proposed to them by the States. Even those who took a correcter view of the matter found comfort and encouragement in the notions that Frederick William was not a Frederick the Great, and that if he interfered they had only to raise up their hands to obtain the assistance of a French army. These men were too far gone in their madness to feel that the French assistance might be as dangerous to the independence of their country as any Prussian invasion. Their confidence in French virtue and disinterestedness and their assurance of obtaining whatever aid they might require were kept alive, not so much by the ministers and envoys of Louis XVI., as by a numerous swarm of political propagandists from Paris and other parts of France, who were initiating themselves in Holland in the craft and mystery of revolution which they were so soon to practise on an infinitely grander scale in their own country. By means of these men, too, Holland was deluged with French books and pamphlets, in which democracy, atheism, and obscenity were mixed in pretty equal proportions. The question was complicated by the division of the country into so many separate states, each of which had its own views and interests and its own political predilections, while all claimed the right of judging for themselves, together with the right of perfect independence or separate sovereignty. In some of these states the Orangists were still the more powerful; and, whether aristocrats or democrats had the upper hand, no one state would tolerate the minority. It was evident by the end of the year that these differences could only be settled by arms. Previous to the negotiations and during their continuance many changes and movements took place, amounting in some instances to actual war. The Prince of Orange having joined his wife, the high-spirited Prussian princess, removed into Guelderland, which, together with the neighbouring province of Utrecht, bordering upon the Prussian territories, was strongly attached to his family and interests. The states of Guelderland, by a variety of votes and resolutions, confirmed the prince's authority of stadtholder, and forbade any armed associations of burghers within their jurisdiction. In the towns of Hattem and Elburg the burghers were refractory, and, being encouraged by the states of Holland, they resisted the proclamations, and inti-

mated that they would meet force by force. The states of Guelderland immediately called upon the prince, as their stadtholder and captain-general, to send a body of troops to chastise these citizens. The prince, who was staying at Nimeguen, or Nimwegen, a strongly fortified town in Guelderland, immediately dispatched General Spengler with four regiments and a respectable train of artillery, enjoining him, if possible, to avoid bloodshed. When Spengler appeared before Hattem the burghers, who had been joined by volunteers from the province of Holland and from other quarters, made a bold show of resistance; they had mounted cannon and erected barricades; but a very few shots drove them from their guns, and they fled out of the town at one gate as Spengler's troops entered at the other. Nor were the burghers of Elburg more valorous, abandoning their town in the same manner. The states of Holland represented these hostile proceedings as fully justifying their own

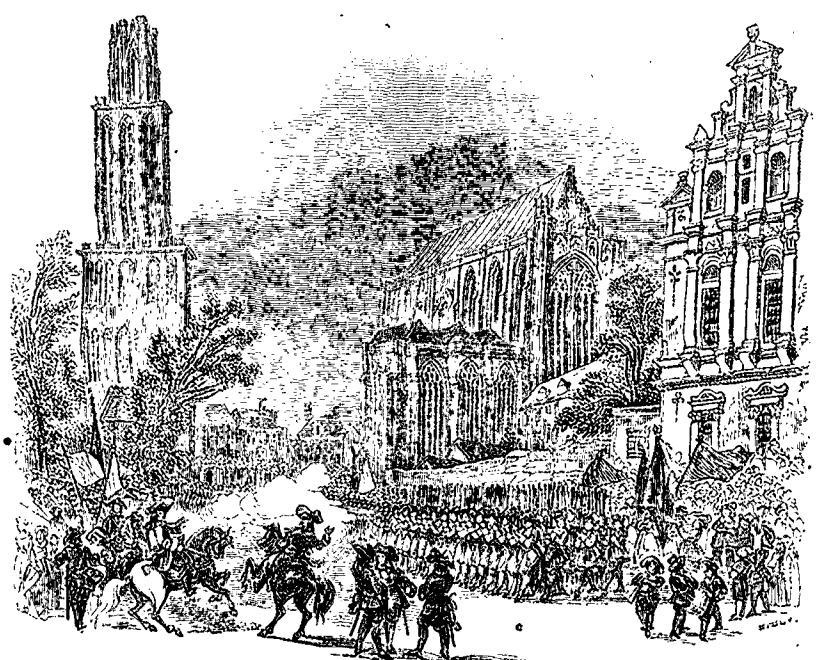


NIMEGUEN. From a Drawing by Anelay.

jealousies and the violences which they had committed at an early part of the quarrel in persecuting and deposing the magistrates, senators, and members of town-councils that were attached to the Orange interests; they appealed to the people of all the provinces still called *United*, though there was nothing but disunion and discord among them; and they suspended the prince from the right of nominating to any military charge, and from all the functions appertaining to him as captain-general of the republic. The states of Holland also recalled their troops from Maestricht and other garrisons, formed a defensive line on their own inland frontier, and instructed their general to encourage the democratic party in Utrecht, where the burghers had shown considerably more spirit. As the Prince of Orange retained the military command of five of the provinces, whose united forces were about equal in number, and, on the whole, somewhat superior in quality, to those of Holland, the Orangists would have had a fair chance of settling their own quarrel without Prussian assistance if it had not been for French assistance which their opponents had called in, and which they would be sure to call in again.

A.D. 1787.—In Lord North's time parliament was generally assembled as early as the month of November, but the rule seems now to have been adopted, that it was not to meet until after the Christmas holidays. The Houses met on the 23rd of January. The speech from the throne contained no allusion to the troubles in the Netherlands and to the disagreements which had broken out on their account between the French and the English governments; but it dwelt almost solely upon the treaty of navigation and commerce which had been concluded with the most Christian king. It promised that a copy of this treaty should be laid before the two Houses, which were recommended to take such measures as they might judge proper for carrying it into effect. "And I trust," added his majesty, "you will find that the provisions contained in it are calculated for the encouragement of industry and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries, and, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between our respective subjects, appear likely to give an additional permanence to the blessings of peace. I shall keep the same salutary objects in view in the commercial arrangements which I am negotiating with other powers." This treaty of commerce and navigation had been negotiated and finally signed at Ver-

sailles on the preceding 29th of September by Mr. Eden, who had abandoned his former political connexions to become the supporter and friend of Mr. Pitt. Hence the Whig opposition were equally inveterate against the negotiator and the treaty. In the debate upon the address, Mr. Fox, who had long professed and who certainly entertained a more friendly feeling towards the French nation, and who was far more of a cosmopolite than his rival, censured the recent arrangements and sounded the old trumpet of war and national hatred. He declared that all the wars of Great Britain with her neighbour had been on her part wars of necessity; and that jealousy of the power of France, which we were now called upon to lay aside, had been our safeguard and preservation, and had always been founded upon our experience of the ambitious designs, and intermeddling, encroaching spirit of France. With a woful or wilful blindness to the real condition of the country, and to the character of the reigning monarch, Fox affirmed that Louis XVI. was as dangerous as his great grandfather had been, and that the power of the French monarchy was greater now than in the reign of Louis XIV. Ministers, he said, might as yet be considered as being in the honeymoon of their new connexion; but he would ask them, even during this fond period, whether they felt the influence of France operating in their favour with those powers with whom they were now negotiating for other commercial arrangements or alliances? Did it manifest itself in the court of Vienna, in the court of Madrid, in the court of St. Petersburg, or at the Hague? He believed the very reverse was the fact, and that it was well known at this very moment that the court of Versailles was labouring to counteract Mr. Pitt's diplomatists. And at the same time France was daily increasing her navy and directing her chief attention to that object. Was this a favourable symptom of her friendly disposition towards this country? Did it indicate any extraordinary partiality towards Great Britain? Did it not rather prove that she was looking forward to and preparing for some favourable opportunity of indulging her *inveterate animosity* against her *ancient enemy?* In concluding his speech he put forward as popular with the nation, and perfect in itself, our old commercial treaty with Portugal—the well-known Methuen treaty, which subsisted down to our own day, to the detriment of Englishmen's stomachs and heads, as it obliged them to drink heavy port instead of the finer wines of France—and he trusted that, before parliament gave its sanction to any new engagements that might endanger so sure and tried a source of commercial advantage, they would require from his majesty's minister the fullest satisfaction upon this essential point. Pitt, as usual, replied to his great rival with his own mouth. His speech is memorable as exhibiting so striking a contrast to the many speeches he delivered in after years when he was pressing for a war and general crusade against France, and when Fox was as earnestly recommending peace and good fellowship with the French republicans, who had by that time made France as powerful and dangerous as he chose to represent it now. Pitt denied the necessity or policy of a constant jealousy and animosity in regard to France, and reprobated the doctrine of our being ancient and natural foes that



Utrecht. From a Drawing by Anelay.

never could and never ought to agree. These doctrines, he contended, were opposed both by humanity and by common sense. He asked whether we were to sacrifice every commercial advantage we might expect from a friendly intercourse with one of the best peopled and civilized nations of the earth to an antiquated jealousy and hatred? A treaty like the present would, he said, make it the interest of each nation to cherish and preserve friendly connexions, and would essentially tend to implicate and unite the views, conveniences, and interests of a large part of each kingdom, and so to insure the permanence of the present peace in Europe. If war was the greatest of evils, and commerce the greatest blessing that a country could enjoy, then it became the duty of those to whom public affairs were entrusted to endeavour, as much as possible, to render the one permanent and to remove the chances of the other. "This," added Pitt, "is the true method of making peace a blessing—that, while it is the parent of present wealth and happiness, it should also be the nurse of future strength and security. The quarrels between France and Britain have too long continued to harass not only these two great and respectable nations themselves, but also to embroil the whole peace of Europe;—nay, they have disturbed the tranquillity of the most remote parts of the world. They have, by their past conduct, acted as if they were, indeed, intended by nature for the destruction of each other; but I hope the time is now come when they shall justify the order of the universe, and show that they are better calculated for the more amiable purposes of friendly intercourse and benevolence." With regard to the Methuen treaty, he reminded the House that the court of Portugal had for some years withheld from us our fair proportion of the mutual advantages that treaty stipulated: yet that we were not bound by our present arrangements with France to annul that treaty. Though Fox had censured the French treaty, which formed the principal and almost sole topic of the speech from the throne, and the responsive address, he gave his assent to that address, which, indeed, passed without opposition or any motion for amendment. Pitt indulged his sarcastic humour in pointing out this inconsistency. "I am happy," said he, "that notwithstanding the vehemence with which the right honourable gentleman has argued *against* the address, he is ready to vote *for* it. I hope he will continue the same line of conduct throughout the session. For, if he makes a practice of voting in direct opposition to his own speeches and arguments, we may look for a greater degree of unanimity than could otherwise be expected."

We shall follow the debates on this subject to their close, before entering upon any other parliamentary proceedings. On the 5th of February Pitt moved that the House, that day week, should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration that part of his majesty's speech which related to the treaty of commerce and navigation formed with his most Christian majesty. The opposition objected that this was not allowing them sufficient time; and Lord George Cavendish moved that Monday se'nnight should be substituted for Monday next, and that in the mean time a call of the House should be ordered. Ministers insisted that every moment's delay would be attended with serious inconvenience; that the importance of the measure had of itself operated as a call of the House, rendering any vote or order to that effect unnecessary; that the whole business had been already before the public for more than four months; and, upon a division, Lord George's amendment was negatived by 213 against 89. The committee of the House on the French treaty, therefore, remained fixed for the 12th of February. On the 9th Mr. Fox endeavoured to bring the negotiations with Portugal then pending before the House previous to their coming to any decision on the French treaty; but the motion, which was for copies of papers, instructions, &c., sent to his majesty's minister at Lisbon, was rejected without a division. On the great field-day—the 12th—before the House resolved itself into committee, a petition was presented by Alderman Newnham, from certain manufacturers, praying that the House would not that day come to any decisive resolution upon the commercial treaty with France, as the petitioners had not had leisure to understand the treaty, and, consequently, were not yet aware to what degree their interests were likely to be affected by it. Pitt remarked that there was something singular both in the contents of this petition, and in the moment chosen for presenting it. He observed that the French treaty had been published between four and five months, during which time the petitioners, it seemed, had not chosen to find leisure to examine and understand it; and now, on the very day upon which the House had agreed to take it into their consideration, without pointing out one specific objection, they had the modesty to request parliament to delay, for an indefinite period, all further proceedings upon it. This he thought the House would on no account consent to. The House responded by loud calls for the order of the day, and, having formed themselves into committee, the minister began one of his greatest speeches, which occupied more than three hours in the delivery. He said, that, if the commercial treaty with France should be found to comprehend principles hostile to the received notions and doctrines of British commerce, and that thereby a general spirit of objection had spread over the country, he was assured that it would little avail him to stand up in that committee and argue for the acceptance of the treaty; and that they would certainly not be bound to confirm this treaty, unless, after deliberate discussion, they should perceive it supported by the most rational principles and by the most incontrovertible policy. He again asserted that, though the treaty had been between four and five months before the public, nothing like an objection had been heard against

it, not a murmur from any of the classes of manufacturers who were thought to be more particularly affected by it. For the present he said he meant only to submit to the House certain leading resolutions, namely—1. That all articles not enumerated and specified in the tariff should be importable into this country on terms as favourable to France as those allowed to the most countenanced nation, reserving always the power of preferring Portugal under the provisions of the Methuen treaty. 2. That if any future treaty should be made with any other foreign power, in any articles either mentioned or not mentioned in the present treaty, France should be put on the same or on as favourable terms as that power. 3. That all the articles specified in the tariff should be admitted into this country on payment of the duties, and with the stipulations stated in the treaty. He called upon the House to consider the relative state of the two kingdoms. On the first blush of the matter, he believed he might venture to assert, as a fact generally admitted, that France had the advantage in the gifts of soil and climate, and in the amount of her natural produce; and that Great Britain was, on her part, as confessedly superior in her manufactures and artificial productions. He observed that as regarded natural produce France had greatly the advantage, as she could export her wines, brandies, oils, and vinegars, while we could only export to her, in return, *the article of beer*. Thus, he said, all idea of reciprocity as to natural produce must be completely given up. But then he reasoned that Britain possessed some manufactures exclusively her own, and had such a superiority in other manufactures as to give her the advantage over her neighbour, and set competition at defiance. This then was the relative condition of the two countries, and this the precise ground on which he imagined that a valuable trade and connexion between them might be established. Having each its own distinct staple—having each that which the other wanted—and not clashing in the great and leading lines of their respective riches, they were like two great traders in different branches, and they might enter into a traffic which would prove mutually beneficial to them. Our manufactures must be greatly and eminently benefited in going into the French market loaded only with duties of 12 or 10 per cent., instead of being overlaid with enormous imposts, restricted in their importation to particular ports, or altogether prohibited and excluded. A market of so many millions of people—a market so near and prompt—a market of expeditious and certain return—a market of necessary and extensive consumption—was an object we ought to look up to with eager and satisfied ambition. To procure this market we ought not to scruple to give liberal conditions. We ought not to hesitate on the ground that France would be benefited as well as Great Britain. He considered it not merely a consoling but an exhilarating speculation to the mind of an Englishman, that, after the empire had been engaged in a contest with a combination of hostile powers the most formidable of any that ever threatened a nation—after struggling for its existence—it still maintained its rank and efficacy so firmly, that France, finding she could not shake it, now opened her arms and offered a beneficial connexion, on easy, liberal, and advantageous terms. He could not, in the common philosophy of the day, help striving to demonstrate that few or no French manufactures could compete with our own in an English market; and, apparently without having consulted with his sisters and nieces, who might have told him better, he expressed a doubt as to the preference said to be shown to French laces and French *millinery*. "But," said he, with his ordinary solemnity, "the clamours about millinery are vague and unmeaning when in addition to other benefits we include the richness of the country with which we are to trade, with its population superior to ours as 20,000,000 to 8,000,000, and of course a proportionate consumption." It would have been easy to show that consumption is not always strictly proportionate to population, not even in the articles of absolute necessity; and that, under the favour of other circumstances, a population of 8,000,000 may consume as much, in articles not of primary necessity, as a far larger population. Pitt's comparison or picture of the advantages of selling to a large market and buying for a much smaller one was complacently received by the House, who seem, moreover, to have disregarded that other important fact, that France after all could only buy in proportion as she sold. The minister went on to say that, viewing the relative circumstances of the two countries, he could see no objection to the principle of the exchange of their respective commodities;—that he could see no objection *because* he perceived and felt that our superiority in the tariff was manifest; because the excellence of our manufactures must incline the balance of trade to our side. He argued that it had been incorrectly stated that we had invariably considered it as our policy to resist all commercial connexion with France; that France had been more jealous of us than we of her; that trade prohibitions began on the part of France, and that we had only retaliated in our own defence. The unratified commercial treaty of Utrecht, in Queen Anne's time, which admitted some trading with France, had been indeed opposed by popular prejudice and by the party violence of that day, but not by the deliberate judgment of the nation, or by parliament, who, on the contrary, had voted an address praying Queen Anne to renew commercial negotiations with the court of France. At that time the relative situations of the two countries differed widely from what they were now: at the treaty of Utrecht we had but little to send to the French, but now we had much to send them—so much, in our manufactures, as greatly to counterbalance what we might take from her in natural produce. He asked whether men could conceive that there was a preposterous and inscrutable, a fixed and eternal something, between the two countries, which must

prevent them from ever forming any connexion, or cherishing any species of amity? He acknowledged that there might be a diminution of the revenues to the amount of 180,000*l.* or more;—"but," said he, "a temporary surrender of revenue is contradictory neither to sound policy nor to established practice:—the surrender of revenue for such great purposes is a policy by no means unknown in the history of Great Britain; and in the present instance it will be made up and returned to us in a three-fold rate by extending and legalizing the importation of French wines, brandies, and other articles hitherto, for the most part, smuggled." He confessed that increase of revenue by means of a reduction of duties had once appeared to him a mere paradox; but experience had at length convinced him that it was more than practicable. In considering the treaty in its political bearing, he again contended against the doctrine that France was and must be the unalterable enemy of Great Britain. His mind, he said, revolted from this position as monstrous and untenable: it was a libel on the constitution of political society, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the frame of man. Some persons, he said, reasoned as if this treaty with France was completely to annihilate our means of defence, as if it was to give up our army, to sink our navy, to cut off our colonies, and lull us into a state of helplessness and listless apathy. But he asked whether it did not much rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this forcible language—that the interval of peace, as it would enrich the nation, would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come. That we should not be taken unprepared for war was a matter totally distinct from the provisions of any treaty of commerce; it depended in no degree on such arrangements, but simply and totally on the watchfulness and ability of the administration for the time being. Alluding to the recent American war, he allowed that France had, at that moment of our distress, interfered in the hope of crushing us;—this was a truth over which he did not desire to throw even the slightest veil. Of that unhappy war—unhappy, yet scarcely inglorious—Pitt spoke with a lofty English feeling. "Oppressed as this nation was," said he, "during the last war by the most formidable combination for its destruction, yet had France very little to boast of at the end of the contest that should induce her again to enter deliberately into hostilities against this country. In spite of our misfortunes, our resistance must be admired, and in our defeats we gave proof of our greatness and almost inexhaustible resources, which, perhaps, success would never show us:—

> Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,
> Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
> Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
> Ducit opes animumque ferro.

Indeed, in recollecting the whole of that dreadful controversy, I can deduce arguments from it to reconcile the present conduct of France with more equitable and more candid principles of policy than gentlemen seem willing to attribute to our rival. When France perceived that, in that dreadful contest, in which, with the enormous combination of power against us, it might be truly said that we were struggling for our existence, we not only saved our honour, but manifested the solid and almost inexhaustible resources of this country; reflecting that, though she had gained her object in dismembering our empire, she had done it at an expense which had sunk herself in extreme embarrassment; and reflecting also that such a combination of hostile power against us, without a single friend in Europe on our side, can never be imagined again to exist" —(*Pitt lived to see something very like it*);—"may I not be led to cherish the idea, that, seeing the durable and steady character of our strength, and the inefficacy as well as the ruin of hostility, France would eagerly wish to try the benefits of an amicable connexion with us?" Pitt concluded with moving as the first resolution necessary to be passed —"That it appears to be expedient that all the articles of the growth, produce, and manufactures of the European dominions of the French king, which are not specified in the tariff of the treaty, shall be imported into this kingdom on payment of duties as low as any which shall be payable on the like articles from any other European nation." Fox rose to answer the chancellor of the exchequer, to repeat his condemnation of the treaty, and to assert again that France ought to be considered not only as a rival, but as a nation with whom there ought never to be any political or commercial connexion whatever. The sentiments he uttered may be considered as alien to his nature—as opinions dictated merely by his party position at the moment—yet they were uttered with every appearance of conviction and earnestness. He spoke of the restless ambition of France, and even of the character of Louis XVI., with the greatest bitterness. He too alluded to the American war, but, though his views had once been very different, it was only to heap coals of fire on the heads of the French—to accuse them of treachery and duplicity, to point out the mean way in which they had taken advantage of our difficulties, and to revive the national animosity on that account;—and he reaffirmed that no doubt could be left on the mind of any thinking man but that the French nation was actuated by a regular, fixed, and systematic enmity to this country. France might have changed her policy, but where was the proof that she had changed her sentiments? Was it not reasonable to suppose that her end was the same, though the means she meant to pursue were different?—that, instead of force, which she had found would not avail, she intended to employ stratagem, to put us off our guard, to lull us into security, to prevent our cultivating other alliances, to lessen the dependence of foreign states upon us, to turn all our views to commercial profits, to entangle our capital in their country, and to make it the private interest of individuals in this country

rather to acquiesce in any future project of ambition France might engage in than come to a rupture with her? Such, said Fox, were his convictions; and perhaps no great man ever uttered so much nonsense in a like number of words. With equal energy he supported the petition from the manufacturers which had been presented by Alderman Newnham, asking the minister whether he could pretend to understand the interests of the cotton manufacture better than Mr. Walker of Manchester, or the interests of the woollen manufacture better than the house of Milnes in Wakefield? Having condemned nearly every part of the treaty, and having asserted that the revenues of this country must suffer a very serious and uncompensated loss, Fox moved "That the chairman leave the chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again." He was followed and stanchly supported by Francis, who was making himself one of the most important members of opposition. Francis pretended to fear that the treaty was meant, by encouraging French intercourse, to degrade and enslave the free people of England. He dreaded, he said, the effects of an intimate connexion with France upon the character and *morals* of the British nation; and he also dreaded that there might be too close a union between the two crowns, which would assuredly be fatal to the liberties of Great Britain! He drew a comparison between the late great Pitt and the present one. "The polemical laurels of the father," said Francis, "must yield to the pacific myrtles which shadow the forehead of his son. The first and most prominent feature in the political character of Lord Chatham was *anti-gallican*. His glory was founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the house of Bourbon. The present minister has taken the opposite road to fame; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of Lord Chatham, is the *gens amicissima* of the son." Mr. Powys thought that the treaty would utterly ruin our glass manufacture; and doubted whether in the end it would not considerably injure our cotton trade. Mr. Baring, whose opinions in commercial matters were always looked up to with respect on account of his experience and extensive mercantile transactions, thought that there was good and bad in the treaty, but that the good, on the whole, predominated. Upon the question being called for, Fox's motion was negatived by 248 against 118, and Pitt's resolution was then put and carried.

On the 15th of February, while other business was proceeding, the premier, at a late hour, proposed that the House should go again into committee to consider the commercial treaty. The opposition complained that this was an indecent haste and a taking of the House by surprise; but they were outvoted by 145 to 59, and, the House being in committee, Pitt read without any preface his second resolution:—"That the wines of France be imported into this country upon as low duties as the present duties paid on the importation of Portugal wines." Mr. Flood opposed the resolution in a long speech, which was not without its curious passages. He said, for example, that France was endeavouring to carry on an extensive trade with the United States of America; that the Americans wanted long credit, which the French could not give them; but that now the French would take credit from the English merchants and give the Americans the benefit of it. Mr. Wilberforce in replying to Flood took occasion to reflect very severely on the parliamentary conduct of Fox. He said he wished that that gentleman could come down to the House coolly and dispassionately, that he could sometimes forget that he was a politician, and consider matters with more attention to their intrinsic merits. He declared that he had frequently been run away with by the oratory of the right honourable gentleman, and been obliged to appeal to his reason and his principles to prevent his being declaimed out of his understanding. After this address to the man who had much wit and no money, Wilberforce addressed himself to the plain understandings and broad purses of the country gentlemen; asking them whether the way to get rid of their four shillings in the pound land-tax was by holding the balance of Europe against France, or by extending our commerce and increasing the sale of our manufactures? Fox called these arguments mean and desponding; and asked whether ministers were ready to declare that we were no longer in a situation to hold the balance of power in Europe, or to be looked up to as the protectors of the liberties of Europe? Mr. Powys, as a country gentleman, replied to Wilberforce's address to that quarter: he said that the country gentleman who should govern his public conduct by mere considerations of private interest must be a miserable animal indeed. Dundas, by far the ablest supporter Pitt had in the House, defended the treaty, as an arrangement that would reduce the debts and fill the coffers of the state—that would enable us in a time of peace to gather strength for war in case war should become necessary. Before the question was put Fox moved, as an effectual means of preserving the Methuen treaty, that the duties on the importation of Portugal wines should at the same time be lowered one-third. This was negatived by 91 against 76, and Pitt's original resolution was then put and carried. On the following day—the 16th of February—Fox made another and last effort to secure the Methuen treaty, the infraction of which, he contended, would go to deprive us of an ancient and faithful ally, and of a sure market for our manufactures to the amount of nearly one million per annum. He remarked, with perfect truth, that but for Portugal we should not have had in the last war a friendly port in Europe between Gothenburg and Gibraltar. Pitt argued that the Methuen treaty might be preserved notwithstanding the French treaty; and the House, on his motion, voted several resolutions necessary to carry the latter into effect. On the 19th the report of the committee upon the whole of the com-

mercial treaty with France was brought up and agreed to by a large majority. On the 21st Mr. Blackburne, member for Lancashire, moved an address—"To thank his majesty for the solicitude he had been graciously pleased to evince in forming a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France; assuring him that the House conceived that the most happy effects would result from it to his faithful subjects, and that they would take every necessary step to render the negotiation effectual." In supporting this address Mr. Blackburne said that he had received letters of approbation from his constituents, and that a numerous meeting of the cotton manufacturers, held at Manchester, had considered the treaty as highly beneficial to this country in general, and to their own trade in particular. The Honourable Captain Berkeley, member for Gloucestershire, in seconding the motion, declared that the treaty had met the approbation of many bodies of woollen manufacturers his constituents; and that it was in France only that the treaty was condemned, as being too advantageous to England, and as likely to ruin the French manufacturers. He added that the people of Abbeville had already declared that the treaty would ruin them: and it is quite certain that now, as at later periods, the English had not a monopoly of all the anti-free-trade notions, but that the French were far more exclusive and jealous than they. It was in this debate that Mr. Grey, member for Northumberland—now the venerable Earl Grey—delivered his first speech in the House of Commons. His person, his manners, his voice, and the copiousness and elegance of his diction, were all warmly admired by both parties. He was ranked on his first appearance among the accomplished orators who, in the course of a few years, had risen among the young members.* "With the single exception of Pitt," says one of that minister's great admirers, "I have not witnessed any individual in my time who, on his first attempt, has excited such expectation of future eminence as did Grey. These expectations, it must be admitted, he has fully realized."† The opposition, on whose side he sat, admired the matter as much as the manner of the speech, and praised the strength of his arguments as much as his diction. But some of these arguments were little consonant with the maturer philosophy and liberal principles of Lord Grey; and, if he remembers certain parts of this his maiden speech, it can only be to smile or blush at them. He followed his leader Fox in representing any connexion with France as highly dangerous; and he declared that the present moment was perhaps that, of all others, in which our jealousy ought to be most awake, and in which we had the least reason for reposing any confidence in our old enemy. He read a state paper which had passed between the French minister and the plenipotentiary of the United States of America now in Paris,‡ and, which contained a proposition on the part of France to concede to America, without stipulation, a great variety of commercial advantages detrimental to her own revenues, and in which no European nation, not even Spain, was indulged. Hence Mr. Grey concluded that France expected an equivalent from the Americans, and that equivalent would be nothing less than the monopoly of the American trade, which was once ours. This too, he said, must lead to the augmentation of the French navy, and to the ruin of the English. Whilst France was offering us as a temporary bait this treaty of commerce, ostensibly for the supply of her own market, she had been securing customers in the western world to take our commodities off her hands, and thus not only to become the great carrier on the high seas, but to trade to an extent hitherto unknown to her upon the mercantile capital of Great Britain. Another object which Mr. Grey thought France had in view was to cut us off from all continental connexions and alliances, and to insulate us as much politically as we were insulated naturally by the sea that flowed between us and the continent. He recommended, instead of a present treaty with France, a more intimate intercourse with the Americans of the United States, who, he said, were willing and eager to enter into a commercial treaty upon fair and equitable terms. He accused ministers of granting to France advantages in trade which had been refused to Ireland—of giving to a rival and a natural enemy what we had withheld from our friends and fellow-subjects. He did not as yet perceive or hint at the possibility of removing restrictions on all sides, and the propriety of opening our trade to France as well as to Ireland and America: he thought that France ought to be excluded from participation, and that all commercial connexion with her must be fraught with danger and deceit. Even the temporary advantages which might possibly arise out of the French treaty he considered as so many additional reasons for rejecting it: every offer of benefit from France he regarded with suspicion—"*timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" Burke took a prominent part in the debate of this evening. He knew more of the science of public economy than any man in parliament, but on this occasion he chose to denounce economical considerations as unworthy of regard, and, yielding to his party connexions, to insist that the policy of the proposed treaty should be judged of on other grounds altogether. "The treaty," said he, "has been talked of as if it were an affair between two little counting-houses, and not between two great empires. It seems to be considered by its supporters as a contention between the sign of the Fleur-de-lis and the sign of the Red Lion which house should obtain the best custom." He censured the wonderful change of language which had

* Ann. Regist. † Sir N. W. Wraxall.

‡ Jefferson, who was performing offices at Paris not generally considered compatible with one another in the person of an accredited ambassador. He was negotiating with the ministers of the King of France about commerce and closer treaties of alliance, and showing them how, in case of another war, American seamen might be employed in "depredations" on the trade of Great Britain; and, at the same time, he was consulting with Lafayette how a revolution might best be made to overthrow the King of France's government!

taken place in the House whenever France was mentioned. "Nothing," he said, "had been heard for some time but panegyrics of the French. And what are the topics we have chosen for our panegyrics? Do we commend the qualities the French really have—their valour, their ingenuity, their wit? No, it is their *sincerity*, their *moderation*, their *truth*, their *good-will to this nation*, that we have been so extremely taken with." Yet, even if a lower view of the matter were to be taken, he expressed great doubt whether the minister's sanguine anticipations would not prove wholly delusive. He maintained that we risked much, and could gain but little, by the treaty. One of the great dangers he apprehended was, that British capital might gradually find its way into France! He painted in his usual vivid colours the great power and greater ambition of the French nation, and he pointed out, as things sure to excite the popular mind, the attention France was paying to her navy, the stupendous works she was erecting at Cherbourg and other places, as if determined to create seaports in spite of nature, by which she appeared, as it were, stretching her arms all round to grasp and stifle us;—and hence, he conceived, the strange and unnatural desire that had all at once possessed us of running into her embraces to be nothing less than infatuation. Lord Mornington, Mr. Grenville, and others, defended the treaty and supported Mr. Blackburne's address. Welbore Ellis rose at a late hour to object to the address as being in the present stage of the business premature, unprecedented, and unparliamentary; but Ellis was out-voted by 236 to 160; and, about three o'clock in the morning, the address was agreed to without a division. This put an end to the business in the Commons. In the Lords the debates on the treaty, though not so long, were sufficiently interesting. The Marquess of Buckingham opened the business there with a long speech, in which he defended the treaty in all its points. He was answered by Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, who enjoyed the reputation of being well versed in the knowledge which ought to regulate commercial intercourse. The bishop, who had got his mitre from Lord North, and who was—not to detract from his other merits—a warm party-man, pulled the treaty to pieces without mercy, declaring it to be a most dangerous experiment, and one likely to undo Great Britain. Shelburne, now Marquess of Lansdowne, replied to the Bishop of Llandaff in one of the best speeches delivered on the subject in either House. He said that there were two fundamental considerations to decide upon —1. Whether our old commercial system should not be changed as totally erroneous?—2. Whether, if it should be thought right to open our trade to the world, France, for political reasons, should be excepted? He believed that the first question would require very little discussion. Commerce, like other sciences, had simplified itself and taken a more liberal shape. In fact, truth had made its own way. The old system, with all its monopolies, prohibitions, protecting duties, balances of trade, with all the calculations formed upon them, was now generally exploded; and consequently all the learned prelate's arguments, which were grounded upon that old system, fell to the ground. It was, he said, a proud day for the manufacturers of this country to see them come down in a body from their strongholds of prohibition and monopoly, to mix with other nations, with the world at large—to see them consenting without a murmur to give up all their fences and fortifications, to meet the foreign manufacturer on equal terms at their own or at his market;—and he was sure that they would bring home wealth for themselves in one hand and revenue for the state in the other. With respect to the second point, or the propriety or necessity of excepting France for political reasons, he was of opinion that the thing was absurd and impracticable. He thought, and so did several eminent French statesmen, that the two countries, greatly to the benefit of both, might live in amity with each other—that the *talk* about eternal and natural enemies was a chimera no longer suitable to the enlightenment of the age. His lordship, however, said that, as the tendency of the treaty was to increase the force or tranquillity of the French kingdom, we ought to have got some advantages in point of navigation; and that something of this sort ought to have been said to France—In proportion as we give up to you land, you must give up to us sea. He also thought that a good opportunity had been neglected of doing something for the security of India; that the armed neutrality or the neutral code ought to have been swept away, instead of being tacitly recognised by the treaty; and that steps ought to have been taken for putting a stop to the works going on at Cherbourg. His lordship concluded with declaring that, if this country should decline, it would not be owing to this treaty with France, but to very different and very obvious causes. If we continued under a perpetual fluctuation of administrations and of systems, as we had done for many years past—if we went on rotting in our corruption, and sacrificing the army, the navy, the church, the state, to the paltry purpose of procuring majorities in the two Houses of Parliament, we could never expect to be prosperous, wealthy, or powerful. Jenkinson, now sitting in this House as Lord Hawkesbury, defended and applauded every part of the treaty; and Lord Loughborough (Wedderburn) condemned every part of it. The necessary resolutions were, however, all adopted by large majorities; the Lords concurred in the address of the Commons as moved by Mr. Blackburne; and on the 8th of March the address was presented by both Houses to the king.

Before entering upon the business of the treaty their lordships had had a sharp discussion upon a curious point connected with the constitution of their own House. During the late recess of parliament two Scotch peers, the Earl of Abercorn and the Duke of Queensberry, who already

sat in the House of Lords as two of the sixteen elective peers of Scotland, were created British peers with the titles of Viscount Hamilton and Baron Douglas. The subject was brought before the House, on the 5th of February, by Viscount Stormont, who moved that their lordships should be summoned on the 13th to consider the new patents in a committee of privileges; and on that day he moved that the two Scotch lords, having been created English peers, thereby ceased to sit in the House as representatives of the peerage of Scotland. The question simply was, whether there should immediately be an election of two new Scotch representative peers, as would have been the case if the two lords had died. The question was complicated somewhat by a single precedent, the only one that existed. In 1736 the Duke of Athol, being then one of the sixteen elective peers of Scotland, succeeded by inheritance to the English barony of Strange, and still sat in his representative capacity. Lord Chancellor Thurlow, upon this precedent and upon other grounds, was decidedly of opinion that the two new British peers ought to sit in the same manner. Although such cases might have been foreseen, the Act of Union was silent on the subject. Lord Stormont contended that the elective and parliamentary qualities of a Scotch peer were merged and lost in his qualities of an hereditary British peer. Thus the House in 1709, soon after the passing of the Act of Union, had declared, in the case of the Duke of Dover, that a peer of Scotland, claiming to sit in the House of Peers by virtue of a patent passed under the great seal of Great Britain, had no right to vote in the election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. If therefore a peer of Scotland, under the circumstances described, could not vote in the election, so neither could he be elected. The motion was opposed by the Earl of Morton and by the Chancellor, but in the end it was carried by 52 against 38.

Another question soon arose out of this decision. On the 18th of May the Earl of Hopetoun represented to their lordships that at the election for two peers to supply the places of the two noblemen created peers of Great Britain, the votes of the Dukes of Queensberry and Gordon had been received, contrary to a resolution of that House passed in January 1709. This resolution, in fact, imported that no Scotch peer who had been created a British peer since the Union should be entitled to vote at any election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. Lord Hopetoun therefore moved that the rule should be enforced, and that a copy of the said resolution should be transmitted to the Lord Registrar of Scotland as a guide for his future proceedings in cases of election. The Duke of Gordon was abroad, but the Duke of Queensberry desired on his own part, and on the part of his brother duke, to be heard by counsel. This was objected to, as no new resolution was to be taken, but merely an old one to be put in force. Chancellor Thurlow doubted whether the old resolution was to be considered valid; and he told their lordships that a resolution of either House of Parliament, however unanimously carried in that single House, did not constitute law. He also reminded their lordships of another resolution passed by their House in 1711, by which two Scotch dukes, who had been created British peers, were declared incapable of sitting in that House in the latter capacity. Thus of these two resolutions, passed within three years of each other, the first took away their votes as Scotch peers, and the other deprived them of their seats as British peers; so that, parliamentarily considered, they must cease to be peers altogether. The latter resolution—that of 1711—had been lately done away with; not, however, by a resolution of one House, but by a regular act of parliament passed in the usual manner by the three estates. And Thurlow maintained that if the resolution of 1708-9 was to be made effective it could only be so made by another act of parliament; and when that act of parliament should come upon the carpet it would be necessary to consider many circumstances and many interests. For example, supposing a Scotch peer should be made a bishop, would he in that case lose his right to vote at the election of any of the sixteen peers? Lord Hopetoun's motion was ably defended by Lord Kinnaird, who described an elective peerage as a thing perfectly novel in its nature, and wondered how the system had worked at all. The Earl of Morton said that, as the resolution of 1711 had been declared unjust, he saw no reason why the other resolution should not be declared unjust also. His lordship urged that the Act of Union directed that sixteen Scotch peers should be chosen and named by *all* the Scotch peers to be their representatives in the Parliament of Great Britain; and that, therefore, it would be unjust now to set up distinctions contradictory to the express Act of Union. The Duke of Richmond contended that no judicial court ever took upon themselves, upon their own mere motion, to re-promulgate a judgment long since delivered. If it were deemed proper to confirm the resolution of 1709 he would recommend a procedure by bill, which would remove all ground of complaint of injury, and afford the parties who conceived their rights infringed ample opportunity of making out their claims in the progress of the bill through its various stages. Upon a division, however, Lord Hopetoun's motion was carried by a considerable majority; and the lord registrar was accordingly ordered not to take the votes of Scotch peers *that had become* peers of Great Britain.* Lord Thurlow, in the course of the debate, had alluded to the exclusion from the House of Commons of the eldest sons of Scotch peers—a case which we shall presently find under debate in the lower House.

On the 26th of February Pitt introduced his

* By a subsequent resolution, however, passed 7th June, 1793, the House reversed this decision, sustaining the right of the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Abercorn to vote at the election of representative peers for Scotland, although created British peers since the Union; and this has been ever since the rule and practice.]

celebrated plan for consolidating the various duties upon articles in the customs and the excise so as to convert them into single duties upon each article, and thereby get rid of multiplied grievances to the people and of a perplexing confusion of accounts and wasting expenses of collection to the government. The necessity of some change in these important matters was so seriously and universally felt that hardly any opposition was offered to the bill or to the resolutions necessary to give it effect. The prime minister made more than one luminous speech, and acquired great reputation by the measure; and yet it is said the merits of the scheme belonged to a poor dissenting minister at Hackney —to the same Dr. Price who is the reputed father of a less healthy child, or of Pitt's grand plan for paying off the national debt.

On the 28th of March Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, who had previously distinguished himself in the same cause, made a motion for taking into consideration the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts as things grievous to a large and respectable part of the nation. Lord North, who had now completely lost his eyesight, came down darkling to the House, for the first time this session, to oppose the motion. He replied to Mr. Beaufoy, beginning with expressing a hope that he would not be considered as an enemy to toleration of opinion upon religious subjects. But he then urged that enough had already been done in removing penal restrictions upon religious opinions; and that the preservation of the Corporation and Test Acts was essential to the preservation of the constitution. Yet his lordship spoke as if this danger would proceed chiefly from the violence and fanaticism of the church party, sure to be provoked by any such ample concessions to the dissenters; he was assuredly no bigot himself, and we may reasonably doubt with him whether the time was yet come for so bold an enactment. "We all know," said he, "the perilous nature of the cry, 'The Church is in danger;' and an incendiary, watching his opportunity, may do as much mischief by that cry as was done not long ago by the cry of 'No Popery.'"* Pitt followed Lord North, and took the same side of the question. Fox, on the other hand, supported the motion in a long and able speech. He was followed by Sir Harry Houghton, Mr. Smith, Sir James Johnstone and others; but, upon a division, Mr. Beaufoy's motion was negatived by 178 against 100.

On the 20th of April, previous to the opening of the budget, Alderman Newnham, who had presented the petition of the manufacturers against the French treaty, and who had been for some time very much linked and closeted with Sheridan, rose in the House to speak on the subject of the Prince of Wales's debts and deep distress. He demanded to know of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing his royal highness from his present embarrassed and distressed situation? The alderman was of opinion that, however honourable to the prince was the conduct he had pursued under his difficulties, it would bring indelible disgrace upon the nation if he were suffered to remain any longer in his present reduced circumstances. To the question Pitt replied, with all his official coldness, that it was not his duty to bring forward a subject of that nature, unless by command of his majesty; and that it was not necessary that he should say more than that he had not been honoured with such a command. Upon this Alderman Newnham gave notice of his intention to bring the subject regularly before the House on the 4th of May. In the mean time great exertions were made to secure the countenance and support of the independent members, and several meetings were held that were so numerously attended as to create some uneasiness in the mind of the minister. On the 24th of April, Pitt, after requesting Alderman Newnham to inform the House more particularly of the nature of the motion he intended to make, held out a threat with the evident object of preventing the motion altogether. He said that the subject was delicate—exceedingly delicate—and he declared that the knowledge he possessed of many *private* circumstances relating to it, made him extremely anxious to persuade the House to prevent any discussion of it, and that if the honourable member persevered in bringing forward his motion, it would be absolutely necessary to lay these circumstances before the public. It would, he said, from the profound respect he entertained for every part of the royal family, prove exceedingly distressing to him, yet he would discharge his duty to the public and enter fully into the subject. Three days after this—on the 27th of April—Alderman Newnham signified to the House that the motion he intended to make would be to the following effect:—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into consideration the present embarrassed state of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom should think fit, and that the House would make good the same." Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire (the hero of

* By this time the Protestant Champion had renounced Christianity and turned Jew. In the Chronicle of the Annual Register for 1786 is the following entry:—"May 4th. Lord George Gordon was *excommunicated* in the parish church of St. Mary-la-bonne."

On the 25th of January of the present year (1787) he was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench for a libel on the Queen of France and M. Bartholemy, the French chargé d'affaires at London, and for a libel on his British majesty's government, justices, &c. &c. He defended himself, gave evident signs of insanity, was found guilty, but fled to Holland before judgment could be given. The place he selected for his residence was Amsterdam, because it abounded with Jews; but he had been there a very short time ere he received from the burgomasters orders to quit the city within twenty-four hours. In the month of December he was found at Birmingham living with some Jews: he was arrested for a contempt of court, committed to Newgate, and at the beginning of the following year carried to the King's Bench to receive judgment. His sentence was that he should be imprisoned in Newgate for two years, and then give security for fourteen years' good behaviour, himself in 10,000*l.* and two sureties in 2500*l.* each. His noble relations seem to have rejoiced in the severity of the sentence, which was tantamount, in his circumstances, to imprisonment for life, as there was no other mode, except resorting to a madhouse, to keep him out of mischief. He was comfortably accommodated in apartments belonging to the keeper of Newgate, and there he died in 1793, deploring that, in all probability, his remains would not be suffered to be interred in a Jewish cemetery.

the Rolliad, afterwards Lord Rolle), whose zeal was very conspicuous on this occasion, now spoke more alarmingly than the minister, declaring, as of his own knowledge, that the question involved matter by which the constitution both in church and state might be essentially affected; and that, if the friends of the Prince of Wales persisted in their attempt, it would be necessary to go into a full inquiry. Sheridan called upon Mr. Rolle to speak more plainly: he said he made this call the more earnestly from the evident connexion between the observation of the honourable member for Devonshire and the menace held out by the chancellor of the exchequer. The Prince of Wales, Sheridan added, shrunk from no inquiry, however searching —there was no part of his conduct which he wished to conceal—he (Sheridan) had the highest authority for making this declaration; and he only regretted that a hostile discussion had not been rendered unnecessary by pecuniary relief from another quarter. He declared that the insinuations and menaces which had been thrown out made it impossible for the prince to recede with honour. And he further declared that his royal highness, as a peer of Great Britain, was quite ready to answer in the other House any questions that might be put to him. Mr. Powys said that he dreaded any such discussion; and he pathetically implored Alderman Newnham, as he valued royalty and the house of Brunswick, to abstain, and apologise for having gone so far. Several other members joined in these entreaties, expressing their hope that the delicate business might be accommodated. Later in the evening Pitt rose; changing his tone and manner, he now said that he had been greatly misunderstood if it was conceived that he meant to make any insinuations injurious to the Prince of Wales—that the private circumstances he had alluded to, and which he might find it necessary to state fully to the House, related only to his pecuniary affairs, and to a correspondence that had taken place on that subject, without reference to anything extraneous. These might be the words of policy, but they certainly were not the words of truth. The most obtuse member in the House knew perfectly well that, in endeavouring to stop Newnham's motion by exciting fear, the mysterious threat he held out could only refer to the prince's connexion with Mrs. Fitzherbert, which had long been the topic of conversation among the public, who very confidently believed that the highly connected and very estimable lady was the wife (in so far as the marriage ceremony could make her so), not the mistress of the heir to the British throne. And Rolle's double allusion to *church* and state was well known to proceed from the circumstance of Mrs. Fitzherbert being a member of the *church of Rome*. These rumours, and the unquestionable evidence of an intimacy of the closest kind between the prince and the beautiful Catholic, had filled the minds of the king and queen with alarm and horror, and had contributed to the obduracy of his majesty in money matters.

It is said that the king had repeatedly *offered to* procure from parliament a grant of 200,000*l.* to pay his debts and finish Carlton House, and an addition of 50,000*l.* a-year to his income, if the prince would consent to marry a foreign Protestant princess; and that the prince's positive refusal to accede to any such condition induced him to believe that his son really considered himself as already married, and completed his estrangement from him. The king's dread of popery, if a very unwise, was yet a very deep and conscientious feeling, and the queen, in addition to this fear—perhaps not quite so vehement in her bosom—had a thorough abhorrence of what are called *mésalliances*. But it must be confessed that, even without these extreme feelings, there were sufficient causes to create doubt and dismay, not merely in the royal pair, but also in the breasts of many of their subjects, who looked reverentially to acts and laws. By the statute commonly called the Bill of Rights, passed at the Revolution, which drove the tyrant and papist, James II., from the throne, and brought in the Protestant William and Mary, it was enacted, that "every person who shall marry a papist shall be excluded, and for ever be incapable to inherit, the crown of this realm;" and further it declared that in case of any such marriage "the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance." These strong and comprehensive clauses were afterwards confirmed by the Act of Settlement. It was held, however, by many, that any such marriage as the alleged one between the prince and a subject was rendered null and void by the Royal Marriage Act passed under George II., and by which no member of the royal family could contract a marriage without the consent of the king or sovereign actually on the throne. As to this point there was no doubt; but the inference drawn from it—that, as the contract was invalid, the forfeiture was saved—was not quite so clear, for there are analogous cases in law where the nullity of an illegal transaction does not do away with the penalty attached to it. Thus, as it has been observed, a man by contracting a second marriage while his first wife is still living commits a felony; and the crime, according to its legal description, consists in marrying or contracting a marriage—though what he does is no more a marriage than that of the Prince of Wales would have been under the circumstances in question.* In bigamy there is and can be no second marriage, but the offender is nevertheless punished. The laws of all civilized countries abound in cases of acts prohibited and made void, yet punished by a forfeiture of the rights of him who contravenes the prohibition as much as if they were valid and effectual.† It was doubtful, moreover, whether statutes so solemn as the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement could be varied or repealed in any essential particular by a subsequent law like the Royal Marriage Act, which made no reference whatever to their provisions.

* Moore, Life of Sheridan.
† Lord Brougham, Statesmen.

It was, therefore, very far from clear, if the marriage could be proved, that the Prince of Wales had not absolutely forfeited his right to the crown.

After the conversation in the House on the 27th there was a great meeting of the prince's friends at Mr. Pelham's, the prince himself attending and taking part in the very serious deliberations. It should appear that the meeting was informed by the prince's own lips that there never had been any marriage, and that, therefore, there could be no danger in continuing the struggle for money against his father and the minister. The altered tone of Pitt must also have tended to remove alarm, if any had been felt in this quarter. On the 30th Alderman Newnham again brought the subject before the House of Commons, declaring that he could not see why some gentlemen were filled with apprehensions and alarms at his perseverance—that he knew no ground for any uneasiness—that the prince knew none—that it was by his royal highness's express desire he was pursuing his design—that he conceived himself highly honoured by the prince's confidence on this occasion—that he was not to be intimidated, nor was his royal highness to be deterred from his purpose by the base and false rumours which were spread abroad concerning him. When the worthy alderman had finished this display of vanity and conceit, Mr. Fox, who had been absent on the former debate, came forward to give the weight of his authority to the assertions made by Sheridan. He said he spoke with immediate authority from the Prince of Wales, and could assure the House that there was no part of his conduct that his royal highness was either afraid or unwilling to have investigated. Looking at Rolle, Fox said, mysterious allusions had been made to something full of danger to the church and state. He wished the honourable gentleman had spoken more explicitly; but he supposed he alluded to a certain low and malicious rumour—a supposed marriage—a thing which not only had not happened, but which was even impossible. The whole thing was a story fit only to impose upon the lowest of the vulgar, and which ought not to have gained credit for a moment in that House. Rolle readily admitted the *legal* impossibility of such a marriage, but hinted that there were modes in which it might have been managed. He said they all knew that there were certain laws and acts of parliament which forbade it, and made it null and void; but still it might have taken place, though not under the sanction of English law, and upon this point he wished to be satisfied. Fox, speaking with great warmth, said that, when he denied the odious calumny in question, he meant to deny it, not merely with regard to the effects of certain existing statutes, but to deny it *in toto*—to deny it in point of fact as well as law. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen in any way whatsoever, and had from the beginning been a base and malicious falsehood. Rolle then desired to know whether the words the honourable gentleman had last spoken were to be considered as spoken from direct authority? Fox replied that he had direct authority for them from his royal highness. Another of the prince's friends then called triumphantly upon the Devonshire member to declare to the House that he was satisfied with these full explanations. But Rolle said that nothing should induce him to act contrary to his own judgment; that an answer had certainly been given to his question, and that the House might judge for themselves. This called up Sheridan, who said that such a line of conduct was neither candid nor manly, and that the House ought therefore to resolve it to be seditious as well as disloyal to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince of Wales. Rolle said a few more words, but as far as possible from concession; and then Pitt came to his rescue, declaring that his conduct had not been unparliamentary, but that Sheridan's was. "Those," added the premier, "who exhibit such warmth ought rather to acknowledge their obligation to the gentleman who suggested a question which has produced so explicit a declaration on this interesting subject—a declaration which must give entire satisfaction not only to him, but to the whole House." The Devonshire member, however, would not say even now that he was satisfied; and Sheridan returned to the charge, protesting that it was aggravating the malicious falsehood by implying that the Prince of Wales had authorised gentlemen to make a false denial of the fact. "Even the minister himself," said Sheridan, "is obliged to *assume* that the honourable member *must be satisfied*, as he has not sufficient candour to make the acknowledgment." Rolle then said that the honourable gentleman had not heard him say he was *unsatisfied*. Mr. Grey, the new and bright star of the opposition, insisted that Fox's answer was satisfactory to every man in his senses, and that the conduct of the member for Devonshire was unpardonable. Grey also censured, in the strongest terms, the premier's threats and equivocations, and insisted that Alderman Newnham ought to proceed with his measure for obtaining pecuniary relief for the Prince of Wales.

On the very next day overtures were made to his royal highness for a private accommodation, by which he was to get money without any further debate. On the 2nd of May, Dundas, late in the evening, waited upon the prince at Carlton House, and, after a long and private conversation, induced him to receive the visit of the premier on the next day. On the 3rd, Pitt went to Carlton House, and, to the consternation of the Whig party, was closeted two hours with his royal highness. From Carlton House, with a bundle of papers in his pocket, Pitt went straight to Buckingham House, where the king was expecting him, and where a council was assembled, which sat till midnight. There was no time to lose, for the morrow, the 4th of May, was the day fixed for Alderman Newnham's motion. Between twelve and one o'clock a letter was dispatched to the prince, assuring him that if he would cause the *intended motion* to be

withdrawn satisfactory arrangements should be made. This letter and the prince's answer were kept secret from all but a few. When the great to-morrow came the House was crowded, and as soon as Pitt came in and took his seat there was an expectant silence. Presently Alderman Newnham rose and said he felt the highest satisfaction in being able to inform the house that his intended motion was no longer necessary. Several members expressed their exceeding great joy at this announcement, but the countenances of many more seemed rather puzzled than pleased. Rolle said he hoped the alderman's conduct was not the result of any dishonourable compromise on the other side. Pitt then declared that for his part he could see no reason why the alderman's motion was less necessary *now* than before; that, as to terms or concessions, he knew of none; and that the conduct of the highest party in the transaction (the king) was uniform and consistent, departing in no one instance from the principles which always directed him. Fox said he wished to avoid creating any division of opinion; but he felt it necessary, after what had fallen from the minister, to say that the conduct of the other party (the prince) had been equally consistent and explicit. The alderman's motion being dropped, and the minister denying that he knew of any terms or concessions, placed the prince in a doubtful state as to the money, and he wrote that night to the minister to demand an explanation. Pitt, in reply, requested a personal conference. This being granted, Pitt, accompanied by Dundas, went to Carlton House the next day and found the prince in company with Sheridan. He declined entering upon business in the presence of one who was opposed to the king's government. The prince then ordered both Sheridan and Dundas to withdraw, and remained alone with the premier. The conference was long, and the conclusion of it was that the prince, to prevent future mistakes or equivocations, put into the hands of the minister his own proposals in writing. They were—1. That his debts should be paid, at least in part; 2. That a grant should be made for completing Carlton House; 3. That such reasonable increase should be made to his annual income as would prevent henceforth the necessity of his contracting debts. These demands were immediately transmitted to the king at Windsor, who replied to them in a letter written in his own hand, not to the prince, but to the minister. His majesty wrote—1. That he was gratified to find the prince ready to submit his debts to inspection; 2. That the prince should set forth not only the amount of his debts, but the manner in which each particular debt was contracted; 3. That the prince should engage not to contract debts in future; 4. That upon compliance with the foregoing conditions would depend the king's consent to the payment of the prince's debts, or any portion of them; 5. That the king could not think any increase of income necessary so long as the Prince of Wales remained unmarried. The king could hardly escape the accusation of bad faith in these transactions. The letter written at twelve o'clock at night on the breaking up of the council at Buckingham House, and which letter procured from the prince the revocation of Alderman Newnham's high mission, was indeed expressed in very general terms; but these terms may have been purposely chosen, and they certainly promised "satisfactory arrangements," unclogged by any other condition than that of the abandonment of the alderman's motion. It is said that the prince at first refused the conditions as harsh and unreasonable, and that he and his friends conceived or revived a notion of calling upon the king to render an account of the proceeds of the heir apparent's estates or revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during his minority. The king had appropriated these revenues to the civil list, and had rendered no account on the prince's coming of age. When the question first was broached his majesty maintained that he was entitled to those revenues (about 14,000*l.* per annum) during the minority of his son, and that he had spent the money in the prince's education and maintenance. But the Whig chiefs, or such of them as were enumerated among the prince's friends, contended that provision had been made for those great national objects, the education and maintenance of the prince, in the civil list, and that the king had no claim or right to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, which ought to have been set aside and left to accumulate like the property of any other minor. This nice question, however, was not pressed, for, while the prince's friends were rumouring that Mr. Courtenay, one of his law-officers, would bring it before parliament, the king, on the 21st of May, sent a message to both Houses on the subject of the debts, &c. After stating, "with the greatest concern,"* that the prince had incurred debts to a large amount, which, if left to be discharged out of his annual income, would render it impossible for him to support an establishment suited to his rank and station, the message continued:—"Painful as it is at all times to his majesty to propose an addition to the heavy expenses necessarily borne by his people, his majesty is induced, from his paternal affection to the Prince of Wales, to recur to the liberality and attachment of his faithful Commons for their assistance on an occasion so interesting to his majesty's feelings, and to the ease and honour of so distinguished a branch of his royal family. His majesty could not, however, expect or desire the assistance of this House, but on a well-grounded expectation that the prince will avoid contracting any debts in future. With a view to this object, and from an anxious desire to remove any possible doubt of the sufficiency of the prince's income to support amply the dignity of his situation, his majesty has directed a sum of 10,000*l.* per annum

* The expression may have been the more called for, as his majesty had already applied *five times* to parliament for money to pay off his own debts on the civil list.

to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to the allowance which his majesty has hitherto given him; and his majesty has the satisfaction to inform the house that the Prince of Wales has given his majesty the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expenses within his income." The message further informed the House that his majesty would direct an estimate to be laid before them of the sum requisite to complete the works at Carlton House, and that he recommended it to his faithful Commons to consider of making some provision for that purpose. Two days after this—on the 23rd of May—an abstract account of the debts and of the expenditure of the Prince of Wales was laid before the House, who, with "dignified generosity," declined any inspection; and on the following day voted an humble address to the king, in which, after the usual thanks, they humbly desired that his majesty would be graciously pleased to direct the sum of 161,000*l.* to be issued out of the civil list for payment of the prince's debts, and the further sum of 20,000*l.* on account of the works at Carlton House.* This termination of the business appears to have satisfied none of the parties concerned. The abstract of accounts did not contain all the prince's debts; the sum of 20,000*l.* was like a drop in that deep well of tasteless expenditure, Carlton House, and, as the prince had resumed his state and expensive household, it must have been foreseen that in a very short time there would be another application to parliament to pay his debts. Nor can it be said that any party had come out very honourably from the long contention and unsatisfactory arrangement. At least, we think that, if the varnish of party, and that other varnish which people spread over princes, illustrious orators, and beautiful women, be rubbed off, there will appear underneath something censurable or unaccountable in the conduct of every one engaged or interested in the various transactions and in what followed them. Notwithstanding the solemn assurances of Fox and Sheridan, "on authority," that there never had been any marriage, Mrs. Fitzherbert continued to live with the prince as before. She never forgave Fox, she would never consent to speak to him again; and she alleged, and her friends publicly alleged for her, that the Whig leader *knew* that there had been a private marriage that was good and binding *in foro conscientiæ*, whatever it might be by act of parliament. It has been reported that a ceremony was performed *more Catholico* in the town-house of the lady's uncle, Lord Sefton; but if there was a performance of the kind the lady and her uncle, and all present at it, must have known that it was valueless, any such pretended marriage being expressly declared to be null and void by the law of the country, which surely the law of no foreign country or church can be supposed to set aside. Mrs. Fitzherbert was not an inexperienced girl fresh from a convent or boarding school, or just emancipated from the control of a governess—she had lived in the great world for a good number of years (she was several years older than her royal lover), she had been twice married, and twice a widow, before ever she met the prince; and we cannot therefore conceive how she ever could have been "trepanned into a sacrifice of her honour,"† or made to believe that any ceremony, whether performed by a Catholic priest or by a Protestant clergyman, or by the functionary at Gretna Green, or by any other party, could be a legal marriage, or could be held by her to be one, or could possibly satisfy her even *in foro conscientiæ*. The lady had many estimable qualities, and some of the most generous and highest of human virtues—she was a sufferer by her connexion, which was indeed attended from the first "with more danger to her own peace than to that of either church or state;"† but it seems scarcely fair to release her from the imputation of an impropriety or a minor sin, by attributing perfidy to the prince, or charging him with any greater guilt than evidence or circumstances appear to justify. It is said that the lady was only reconciled to the prince by his assurance that something should be done or said in parliament to save her character by those very friends who had so emphatically denied there being any marriage—that the prince applied to Mr. Grey, in the expectation that he would find out some method of eating his own words, or of getting up an equivocation which should make the marriage appear, if not certain, at least doubtful, as it had been before—that Grey, with the highmindedness which might be expected from him, refused any such office—that Fox was applied to without any more effect—and that, as a last resource, his royal highness addressed himself to the easier morality of Sheridan. And, in fact, Sheridan, in one of the conversations in the House, spoke of the great injury which had been done to the character of the lady. But, even Sheridan, bold-faced as he was, and accommodating as he was to all the prince's wishes, did not venture to unsay what had been said, or to affirm more than that "another person" who had been alluded to was without reproach, and "was entitled to the truest and most general respect." Indeed he could hardly have said more without travelling from the record prescribed to

* The abstract of accounts presented was simply this:—

Debts.	£.
Bonds	13,000
Purchase of houses	4,000
Expenses of Carlton House	53,305
Tradesmen's bills	90,804
	161,109
Expenditure from July 1783 to July 1786.	
Household	29,977
Privy purse	16,050
Payments made by Colonel Hotham, particulars delivered to his majesty	37,208
Other extraordinaries	11,406
	94,636
Salaries	54,734
Stables	37,919
Mr. Robinson's extra	7,059
Total	194,848

* Lord Brougham, Character of George IV., in Statesmen, &c,
† Moore, Life of Sheridan.

him by the prince, who was only anxious to soothe the lady, and save appearances for her in society, but by no means disposed to risk the forfeiture of the crown, or at least a long and irksome investigation, by having it stated that he was really married to a Catholic. The lady appears to have rested satisfied with Sheridan, and the society in which she moved pretended or really felt a conviction that Mrs. Fitzherbert's character and reputation were just as spotless now as they were before Fox's famous speech, in which, though upon different grounds, we agree with them. The principal friends of the lady were persons that had great influence and almost an absolute dominion over the *fashionable* world, and who, from party feeling, and for other reasons, were disposed to bestow all their leniency on this particular case, and to treat the lady with a consideration her birth, her beauty, and her many merits might not otherwise have obtained. The greatest *prôneuses* of the Fitzherbert were the Duchess of Devonshire, the chieftainness of the Whig party, the supreme leader of *ton;* and the Duchess of Cumberland, the fair Luttrell, who, though lying under no Roman Catholic disqualification, was excluded by the Royal Marriage Act from the honours of the place she held. Both these high dames were at a kind of open war with Buckingham House and the court of St. James's, to which one of them—the Duchess of Cumberland—had never been admitted since her union with the king's brother. In fact, in the language of that court, and in the terms of the Royal Marriage Act (if it had had an *ex post facto* operation), *her* marriage was *unlawful.*

Some interesting debates took place on an unsuccessful motion made by Fox on the 24th of April, for the repeal of a house-tax imposed in the year 1785 upon retail shopkeepers, and upon a bill brought in by ministers on the 26th of the same month to authorise the commissioners of the treasury to let out to farm the duties on post-horses. The opposition censured this post-horse bill as a measure without precedent in this kingdom, and adopted from the practice of countries, like France (where nearly all the taxes had been farmed out), whose forms of government were less favourable to the liberty of the subject than ours. Pitt defended his bill by urging that government had hitherto been defrauded of the greater part of that tax by a collusion between the innkeepers and the collectors, and that the mode now devised would bring the money into the treasury. He referred to the turnpike-duty, the most analogous in its nature to the tax now under discussion, and to the cross-letter postage, as proofs that the proposed letting out to farm was not without precedent in this country. After much discussion the bill was carried through all its stages by large majorities. Early in the session a curious petition had been presented from the prisoners for debt confined in Newgate, who described themselves as condemned to linger away their unhappy lives in a loathsome gaol, while felons were suffering a less punishment by enjoying their liberties in a foreign country; and they implored to be admitted to the privilege of choosing the lot of felons, and to be transported to New South Wales, if the wisdom of the House should not judge it proper to pass a bill for their relief. Shortly after this petition was presented, a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was passed by the Commons; but it was thrown out in the Lords by 25 against 12. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who had expressed his dissatisfaction at several insolvent relief bills which it was customary to pass from time to time without any fixed rule (the last had been passed seven years before, in 1780), urged many objections to the present bill, and he seemed to point to the necessity of a sweeping change in the law of debtor and creditor, by alluding to the extravagance, the dissipation, and corruption that prevailed in our prisons. Lord Rawdon, who had fought so many battles of a different kind in America, entered the lists with the redoubtable chancellor on this question, which was a question of law, and he spoke with admirable good sense. He said that, as the learned lord admitted that these laws ought to be revised, till their lordships had the virtue and industry to institute such a revision expedients must be resorted to. He allowed that frequent insolvent bills were not the best remedy; but he contended that they were bound to apply some remedy from time to time so long as they suffered the laws to remain in their present defective condition. Three thousand debtors, said his lordship, were at that moment locked up in prison, and maintained in a state of uselessness and inactivity—a burden to the country and of no benefit to their creditors.

On the 15th of May Mr. Grey called the attention of the House to certain abuses and corrupt practices in the post-office, which, he said, had come to his knowledge in consequence of the dismission of a noble relation of his (the Earl of Tankerville) from the office of joint-postmaster-general. After broadly stating some very extraordinary circumstances, Grey brought the matter home to the present minister, by stating that his relative, Lord Tankerville, while in office as joint-postmaster, had endeavoured to correct the abuses in question, and had communicated his plans to the chancellor of the exchequer, who had greatly commended his zeal and attention to the public interest, and had promised him support—that Lord Carteret, Lord Tankerville's colleague in that office, not viewing the abuses in the same light, and refusing to concur in the plan of reform and prevention, a quarrel had broken out between the two noble lords which rendered it impossible that they should continue in office together—and that the chancellor of the exchequer, instead of dismissing Lord Carteret, the protector of the abuses and the opposer of reform, had suddenly dismissed Lord Tankerville, who had shown himself so anxious for a reform, and had taken so much pains to effect it, in a manner the most unexampled and extraordinary. Mr. Grey therefore concluded that

the chancellor of the exchequer deserved the censure of parliament; and, with a view to establish that fact, as well as the charges against Lord Carteret, he moved "that a committee be appointed to inquire into certain abuses in the post-office." Pitt immediately rose and gave his assent to the motion: he denied that he was inclined to connive or wink at abuses in the post-office or in any other public establishment. So far was he from being backward in these matters, that he had himself suggested a measure for the reform of some abuses in the post-office. Fox and Sheridan called Pitt a magnificent promiser of reform in the state, but a miserable performer. They spoke with cutting sarcasm of the prudent use he had made of the influence of the crown in the distribution of places and emoluments, and the bestowing of titles and honours: they observed that, with respect to the dismission of Lord Tankerville, it was not to be imagined that any merit of his lordship could stand a moment in competition with the merits of the distinguished person who succeeded him in the post-office (Jenkinson), a person now a peer of Great Britain, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and first lord of the new board of trade—a person against whose interest the dismission of a whole administration did not weigh a feather. Sheridan concluded by reminding Pitt of his clamorous opposition to Lord North, and of his celebrated triumph over that noble lord on the subject of some alleged overcharges in the articles of tape and whipcord, and the expenses of the kitchens in Downing-street. This led to a rejoinder from Pitt, who, as he almost invariably did when Lord North was alluded to, broke away into flying denunciations of the coalition. Fox said that, after Lord North had been driven from his post, it was understood and believed that he (Pitt) had himself courted the noble lord with a view to a junction with him. "Who understood so?" said Pitt, across the table. "I did, for one," replied Fox, "and so, I have reason to believe, did many others. Certain it is, the right honourable gentleman, before the coalition, never expressed himself with that acrimony which he has since used when speaking of the noble lord." Pitt denied the fact. In the course of these personal reflections the chancellor of the exchequer spoke with little respect of the motives of Mr. Grey in this business: and, as Lord Tankerville was his relation, the young member for Northumberland would perhaps have done better if he had left the business and the call for the committee in other hands. Grey rose with great warmth to reply to Pitt's reflections, and said that no man should dare to impute unworthy motives to him. Pitt complained of this tone of defiance; and declared he would call his motives in question whenever his conduct appeared to warrant it;—if the honourable gentleman wished his motives not to be questioned, he must take care that his conduct was such as not to make it necessary. Grey then rose again and said that, as he should never act upon dishonourable principles, so he would never suffer any person to impute dishonourable motives to him; and, if he could not obtain that indulgence in the House, he had other means in his power to which it would then be proper to resort. Pitt was rising in wrath; but Sheridan rose and spoke before him, endeavouring to stop an altercation that seemed likely to end in an appeal to pistols: he said that he believed his honourable friend had misunderstood some of the words of the chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt, who declared that he had not before spoken with heat, repeated the arguments of his former speech which had given so much offence to Grey, and then coldly concluded with saying that, in respect to any other means the honourable gentleman might wish to resort to, he should reserve his answer for the occasion. Grey's motion was carried without a division; a committee was appointed to inquire into the post-office abuses; and on the 23rd of May the report of the committee was brought up. A motion for printing it was rejected, and it was ordered that the report should be taken into consideration on the 28th. The said report contained some startling matter: for example—that in the year 1775 Mr. Lees, on receiving the appointment of secretary to the post-office in Ireland, entered into security to pay the sum of 350*l.* a-year out of the profits of his office to a person described by the letters A. B., but whose real name was Treves, an intimate friend of Lord Carteret, who was at the time of the above appointment joint-postmaster-general with Lord le Despenser, and privy to the whole transaction;—that it appeared from the evidence of Mr. Todd, secretary to the post-office, that Lord Carteret was greatly displeased and disquieted by the discovery of this business;—that it appeared that the payment of an annuity of 200*l.* had been exacted from a Mr. Dashwood for his appointment as postmaster-general of Jamaica, and had been regularly paid by Dashwood to Treves, the said Treves having never performed any public service in the post-office or in any other public office to entitle him to any public reward;—that it appeared that Mr. Molyneux, agent for the Dutch packets, had been permitted, with the knowledge of Lord Carteret, to sell that office to a Mr. Hutchinson, an improper person, who had misconducted himself in that office;—that it appeared that none of these transactions were entered in the books of the post-office, but had been kept carefully concealed;—that it appeared that extraordinary abuses and overcharges had been allowed in the management of the packet-boats, &c.; and finally, that the perquisites and incidents, particularly in coals, candles, articles of furniture, &c., to the postmasters-general and others having appointments in the post-office, were shameful and excessive.

On the 28th Mr. Grey introduced the consideration of the report by a most cutting speech, which aimed more at the chancellor of the exchequer than at Lord Carteret. He said that he had no doubt the facts stated by the committee would be fully

proved; and then it would be for the House to consider the nature of the offences, and the degree of punishment they deserved. For his own part, he would not hesitate to say that he considered the chancellor of the exchequer as the person the most culpable in the whole business: first, for having neglected, after his many vaunting promises of reform, to correct the smallest abuse; secondly, for having dismissed Lord Tankerville, after giving him reason to believe that he should be supported in his attempts to check the enormous abuses of the post-office; and lastly, for having sacrificed that noble earl to his own personal interest, by accommodating with his place the person who had seated him in his present lofty situation, and who he knew could dismiss him with a nod. Mr. Grey concluded with moving, "That it appears to this House that great abuses have prevailed in the post-office, and that, the same being made known to his majesty's ministers, it is their duty, without loss of time, to make use of such measures as are in their power to reform them." Lord Maitland (afterwards Earl of Lauderdale) stood up in defence of the post-office. If, on account of his family connexion with the Earl of Tankerville, it had been awkward in Grey to begin this attack, it was still more awkward in the young Scotch lord to put himself foremost in the defence; for, in 1782, Maitland had married the daughter and heiress of Anthony Todd, Esq., the secretary and chief manager of the real business of the post-office. The task was not altogether an easy one; but Maitland began boldly by calling all the facts contained in the report stale, trivial, and unimportant. He said that the grant of the 350*l.* a-year was really made to Mr. Treves, and that it was true Mr. Treves was an intimate friend of Lord Carteret; but that it was no charge whatever to the public, and no impediment to the public business—that it was with the consent of the gentleman who got the place, and paid out of his emoluments—and that therefore no great harm was done. His lordship was ready to admit that such a measure was perhaps not strictly justifiable, but then it was by no means unprecedented, and indeed similar transactions were then and for long after common in all the public offices. As to the transaction with Mr. Dashwood, postmaster of Jamaica, he said it was exactly similar to the former, and therefore required no new observations. With respect to the permission granted to Molyneux to *resign* the agency of the Dutch packets to Mr. Hutchinson, that was a charitable transaction, intended to keep Molyneux, who was a poor unfortunate man and in debt, out of prison; and his lordship added that, if there were any blame in this matter, it was as much imputable to the Earl of Tankerville as to Lord Carteret, since the noble earl had taken as great a part in it as the noble lord. As to the other facts in the report, Lord Maitland urged that either they were not personal to Lord Carteret, or too trivial to merit notice. He admitted, indeed, that there was something wrong in a two-and-a-half per centage allowed to the person who managed the packet-boats, but this, together with other abuses in that department, might be corrected by the government, and did not appear to him to be fit subjects for parliamentary inquiry or censure. In conclusion, he moved the previous question, and intimated that, if that were carried, he should afterwards move that the further consideration of the report should be put off for three months. Pitt observed that Mr. Grey's motion was not necessary for a reform of the abuses complained of, since he had himself, three years ago, brought in a bill for that purpose; and that it must, therefore, be meant solely to throw blame upon one noble lord at the head of the post-office, and to censure himself for the part he had taken in the arrangement by which the other noble lord had been removed from it. As to Lord Carteret's conduct, he conceived it had been sufficiently justified by the noble lord who preceded him. As to the removal of the Earl of Tankerville, he apprehended that the House would feel the impropriety of entertaining such a discussion:—it belonged solely to the executive government to dispose of all public employments; and parliament should be very cautious how it attempted to control or question the discretion with which that power was exercised. It certainly had been found necessary to remove one or other of the noble lords, as their quarrels had risen to such a height that they could not with any comfort to themselves sit in the same room. Government had chosen to remove the Earl of Tankerville, and then the vacancy afforded an opportunity of *accommodating* a noble lord (Jenkinson, or Lord Hawkesbury) who had been alluded to, and to whom gentlemen might allude as often as they pleased, so long as he (Pitt) was persuaded that every favour which had been conferred upon that noble person had been fully earned by the most able and meritorious services. But the vacancy was not made *for the sake of* accommodating that noble lord. There was nothing personal or disrespectful intended against the noble earl (Tankerville), for on his removal from the post-office there was an arrangement *for accommodating him also*, but his lordship would not listen to it. This was speaking out more than old ministers would have deemed prudent or expedient; yet Pitt, who had just attained the venerable age of twenty-eight, ended his speech with some sarcastic remarks on the youth and inexperience of Mr. Grey, which, he said, together with his ignorance of parliamentary usages, might excuse some things which had fallen from him in the course of these debates. Sheridan rose and made a very happy parody of what had dropped from Pitt on his first appearance in that House, when he called Rigby the Nestor of the age. He ridiculed the gravity with which an unmerited reproof had been bestowed upon his friend by the "veteran statesman of four years' experience, the Nestor of twenty-eight." Fox urged that all that had passed on this question was honourable to Mr. Grey and

deeply dishonourable to the ministry. If it was now meant to do nothing in the matter, why had the minister suffered the committee to be appointed at all? In his opinion it was clear that, when the minister consented to the committee, he thought that no proofs could be obtained, and that it would end in the disgrace of those who desired the inquiry. Now that the charges had been made good, and the report of the committee presented, the whole business was to be represented as trifling and frivolous!. The chancellor of the exchequer had said that Mr. Grey's conduct showed him to be a party-man. Fox denied the fact, but hoped it would soon be true: the honourable gentleman, he said, was not at present of that description, but he hoped by degrees he might become a party-man. Fox defended the term, maintaining that, as long as there were great constitutional questions, and differences of opinion upon them, to be a party-man was to act the most honourable part. There were, he said, known differences of opinion in this country upon many great questions, and upon none more than on the manner in which the right honourable gentleman himself (Pitt) came last into office. Both Lord Maitland's motions were agreed to without a division. But the effect produced out of doors by these debates was very unfavourable to Pitt and his party.

By the ancient parliamentary law of Scotland the eldest sons of peers could not sit in the House of Commons; but, on the other hand, by an article in the Act of Union, it was provided that the two kingdoms should thenceforward participate reciprocally in the benefits, advantages, rights, and immunities of each other. There was sitting in the present House of Commons, as member for the borough of Haddington, a gentleman, Mr. Francis Charteris, whose father had succeeded to the earldom of Wemyss; and, as this gentleman was eldest son (he was now styled Lord Elcho), it was contended that he came under the old Scotch excluding law, and had lost his seat. Sir John Sinclair accordingly moved, on the 23rd of May, "That a new writ should be made out for electing a member for the district of boroughs of Lauder, Haddington, &c., in the room of Francis Charteris, Esquire, now become the eldest son of a peer of Scotland, &c." The journals of the House were referred to for precedents. There it was found, under date of the 3rd of December, 1708, that Lord Haddo, as eldest son of the Earl of Aberdeen, had, after a discussion in a full House, been deprived of his seat by a considerable majority; and also that in 1755 Lord Charles Douglas, the eldest son of another Scotch peer, had had his election declared null and void. Sir John Sinclair, Dundas, Sir Adam Ferguson, and other Scotch adherents of Pitt, urged that these precedents, which occurred within a year of the settlement of the Union, when the true intentions of those who negotiated it were ascertainable, ought to be decisive of the present case, and ought to be considered as the rule of conduct laid down by the House on the best principles. The same Scotch gentlemen further urged that the reciprocity of benefits, advantages, rights, and immunities provided for in the Act of Union might be maintained in its true sense without any infringement upon the peculiar usages of Scotland: and they cited the instance of a noble member (Lord Maitland) who, being the eldest son of a Scotch earl (Lauderdale), had by his merit obtained a seat in that House for an English borough; for it was admitted on all hands that the eldest son of a Scotch peer might sit for an English county or borough, as well as that the eldest son of an English peer might sit for any place either in England or Scotland. Sir John Sinclair's motion was opposed by Lord Maitland, who was sitting, as just stated, for an English borough, by Lord Elcho himself, and by Lord Beauchamp. As to the precedents cited, it was contended that they did not apply to the present case, inasmuch as Lord Elcho was not the son of a Scotch peer at the time when he was elected; and there was no precedent for dispossessing one who had been legally elected, and upon whose father an earldom had devolved pending the session of parliament. The opponents of the motion also quoted Bishop Burnet to prove that the resolution of the Commons, adopted in 1708, had been carried by the union of the court with the Whigs, who, according to the bishop, "unblushingly decided elections without regard to justice, or any other consideration but their own party feelings against the Tories." Maitland, who had so recently assisted Pitt in defending the post-office, was uncommonly warm on this question; but, except Lord Elcho, who was struggling for his own seat, and Lord Beauchamp, few in the House were disposed to divide with him; and at the end of the debate Sir John Sinclair's motion was allowed to pass without a division. Upon this Lord Elcho withdrew from the House, and a new writ was ordered for the Scotch boroughs he represented.

In the mean time Burke had not been idle with his impeachment. On the very first day of the session he gave notice that he should renew proceedings on the 1st of February. The 1st and the 2nd of February were spent in examining Mr. Middleton, late resident at Lucknow, and Sir Elijah Impey, late chief justice at Calcutta, who were ingeniously tormented for the purpose of extracting from them evidence against Hastings—evidence relating to transactions in which they were themselves deeply implicated. On the 7th of February the third charge of the impeachment was opened by Sheridan, as Burke had opened the first, and Fox the second. This third charge related to the treatment of the Begums, or princesses, of Oude, and was obviously more susceptible of rhetorical ornaments and strong appeals to the feelings, and at the same time required less accurate knowledge and less business detail, than the preceding charges. It was, no doubt, for these and other good reasons that the subject was allotted to this fanciful and brilliant orator. Sheridan, according to his own private confession, knew little

or nothing about India and its affairs; but then there was Francis, who knew a great deal, locally and practically; there was Fox, who had acquired a fund of information by the pleasant medium of conversation; and there was Burke, who knew everything by reading and intense study; and by these gentlemen and others Sheridan was crammed for the great occasion. We mean no disrespect to the genius and eloquence of the most fascinating orator of his day, or probably of any day—we merely mean that Sheridan was idle and negligent, and did not enter upon the subject of the crimes of Hastings, or the sufferings of the Indians, with a solemn conviction like Burke's. He could give form, beauty, and life to the materials with which he was furnished by others; but this was art—consummate and high art aided by and springing out of a most felicitous natural genius—but it was nothing more, and could be nothing more in a man like Sheridan, and one who had gone to the task as he had done. Parts of the speech which he now delivered were as witty and sparkling as any passages in his own comedies; parts rose to the tone of the loftiest poetry; parts were filled with a pathos that went to the hearts even of those who knew that the orator was doing little more than playing a part; and some portions were considered as the very perfection of manly and lofty eloquence. We cannot judge of the effect produced upon the audience merely by a dry reading of imperfect fragments for the most part, it may be presumed, not very faithfully reported; but an immensity of concurrent evidence seems to prove that the impression produced was altogether wonderful. As a matter of course, Sheridan treated the whole matter merely as an orator, and never permitted facts, or doubts, or the delicate dread of going too far and saying too much against the party accused, to check one flight of his daring imagination. But, viewing this speech as a work of art—and no rational man will ever again consider it in any other light—and judging by the report, which was more likely to leave out than to put in, we should conceive that the display was injured and weakened by this excess of fanciful decoration; and both in the witty and the pathetic parts there were lamentable proofs of false, bad taste and of a thorough artificiality. Still, however, as a whole, it must have been an extraordinary performance. Burke declared that it was the most astonishing effort of eloquence of which there was any record or tradition. Fox said that all that he had ever heard, all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing;* and Wyndham, another accomplished orator and most competent critic, spoke of it, many years after, in terms equally enthusiastic. The main scope and object was to paint the darkest deeds with which the name of Hastings was connected in the darkest and most appalling colours—to give a grand crescendo of iniquity and horror—not to sift accusations, but to enforce credit for them all, and embody them all at the end in one mighty mass of atrocity. Several curious stories are told as to the way in which he transported and whirled his auditors along with him. One of the best is that related of Logan, the author of the exquisite little Ode to the Cuckoo, who had abandoned or been expelled his calling as a minister of the church of Scotland, and who had forsaken poetry to become a hack writer, a hired political pamphleteer, in London, taking any side that paid best, and all sides in turns. This Logan, who is said to have written just before a masterly defence of Hastings, was in the gallery this evening, prepossessed for the accused and against the accuser. At the end of the first hour of Sheridan's speech he said to a friend near him, "All this is declamation without proof:" when the second hour was finished he said, "This is a most wonderful oration:" later he said, "Mr. Hastings has acted very unjustifiably:" later still, "Hastings is a most atrocious criminal:" and at the end of all, "Of all monsters of iniquity, the most enormous is Warren Hastings." We have our doubts as to the perfect authenticity of this anecdote, because, from what we know of Logan's character and manner of living at the time, we think it extremely probable that, if he had written for Warren Hastings on one day, he had written against him on the next, and that therefore he had no strong prepossession either way when he went into the House; but we can very well believe that effects similar to those neatly described in the story were really produced upon many minds by Sheridan's grand oratorical feat. And yet again, after all, there must have been something theatrical in the speech and in the orator's manner—something that acted upon the minds of the audience in a very different manner from the solemn earnestness of Burke, and the unstudied, gushing vehemence of Fox. Thus, when he sat down, all, or nearly all, in the crowded House — members, right and left, peers and strangers—joined in a tumult of applause, and kept up a long and loud clapping of hands as if they had been in a theatre. Such a mode of expressing their approbation was indeed new, irregular, and indecorous, in that place. A cry of "encore" would have completed the illusion, converting for a moment St. Stephen's Chapel into Drury Lane. Who ever thought of clapping Burke, or Fox, or Wyndham, or Pitt, in those days? or who has ever since been excited into that kind of applause by any of the great orators that have succeeded to that golden age of our parliamentary eloquence? The speech occupied considerably more than five hours in the delivery. According to a

* This was said out aloud, and with due solemnity, in the course of the present debate. It has been mentioned, however, that Fox, in the course of the same night, expressed his astonishment at the pathetical and horrible parts of the oration, and at the orator's assumed fury, saying, *sotto voce*, "This might be all very well from Burke, but from Sheridan it *does* look *a little* like acting!"

We do not doubt that Fox admired the speech as a work of art, though *his taste must have objected to many parts of it.* "When Fox was asked what he thought the best speech he had ever heard, he replied, 'Sheridan's on the impeachment of Hastings, in the House of Commons (not that in Westminster Hall).' When asked what he thought of his own speech on the breaking out of the war, Fox replied, 'That was a d—d good speech too.' I heard this from Lord Holland."—*Lord Byron's Diary.*

member present, who meant a compliment and no sarcasm—"in many parts and passages it was absolutely dramatic; not less so than the Duenna, or the School for Scandal. . . . He led captive his audience, of whom a large proportion was very incapable of discriminating truth from misrepresentation or exaggeration. The very scene of these transactions, which lay in Asia, on the banks of the Ganges or the Jumna; the personages who performed the principal parts—viziers, princesses, eunuchs, and rajahs; zenanas and harems entered by violence; jaghires arbitrarily resumed and treasures seized on by military force; all these accessories, when decorated with the charm of oratory, subdued his hearers and left them in breathless admiration, accompanied or followed by conviction."* Of the imperfect fragments—the bits picked here and there—which seem to be all that remain in type or in pen-and-ink, of this marvellous performance, there is one particular passage which has been cited as being so strongly marked with the characteristics of Sheridan's talent as to be entitled to be looked upon as a pretty faithful representation of what he spoke.† In our opinion it is also to be considered as a specimen of his artificiality and of the unbounded licence of his tongue. In the last particular he did not exceed Burke;‡ but there was this difference between them—Burke really felt what he said, and Sheridan only acted. The feelings of Burke were so intense, and his conviction of the late governor-general's deep guilt so entire, that he would not have stayed in the same room with Hastings; but Sheridan, if the opportunity had offered, would have sat down amicably with Hastings over a bottle of wine, charming him by his wit, as he did every one else, and being charmed by the nabob's mild and most gentlemanly manners, as was almost every one that closely approached Warren Hastings. Many persons, in the House and out of it, had confessed that the late governor-general must in several instances have exceeded his authority, and that some of his actions, as at Benares, Chunar, and Lucknow, could only be excused by the facts that all that he had done had been for a great object—for the salvation of British India—and that, like a highminded man, he had sought no money, no jaghires, no advantages of any kind for himself. Confining his view to a narrow part of these arguments, Sheridan said—"To estimate the solidity of such a defence, it would be sufficient merely to consider in what consisted this prepossessing distinction, this captivating characteristic of greatness of mind. Is it not solely to be traced in great actions directed to great ends? In them, and them alone, we are to search for true estimable magnanimity. To them only can we justly affix the splendid title and honours of real greatness. There was indeed another species of greatness, which displayed itself in boldly conceiving a bad measure, and undauntedly pursuing it to its accomplishment. But had Mr. Hastings the merit of exhibiting either of these descriptions of greatness, —even the latter? He saw nothing great—nothing magnanimous—nothing open—nothing direct in his measures or in his mind. On the contrary, he had too often pursued the worst objects by the worst means. His course was an eternal deviation from rectitude. He either tyrannised or deceived; and was by turns a Dionysius and a Scapin. As well might the writhing obliquity of the serpent be compared to the swift directness of the arrow, as the duplicity of Mr. Hastings's ambition to the simple steadiness of genuine magnanimity. In his mind all was shuffling, ambiguous, dark, insidious, and *little*; nothing simple, nothing unmixed; all, affected plainness and actual dissimulation; a heterogeneous mass of contradictory qualities; with nothing great but his crimes, and even those contrasted by the littleness of his motives, which at once denoted both his baseness and meanness, and marked him for a traitor and a trickster. Nay, in his style and writing there was the same mixture of vicious contrarieties;—the most grovelling ideas were conveyed in the most inflated language, giving mock consequence to low cavils, and uttering quibbles in heroics; so that his compositions disgusted the mind's taste, as much as his actions excited the soul's abhorrence. Indeed, this mixture of character seemed, by some unaccountable but inherent quality, to be appropriated, though in inferior degrees, to everything that concerned his employers. He remembered to have heard an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Dundas) remark that there was something in the first frame and constitution of the company which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations; connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a pedler and the profligacy of pirates; alike in the political and the military line could be observed *auctioneering ambassadors* and *trading generals;* and thus we saw a revolution brought about by *affidavits;* an army employed in *executing an arrest;* a town besieged on *a note of hand;* a prince dethroned for the *balance of an account.* Thus it was they exhibited a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre and the little *traffic of a merchant's counting-house*, wielding a truncheon with one hand, and *picking a pocket with the other.*" Against Sir Elijah Impey Sheridan ran on still more riotously. He called him "the Oriental Grotius," and described him as "degrading the dignity of his high office, laying aside the character of a judge, and soiling the ermine by condescending to execute the functions of a pettifogging attorney; running up and down the coun-

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs. Nicholls, who was also present at the debate, and voted on the same side as Wraxall (*i. e.* against this impeachment in all its stages), says, soberly—"I did not admire this speech. . . . Mr. Sheridan's speech was not calculated to inform, but to mislead his hearers."—*Recollections.*

† T. Moore, Life of Sheridan.

‡ It was not in Hastings's manner to indulge in that kind of revenge, but his injudicious champion, Major Scott, certainly gave back Burke the hard words he applied to the late governor-general, with interest. For example, the Major calls Burke "that infamous scoundrel;" "that reptile, Mr. Burke," &c. &c.

try, ferreting out affidavits, and carrying them upon his shoulders in a bundle, like a pedler with his pack."* Nor was Middleton, the resident at Lucknow, more gently treated by the orator. He was made to figure in fifty antitheses, some horrible and some ludicrous. "In the prosecution of the Begums," said Sheridan, "an army was sent to execute an arrest, a siege was undertaken for a note of hand, and a rebellion was proved by affidavit. There was a trading general, an auctioneer ambassador, and a chief-judge notary!" When the House had done clapping and applauding, one of the friends of Mr. Hastings—Sir William Dolben—attempted to speak, but, finding he could hardly obtain the least attention, he sat down again. Sir William or some other friend observed that the House was exhausted by the long excitement of the wonderful speech; and that it would be proper to adjourn before coming to any opinion, or hearing any other oration, which must appear flat and dull in the comparison. This was also the opinion of Pitt; but Fox, who wanted a division while the feelings of the House were still responding to the magic of the enchanter, reminded gentlemen that it was only midnight. "It is obvious," said he, "that the speech just delivered has made no ordinary impression; and I see no reason why we may not come to the question. If any friend of Mr. Hastings should wish to attempt effacing the impression, this appears to be the proper time for doing it." Major Scott, with consummate imprudence, after declaring that he could convict Sheridan of many gross misrepresentations of facts, professed his willingness to proceed if such should be the pleasure of the House. But Pitt interposed:—"A more able speech," said he, "has, perhaps, never been pronounced. But I can by no means agree that, because one dazzling display of oratory has been exhibited, other gentlemen ought to be precluded from giving their opinions. For these reasons, I, for one, wish for an immediate adjournment." And accordingly, at about one o'clock in the morning, the House adjourned.† On the morrow the debate was resumed by Francis, who, though not a fluent speaker, was very capable of giving strong Junius touches in a case into which he had thrown all the earnestness and bitterness of his nature. Major Scott responded with his usual length, and with more than his usual ability. He contrasted the calamities and disgraces sustained nearly everywhere else during the war with Hastings's acquisitions of territory in the East. He asked the members of the present opposition why, if they considered the treatment of the Begums so criminal, they had not recalled the governor-general in 1783, when they were themselves in office. He affirmed that the affidavits taken by Sir Elijah Impey, and other good testimony, fully proved that the Princesses of Oude had taken part in the insurrection of Benares, and had actually raised troops with intent to support Cheyte Sing. He depictured the critical situation of our affairs in the East between the month of October, 1780, and the beginning of the year 1783—Hyder Ali and the French at the gates of Madras, the French fleet cruising on the Coromandel coast, Sir Eyre Coote looking solely to the governor-general for the means of paying his army, on which depended the fate of India, the Bengal treasury empty, the very money for the company's annual investments in native produce and manufactures all appropriated to the war, and all spent, loans raised among the seits or native bankers, until they could lend no more, money borrowed in every direction, and yet the troops both European and natives left with their pay many months in arrear. "One fact," concluded Scott, "no man can doubt; namely, that the sum procured from the Princesses of Oude could not have been raised from any other source. And without that supply, we might now have been debating here, how Mr. Hastings should be impeached—not for saving, but for losing India." This speech, and particularly the last argument in it, were calculated to make a deep impression; but on one side of the House the opposition were pledged to support Burke's view of the case, and on the other the ministerialists awaited the nod of the minister. Fine arguments and splendid oratory produced their effects, and were no doubt of use, out of doors, but within the walls of that House they rarely carried a dozen votes one way or the other, unless they were accompanied by other influences. The great fugleman did not leave his majority long in doubt: Pitt rose to speak—all eyes were fixed upon him—but seldom did he make a more equivocating and meaner appearance. After a few commonplaces and the assertion that he had compared the charge minutely with the evidence, he said he was now ready to concur with the motion, that he thought himself bound to vote with the honourable gentleman who had brought in the charge! But he begged to draw a distinction: the resumption of the Begums' jaghires was in his opinion a measure which might in certain situations have been justifiable, though certainly it was a measure that came awkwardly from the company who had guaranteed the treaty securing the Bhow Begum in her estates: but the seizure of the treasure, being unsupported by law, and not called for by any state necessity (there was as much law in

* In his speech in Westminster Hall, Sheridan's abuse of the chief justice was still more elaborated. With respect to the journey in search of evidence against the Begums, he said—"When, on the 28th of November, he was busied at Lucknow on that honourable business, and when, three days after, he was found at Chunar, at the distance of 200 miles, still searching for affidavits, and, like Hamlet's ghost, exclaiming 'Swear!' his progress on that occasion was so whimsically rapid, compared with the gravity of his employ, that an observer would be tempted to quote again from the same scene—'Ha! Old Truepenny, canst thou mole so fast i' the ground?' Here, however, the comparison ceased; for, when Sir Elijah made his visit to Lucknow, 'to whet the almost blunted purpose' of the nabob, his language was wholly different from that of the poet,—for it would have been totally against his purpose to have said,

"'Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy *mother* aught.'"

† Late in the debate, Fox addressed some personalities to Pitt. Wilberforce, the minister's friend, severely reprehended Fox. "I protest," said the good-natured Whig leader, whose violence seldom reached his heart, "I protest it was not my intention to give offence. We are both of us" (meaning Pitt and himself) "too apt to say harsher things to each other than are, perhaps, warrantable. On my part, these asperities of expression are, I am pretty certain, generally unprovoked; but they take place much too frequently."

the one case as in the other, and state necessity was with Hastings equally the motive in both), he thought it impossible not to condemn it; and in his opinion the crime was greatly aggravated by making the nabob the instrument of it, by setting the son to rob the mother. Pitt further said that the offence was aggravated by Hastings's conduct in stifling the orders of the court of directors, which expressly commanded a revision of the proceedings against those princesses. But the minister did not take into account that revision without restitution would be a mockery—did not intimate that the directors had been altogether mute on the trying matter of restitution, and had quietly winked at the disobeying of their order in the matter of investigation—did not hint that, long before the paper from Leadenhall-street reached India, the money was gone, and could not be restored (the jaghires, as we have seen, were restored)—did not speak out manfully and inform the House that the treasures of Fyzabad had been employed and spent in supporting the war against the French and the Mysoreans, and that, though guilt had been contracted in getting at the money, India had been saved. Sheridan and Fox joined in applauding the minister's delicate sense of justice; and when Hastings's friends attempted to renew the argument they were coughed down, or interrupted by the cries of "Question!" "Question!" It was observed, however, that several members of administration looked blank and disappointed; neither Pitt's relative, W. Grenville, nor Lord Mulgrave, neither the attorney-general nor the master of the rolls, uttered a syllable: the solicitor-general spoke, but it was only to declare that he never could agree to an impeachment, and that therefore he should not vote on the pending question. Upon a division, Sheridan's proposition was carried by 175 against 68.

On the 19th of February Burke called the attention of the House to the present state of the prosecution, which, he said, was attended with many awkward circumstances, arising out of their having originally departed from the usual course of proceeding in matters of that nature. Perhaps the *deliberate caution* with which they had proceeded might be attended with some advantages; but he thought now, that, having solemnly determined upon two charges of atrocious delinquency, there was quite ground enough for drawing up the impeachment, and that the sooner they resorted to a vote of impeachment the better. Upon such vote proper steps might be taken for preventing the party impeached from quitting the kingdom, removing his property, alienating any sums of money, or taking any other steps to evade the ends of justice. There was, he said, a little circumstance that rendered such a step very necessary: another gentleman from India, deeply implicated in Mr. Hastings's transactions, and against whom proceedings of a serious nature would soon be instituted, had, within a short time, sold out of the public funds property to the amount of 50,000*l.* The person here referred to was Sir Elijah Impey. But Major Scott, thinking that Burke had been speaking of property belonging to Mr. Hastings, got up to assure the House that he had no concern in it, and to declare that he believed that Mr. Hastings's whole fortune did not at that moment much exceed 50,000*l.* Pitt would not enter into Burke's hurry, and so it was resolved that the proceedings should continue to move on according to the rule of "deliberate caution." On the following day, the House being in committee on the charges, Dundas said that, as intimation had been given that a charge of a serious nature would be brought forward against Sir Elijah Impey, he would suggest to those concerned in the prosecution that it would be inconsistent with the justice, the candour, and the benevolence of that House, to call and examine a gentleman as a witness at their bar, and then to make his evidence the ground of future crimination against him. Sir Gilbert Elliott, who had taken the case of Sir Elijah into his own hands, replied that, though he had determined to move for an impeachment against Sir Elijah Impey, yet the House could not think of waiving the advantage of any information it could possibly obtain. He said the subject of Impey's present examination would not exactly come within the limits of his intended charge, although that charge would go to affect nearly the whole of the conduct of Sir Elijah, who, by his extra-official interference, had had a share in some of the most guilty of Hastings's transactions. Burke, in still stronger language, insisted that the evidence of the chief justice ought to be taken, even though he was himself to be charged afterwards. He said that the prosecution could not think of losing the advantage of the testimony of that person who had been "the principal confidant of the principal culprit." Sir Elijah, he added, knew too much of law to answer any questions which might tend to criminate himself; and those who were to examine him would not insist on his answering questions of such a tendency. Pitt agreed that the testimony of Sir Elijah was very important; but he thought that delicacy and propriety demanded that the witness should have such notice of the charge intended against him as might tend to put him on his guard. Burke hereupon moved—"That Sir Elijah Impey be called in, and that the chairman be instructed to inform him that it was possible that a criminal inquiry may be instituted against himself, on the ground of extra-official interference and his general conduct in India; and that the subject on which he was then to be examined may lead to proceedings connected with such an inquiry." This motion being carried, Sir Elijah was called in. The chairman gave him the notice according to the vote; and then Sir Elijah said—"that, as he was conscious of no guilt, and as there was no part of his conduct which he could wish to secrete, this notice could make no difference in his wishes to give the committee the fullest information." The Chief Justice of Bengal then underwent a long examination touching some

affairs with the Nabob of Furruckabad. Burke had complained that he had been able to procure from the East India House only a small portion of the papers relating to these particular transactions; and he afterwards called the attention of the House to these facts—that the attorney of the East India Company was also attorney to Hastings; and that, while the House were groping in the dark, and liable to miss what was of most importance, Mr. Hastings and his attorney, to whom all the recesses of the India House were known and open, might defeat the search after evidence and laugh at the prosecution.*

On the 2nd day of March the fourth charge against Hastings was opened by Mr. T. Pelham. It comprised what was termed the corrupt and oppressive conduct of the governor-general towards the Nabob of Furruckabad. Major Scott replied to Pelham, and the debate was very dry. Dundas rose and diverted the attention of the House to the breach of the treaty of Chunar. He spoke with a great show of candour and moderation; he said that the treaty, after all, might have been only a *bad way* of doing *a good thing;* he advised the gentleman who had brought forward the present charge to reflect whether it would be worth while to prosecute it to the other House, as it appeared not likely, even if substantiated, to add much either to the guilt or the punishment of the late governor-general, while it would certainly require a vast volume of evidence to prove it. Dundas, however, concluded with saying that, unless he should receive satisfaction on some points of the business, he must certainly give his vote for the question. On this day the cause of Hastings met with support from a new quarter, and so high an opinion was entertained of the merits of this new advocate, and of the weight of his arguments, that it was fancied at the time that, if he had appeared at an earlier stage of the proceedings, he might have stopped them altogether; at it was, it served only to draw from Pitt declarations which left Hastings no other hope than that of an acquittal in Westminster Hall.† This new advocate was that veteran sailor Admiral Lord Hood, who had maintained the honour of the British flag in the last war. Though unaccustomed to speak in parliament, and though strongly attached to Pitt, he rose to remonstrate with ministers. He considered the whole matter like a man accustomed to war, and to the difficulties that often arise even in regular service—like one who knew that a state of war is a suspension of law. He implored the House to reflect on the consequences that must result to the state, if, with too scrupulous accuracy, they called to a severe account the individuals who had filled important stations abroad in periods of hostility and perplexity. Certain actions, which appeared to those at a distance, and uninformed of many of the circumstances, in a very criminal light, might, on a nearer investigation, prove perfectly justifiable on the grounds of absolute necessity. With honest simplicity the admiral stated the difficulties in which he had often been placed himself, and the summary, irregular acts—or they might be called acts of oppression and unauthorised violence—which he had himself been obliged to adopt, to subsist the British fleet in the West Indies during the last war, when all our islands there were threatened by French, Spaniards, and Americans. "Those acts," said he, "were indispensable to the preservation of my ships and men; yet, if the government had not stood between me and legal prosecutions, I should in all probability have been condemned to linger out the remainder of my days in prison. The example now set by the House of Commons in prosecuting Mr. Hastings will for ever stand before our future commanders, and create a great and dangerous clog to the public service. I am an old man: at my time of life I can entertain no expectation of being again employed on active foreign service; but I speak for those who are to come after me. My regard for my country makes me anxious to prevent a precedent by which all her services for the future would be greatly impeded; this I am confident will be the effect of punishing any harsh and severe, but perhaps necessary, stretches of power which the saviour of India may have been found to have committed." Pitt, working himself up to a high pitch of morality, rose to reply to the old admiral, and to declare that he must ever prefer what was right to what might be expedient. He said that he should have been satisfied by giving a silent vote for the question before the House, but that, after what had fallen from the noble lord, he felt himself called upon to answer the argument used, lest the weight of his lordship's authority on such subjects might mislead the judgment of the committee. As he proceeded he somewhat qualified his rigid morality. If a servant of the public, civil or military, should carry his exertions beyond the line of strict right, and even of necessity, God forbid that he or any man should deny him his due merit, or say that the abundance of his zeal ought not to be allowed as an atonement for the irregularity of his actions and the error of his judgment! But he asked whether that part of the conduct of Mr. Hastings now before the House corresponded to any such principle?—Whether the crime that day alleged against him was justified by his motive or by necessity?—Whether any existing necessity could justify a crime of such a size and complexion? He represented that, wherever a departure was made from justice and right, it was not sufficient to *say* that such a step was necessary, for the party must *prove* the necessity, which in this instance, in his opinion, had not been done. The noble lord, besides the topic of necessity, had dwelt upon the general merits of Mr. Hastings, with their importance to the country.

* Burke also said that there was another very suspicious circumstance—many of the papers were in the possession of the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, instead of being in the hands of Mr. Middleton, the resident at Lucknow, to whose department they properly belonged.

† Ann. Regis.

This was a ground which he (Pitt) expected and hoped would have been abandoned. Upon a division Mr. Pelham's motion was carried by 112 against 50.

On the 15th of March the charge relating to abuses, for selfish purposes, in contracts and salaries, was opened by Sir James Erskine,* nephew to Lord Loughborough. Sir James endeavoured to show that Hastings had made both corrupt and improvident bargains for providing bullocks, elephants, &c.; that he had grossly favoured individuals that were devoted to his will and useful in his designs, at the expense of his employers, and that he had been guilty of abuses in the opium contracts. Major Scott said he could prove that Hastings had never profited by these contracts, though perhaps Francis, and certainly his friends, had; and he instanced the case of one Mr. Tighman, who was a relation of Francis, and who had returned to Europe in the same ship with him a wealthy man, made rich by opium profits. Pitt, who made a very long and careful speech, said that the present charge might be divided into three distinct parts. As to the first, regarding contracts, &c., he thought some of the matters alleged too insignificant to be discussed in parliament or inserted in articles of impeachment; but he would except two contracts, one for bullocks in the year 1779, and the opium contract in 1781; in both of which there appeared to him circumstances of criminality and ground for suspecting corruption. As to the second article, which related to the extraordinary emoluments bestowed by the governor-general on Sir Eyre Coote, in disobedience of the company's orders, and imposing the payment of those additional emoluments on Cheyte Sing, he thought it highly criminal, and proper to be inserted in the articles of impeachment. As to the third part of the charge, or that relating to profuse expenditure in the civil department, he considered it too trivial, or not sufficiently supported by proof, to be admitted into a solemn criminal charge. Pitt next passed, in the way of caution and advice, some stinging reproofs on the managers of the prosecution, who seemed likely to absorb an immense deal of the time of the House. He thought that all who had any regard to the dignity of parliament, or to the ends of substantial justice, must wish to forward the business as much as possible, and bring it before the Peers in the best shape. He conceived that it was by no means the best way to clog it with useless, unnecessary, and unprovable matter. The best thing the House could do was to strip it of all such matter; and he wished the right honourable gentleman (Burke) who had taken so active a part in the business would, on some early day, ascertain and determine on such charges as he still intended to bring forward; as there were many charges already before the House which, he was certain, could never be proved, or, if they could, were not of sufficient criminality to warrant the present mode of proceeding. In the end he moved to leave out everything in this article of charge except what related to the bullocks and Sir Eyre Coote. But Burke, unwilling to drop a single item, compared himself to a shipmaster in a storm, who, in order to lighten his vessel, must throw some of his cargo overboard. But he added that what articles he was to commit to the waves he was perfectly at a loss to determine. He was afraid to enter upon the operation, lest gentlemen might afterwards tell him—"You, indeed, at first furnished yourself with an excellent cargo; many of your articles were of the very best quality; but, whilst you have retained trifles, you have consigned those which were of the greatest value to the waves." He, therefore, moved an amendment on the minister's amendment, giving up one or two trivial points, but insisting on the insertion of others which Pitt would have rejected, and which certainly deserved rejection. Yet, upon these trifles, Burke found himself in the rare condition of being in a majority against Pitt.* The tiresome minutiæ had thinned the House, and, when the original question, or the motion made by Erskine, that this charge contained matter for impeaching, &c., was put to the vote, there were not above eighty-six members to divide, of whom sixty voted for, and twenty-six against the motion. It is admitted, even by those who have most severely sifted the conduct of Hastings, that all the particulars which Pitt tried to eject were either frivolous in their nature or incapable of proof. The contract for bullocks for the service of several armies in the field was scarcely entitled to more regard, and quite as unsusceptible of any proof that the business had not been managed in the best way that circumstances permitted. As to the additional emoluments granted to Sir Eyre Coote, they had been granted in order to induce him, in old age and in very bad health, to undertake the chief command of the army in India in a time of war. Hastings naturally looked to Coote as the officer who enjoyed the highest reputation in India, as a veteran commander who knew well the country in which he had gathered his laurels and served so many years, as a commander singularly endeared to the native troops,† as one whose name and prestige, experience, abilities, and bravery seemed to promise the best result. Coote unfortunately was fond of money; and it was only by a splendid offering of rupees and pagodas that the governor-general could hope to tempt him to forego his ease, neglect the cares necessary to his health, and quit his honourable retirement in England to enter into a war which had been infamously mismanaged everywhere, and the toils and anxieties of which killed him before

* The late Earl of Rosslyn.

* A majority of 9.

† "Among the native soldiers Coote's name was great, and his influence unrivalled; nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollilore. It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer who holds one of the highest employments in India; a print of Coote hung in the room; the veteran recognised at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salam to the living, halted, drew himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his military obeisance to the dead."—*Art. in Edinb. Rev. on Gleig's Life of Warren Hastings.*

he could see an end to it. Several passages in Hastings's private letters prove how anxious he was for the services of the general, and how anxious the general was for the rupees; while they also prove—what no general officer in the House of Commons, or anywhere else, could have doubted—that there ought to be a difference between the pay of a general-in-chief residing at Calcutta, and doing nothing but routine business, and a general-in-chief in the field, with expenses, that are in India enormous, for staffs, attendants of all kinds, camp equipages, elephants, horses, camels, bullocks, scouts, messengers, secret services of all kinds, &c. &c. In a letter to Sulivan, Hastings says, "I have formed an establishment for his expenses in the field on a very liberal scale; viz. table allowance 7500 rupees per month, being 50 per cent. above that allowed by the court of directors to Colonel (since General) Stibbert, and a discretional liberty to draw for boats, elephants, and other contingent charges, to the amount of ——* more for himself and all his staff. This is not much, and incomparably less than the allowed and assumed charges of his predecessors in the military command of this presidency, General Clavering excepted, because he never was in the situation to which these allowances are applied. . . . . I hope my conduct will receive your support. General Clavering, who never intended to take the field, might content himself with a gratuitous salary of 60,000 rupees per annum, but you must be convinced that the commander-in-chief could not possibly support the indispensable charges of his rank and command with so scanty a sum; and it is a dangerous maxim to connive at unauthorised perquisites, the inevitable consequence of too close an economy. . . . . These acts have all passed with opposition from Messrs. Francis and Wheler, and will no doubt be represented in the worst colours in their private letters to England—*by Francis at least.*" The governor-general had not the power of appointing the commander-in-chief—that rested with the court of directors at home; but it seems very doubtful whether Sir Eyre Coote would have gone out again to India, if Hastings had not allured him with brilliant promises of emolument, of the unreserved surrender of the whole military department, and of other concessions. In an earlier letter written to Sulivan, before the general's arrival, Hastings says, "*He shall have all he wants, and more than he probably expects.* I only fear the aptitude of his easy temper to yield to the incendiary impressions of Francis."† Being then, as always, in furious opposition to the governor-general, Francis assumed that the additional emoluments conferred on Coote were given only to secure his vote and support in council,—for Sir Eyre returned to India a member of the supreme council, as well as commander-in-chief. Though fond of money, Sir Eyre Coote was too honourable a man to make any such bargain; and it appears from his conduct in council that, so far from voting constantly with Hastings, he frequently opposed him, though he would never join Francis, whom he hated and despised, in his systematic and constant opposition. Not long after his arrival at Calcutta, Coote took the field, and marched into Oude, the frontiers of which were threatened by a Mahratta army. The Nabob of Oude—or Nabob Vizier, as he is commonly called—was charged with all the extra allowances, expenses, &c., fixed by Hastings for the general. The court of directors, in a letter dated the 18th of October, ordered that the nabob should be relieved of these charges—as Coote had recrossed the Caramnassa, and returned into the company's own territory—and that the extra allowances should be discontinued altogether; but long before this letter could reach India—indeed just *five days* after it was written in London—Coote had been induced to take his departure for Madras, in order to assume, in person, the management of the war in the Carnatic. This he was not bound to do either by the company or by the king's government; and the state of his health would have been a sufficient excuse if he even had been bound by orders. As the general's expenses would be still further increased, Hastings, to keep him in good humour, had given or promised him still more money. When the letter of the court of directors arrived, the veteran was contending on the Coromandel coast with Hyder and the French—and also with his maladies. Was it possible for the governor-general, under such circumstances, to reduce the extra allowances which the money-loving general had enjoyed? Would it have been wise to make any such experiment on Coote's temper? It was unjust, perhaps, or contrary to treaties with him, to make the Nabob of Oude pay these extra charges, when the general was not serving in Oude, but in the Carnatic; but Hastings had no other source from which he could so easily draw the money, and on the fate of the war in the Carnatic depended not merely the fate of the English in Bengal, but also the fate of their neighbour the Nabob of Oude himself.

On the 22nd of March a warm altercation took place in committee between Pitt and Francis. A Mr. Mercer having been called before the committee for examination on the subject of the opium contract, Francis, to whom the said Mercer had addressed a letter some time before full of the grossest abuse of Hastings, so managed the examination as to get the letter introduced and entered at full length on the minutes of the committee. Pitt, holding the letter in his hand as it appeared in the printed minutes, denounced what he described as the unworthy artifice by which Francis had contrived to render the House of Commons his accomplices in recording a libel. Francis, in reply, distinctly denied that the letter had been written at his instigation, and stated that, with respect to Mercer, he was not acquainted with him personally, nor had he ever been in his

* No sum is inserted.
† Letter in Gleig's Life of Hastings.

company till he saw him at the bar of the House. He wanted to ascertain whether Mercer knew anything about the opium, and had desired a friend to call upon him, upon which Mercer had written him the letter, which when he had read he was sorry to find so much of the contents irrelevant, but he was obliged to produce the whole letter or none at all, else he would have been charged with the suppression of evidence. Sheridan rebuked Pitt for giving way to indecorous anger. Pitt defended himself, and said that "no degree of indignation could be too strong, where the House itself had been made instrumental to an act of such palpable malice and injustice;" but it would rather appear from the report of the debate that in these expressions he referred to the appearance which the matter wore before it was explained: he concluded by saying that he took the honourable gentleman's reproof in good part, and hoped they might each of them benefit by those mutual admonitions which they found it so necessary to bestow on each other. When this altercation was over, Mr. Wyndham opened the sixth charge against Hastings for his conduct towards Fyzoola Khan, the Rohilla chief, who retained possession of Rampore, in Rohilcund. The eloquence and the nice metaphysics of Wyndham's speech were much admired; but he most decidedly misstated many of the facts and bearings of the case, persisting in the error which represented the Rohillas as a most amiable people. Major Scott exposed some of these rhetorical and metaphysical errors. He denied the existence of the pretended grievances and hardships of the last of the Rohillas; he quoted facts and circumstances to prove that the treaty which allotted them a settlement in Rampore had been well observed; and he maintained that Fyzoola Khan was at that moment one of the happiest and most independent native princes of Hindustan. Scott asked whether the Khan had ever complained? whether the Begums themselves had ever complained? whether any complaint of any sort had been received from any of the native princes? The Rajah of Benares, who had been expelled for his rebellion, might complain, though it did not appear he had intrusted his cause to the prosecutors of Hastings in the House of Commons. But what had the people of Benares done? They had erected temples to Mr. Hastings! To this last flourish of the major, Burke wittily replied, that in India people dedicated temples to two very different divinities, to the good principle and to the evil principle, or to the infernal power whose enmity and malignity they deprecated. Here Burke ought to have stopped; but he went on to spoil a good jest, by mixing in it a savage denunciation. "Perhaps," he added, "the temples in question may be temples of gratitude to the presiding divinities of Hindustan, for having removed a *monster* under whose tyranny the unfortunate natives suffered so many evils." Pitt took no part in this debate, leaving the ministerial signal to be given by Dundas, who, although he differed from Wyndham and Burke in some particulars, agreed with them that there was criminal matter, and that the charge ought to be included in the articles of impeachment. This was enough to secure the majority; and on a division Wyndham's motion was carried by 96 against 37. The House having resumed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to propose that a day should be named for bringing up the report of the committee on the several charges which had been admitted. He was ready to give such a vote on the general question of impeachment as would correspond with the part he had already taken; but he must observe that, having only partially acquiesced in some of the charges, he should endeavour to bring the matter before the House in such a way as would relieve him from the unpleasant alternative of being obliged either to dissent *in toto* from propositions to parts of which he wished to give his concurrence, or to vote for propositions which contained some circumstances to which he was adverse. But whether he should make a separate motion, or only move an amendment, he had not yet determined. Burke declared that he approved of the minister's proposition, and hoped that his arguments would convince the House and the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the necessity of admitting the whole of the several propositions as they had been originally drawn. He also hoped that the minister and he would be found voting together on this important subject. In conclusion it was agreed that the report should be brought up on Monday the 2nd of April. It appeared to some of the friends of Hastings that the House was now going to proceed at too rapid a pace. On the 27th Mr. Hamilton (commonly named Single-speech Hamilton) called for some delay, and expressed his abhorrence of a proposition, thrown out some weeks before by Burke, to secure Hastings's person and property as soon as the impeachment should be voted. "At present," said he, "I speak in terms of restrained indignation. If I had given way to my feelings on the first mention of that project, I could not have answered for my expressions." He protested against the proposed scheme of bringing up the report, and following up the reading of the report by impeachment, on one and the same evening. Hamilton was supported by Mr. Yorke (afterwards Lord Hardwicke). Pitt strongly condemned any proposal for delay. Burke said that the House ought to remember what kind of criminal they had to deal with. "Let those who accuse us of precipitation," exclaimed Burke, "remember how many years we have been occupied with inquiries into Mr. Hastings's conduct. And has he not himself, in that extraordinary performance read by him at our bar, and which he denominated his defence, demanded dispatch? The charges in which this House has already concurred are not simply high crimes and misdemeanors in the ordinary sense of the words;—they are acts, at the bare mention of which our nature recoils with horror!" On the 2nd of April Sheridan opened the seventh charge,

relating to the corrupt receiving of bribes and presents. The orator, who embellished his subject with all kinds of tropes and figures, imputed the grossest corruption and most ravenous greed for money to a man who had been singularly indifferent as to riches for his own use. "He is changeable," said Sheridan, "in everything except in corruption;—there and only there he is systematic, methodical, immutable. His revenge is furious as a tempest or a tornado; but his corruption is a monsoon, a trade-wind blowing regularly from one quarter." In indulging his wit and his irony Sheridan gave vent to some sallies which admitted the real facts of the case—that Hastings had not received the presents for himself, but for the account and benefit of his employers—that the forced offerings went directly into the company's treasury. In describing the accommodating morality of the court of directors, and their correspondence with the governor-general, he said it might be condensed in words like these—"For as much as you have accepted presents, we highly disapprove of your conduct; but, inasmuch as you have applied them to the credit side of our account, we exceedingly approve your conduct." It was not meant; it was inadvertency; it proceeded from the natural impulse of the man to say all the witty things he could; but both in this speech and in his grander effort on the Begum charge, Sheridan uttered several things tending to exonerate Hastings and to inculpate the court of directors, who were indeed answerable for much that had been done amiss, and who could plead no set-off in the way of great and wise measures. Major Scott again replied to Sheridan; but he was more prosy than usual, and made use of an ill-timed argument and illustration. He told the House that the full satisfaction expressed at his conduct by the court of directors ought to have set these questions at rest; that ministers themselves had apparently given their approbation, for since his return home, at a dinner given to the late governor-general by the directors, some members of the board of control were present. This brought up Lord Mulgrave, who probably had been one of the guests. "I am anxious," said his lordship, "to rescue Mr. Hastings from this *shabby defence*. No man approves and applauds more than myself numerous parts of Mr. Hastings's administration. But is it sufficient to say in reply to serious charges, that when he was entertained by his employers, as a mark of *their* grateful satisfaction, some members of the efficient India government dined in the same room?" Upon a division this seventh charge was carried by 165 against 54.

The House then resumed, and the report of the committee was brought up by the chairman, Mr. St. John. The question being put, "that it be now read the first time," Pitt declared that his anxiety increased at every step they advanced in this serious business, and that he earnestly desired all future proceedings should be entered upon cautiously and with due formality—that members would now deliver their votes singly and exclusively on the merits of the grand decisive question of impeachment, and free from any objections that might be taken to the manner in which that question should be brought forward. He therefore wished to know how Burke intended to proceed. For his own part he wished it to be understood that he only went to a certain length—that he could not join in a general vote of impeachment, which might seem to countenance the whole of each several charge. He thought that the most advisable method would be to refer all the charges to a committee, who might select out of them the really criminal matter, and frame it into articles of impeachment; and then, when these articles should be reported to the House, the question of impeachment might be moved. Fox, on the contrary, declared his opinion to be that the report now presented should be taken into immediate consideration; and that, if the House agreed to it, it should be immediately followed by the motion for impeaching the great criminal. This, he said, was agreeable to the ancient constitutional mode of impeachment. In his speech Fox thundered against any attempts at using the argument of a set-off, and against any attempts at delay. Burke said, that, though he thought the proposition of Fox the more constitutional of the two, he conceived the difference to be trifling—too trifling to be allowed to break in upon that unanimity which now seemed to distinguish the proceedings of the House. The report was therefore turned over to a committee without any further struggle. On the following day Major Scott rose and said that there had been much talk about *setting off* the merits of Mr. Hastings against his supposed delinquencies: he begged leave to inform the House that neither Mr. Hastings nor his friends had the most distant idea of taking refuge in anything of the sort. He held a paper in his hand written by Mr. Hastings himself, and he begged permission to read it to the House as a part of his own speech. Having obtained the necessary permission he read the paper, in which Hastings briefly and powerfully stated his own notions as to the procedure.* When this was over Burke

* Hastings's paper was, to this effect:—"Though it might be deemed presumption in me to declare any wish or expectation concerning the mode in which the House of Commons may, in its wisdom or justice, determine to proceed in the prosecution of the inquiry into my conduct now depending before them; yet, as it has been reported that many gentlemen, members of that honourable assembly, who have not chosen to give their constant attendance on the committee holden on this business, have expressed their determination of opposing the general question of impeachment when it shall be brought before the collective body of this House, I hope I may, without irregularity, or the imputation of disrespect, intimate my sense of such a determination, both as it may respect that question, and the claim which I conceive I possess to attendance on the question upon the report which, in the due order of business, will precede it. I presume that in the present examination of my public conduct there are two leading, and, as it appears to me, exclusive objects, of equal and reciprocal obligation—namely, that justice may be done to the nation in the redress or punishment of wrongs which it may be eventually proved that it has sustained by my acts; and that justice may be done to an individual who may be eventually proved to have been wronged by unfounded accusations, and who even thinks that he has a claim to the applause of his country for those very acts which have been drawn into crimination against him. If it shall be resolved by the honourable House of Commons to agree to the report of the committee, that is to say, if it shall be re-

moved the appointment of the committee to select the criminal matter out of the charges and embody it in an impeachment; and he proposed, as proper members for this committee, the following persons:—Himself, Edmund Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Sir James Erskine, T. Pelham, Wyndham, St. John, J. Anstruther, W. Adam, Michael Angelo Taylor, Welbore Ellis, F. Montague, Sir Grey Cooper, *Philip Francis*, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Dudley Long, Lord Maitland, Colonel North, General Burgoyne, and Mr. Grey. When the name of Francis was read in this list there was a loud murmur of disapprobation, not unmixed with strong symptoms of disgust and indignation. There was no one in the House that could possibly be ignorant of the implacable hostility which Francis nourished against his late official superior; and there were few but knew that the great aim and object of Francis had been for years, whether contending in India or debating in the House of Commons, to secure to himself the envied post of governor-general! It was not now mentioned in the House that his ambition and avarice were seeking their gratification as well as his revenge; but it was objected strongly, and with proper English feeling, that, as in India he had been personally at variance with Hastings, he ought not to form part of the present committee. Yet, on a division being called for, the nomination of Francis was carried by 96 against 44. On the 19th of April, Francis, in opening the eighth charge, relating to the management of the revenues of Bengal, took occasion to vindicate his character from what he termed certain malicious insinuations, and to which he attributed the attempt to reject his name from the committee. He maintained that his animosities were all of a public and not of a private nature; that even his duel had been fought upon a public cause of quarrel; and that when, shot through the body and fancying he must die, he gave his hand to Mr. Hastings, and declared he forgave him, he did not mean that he forgave him his public faults. This speech was answered by Major Scott. Pitt rose, and, without noticing what Francis had said, spoke to the question before the House, stating that some of the matter contained in the present charge had found a place in articles already agreed to, and that other parts of the matter were either not criminal or not capable of proof. In the course of this debate Mr. Barwell, now

Sir Philip Francis. From a Portrait by J. Lonsdale.

member for St. Ives, who had been associated with Hastings in the government of Bengal, and who had invariably seconded the governor, rose to observe, that, as an honourable gentleman had frequently introduced his name in that House, he could not avoid expressing an earnest desire that, if there was any charge against him, it might be brought forward, he being quite ready to meet it in that House or elsewhere. Burke, who was the person alluded to, replied, with a levity and sarcasm that ill suited so serious a subject, that he did not intend to bring forward a charge against the honourable member, as his hands were sufficiently full already; but, if he was really so anxious to be accused, he would, when at leisure, apply himself to the subject, being far from thinking the whole of the gentleman's conduct in India unexceptionable. Upon a division the charge, as presented by Francis, was admitted by 71 against 55.

On the 25th of April Burke brought up from the committee the articles of impeachment, which were forthwith read for the first time, and ordered to be printed and to be taken into consideration on the 9th of May. In the interval the public mind was occupied by the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, and with the public debates and private surmises which have been already described. On the appointed 9th of May, upon the motion being made that the articles of impeachment should be read a second time, Admiral Lord Hood again rose to declare his strong feelings on the subject. He went over the same arguments he had used before; and he concluded by imploring the House to recollect that, whatever errors or faults the late governor-general had committed, he had indisputably saved the most valuable possessions of the empire. His lordship was followed by a

solved that there is ground for impeaching me for high crimes and misdemeanors, on the charges on which the committee have already passed that decision, I presume that the resolution for the impeachment ought to follow of course, as the only means which can satisfy the justice of the nation in the supposition of my guilt, or clear my character in the supposition of my innocence. With regard to the first of these conclusions I have no claim; but for the last I may, in common with the meanest of the subjects of this realm, assert my right to the benefit and protection of its laws; and I trust that the honourable House of Commons, which has ever been considered as the guardian and protector of the laws, will not suffer my name to be branded with the foulest and blackest imputations upon their records, without allowing me at the same time the only legal means of effacing them, by transferring them for trial to the House of Peers in the form of an impeachment. To this opinion I humbly beg leave to add my request, and it is the only request or application which I have hitherto permitted myself to make to any of the individual members of the House on the process of this business, that, if it shall be resolved on the report that there is ground to charge me with high crimes and misdemeanors, they will afford me the benefit of their votes, though united with those of my prosecutors, that I may be brought to legal trial for the same.

"Warren Hastings."

very different man. This was none other than the ex-patriot and present chamberlain of the city of London, John Wilkes; who had almost entirely changed his politics, and who, together with his daughter, had contracted a very warm friendship and close intimacy with Mr. and Mrs. Hastings.* During the two or three preceding sessions Wilkes had sat almost silent in the House; and it was thought that he was no longer capable of any ardent exertions. He now, however, made one of the most effective speeches that had been delivered on this subject. He insisted that many of the acts charged against Hastings were unsupported by any admissible evidence, that many were justifiable by state necessity, that others had been actually justified by the approbation of his masters and of the public, that others were defensible from the wide difference of manners and government in India from our own, and that others were not only justifiable but highly meritorious. He found a proof of the innocence of Hastings, and of the wild exaggerations of his accusers in the total silence of the natives of India upon the subject of the dreadful oppressions said to have been practised amongst them. He attributed the greatest part of what appeared criminal in the conduct of Mr. Hastings to the craving and avaricious policy of his employers, whose demands had in some instances driven Mr. Hastings to the use of means not strictly justifiable. The charges, supposing the facts to be true, amounted, he said, to this—that Mr. Hastings, by oppression, injustice, and corruption, had obtained for the company nine millions and a half sterling! For himself, he thought that the principal acts now converted into crimes, though the benefit of them was felt and actually enjoyed, were wise, politic, and just. But, were he of a contrary opinion, he could not, as an honest man, lay his hand upon his heart, and vote for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings while he basely and infamously benefited by his misdeeds. And how gentlemen, who condemned these acts, could suffer a day to pass without moving retribution to the sufferers, was to him incomprehensible. "I am covered with astonishment," said he, "that a *faction* in this assembly should have been able to carry on the proceeding to the present point. I trust, for the honour of the nation, it will be terminated and finally extinguished by a very considerable majority before we adjourn this night." And he concluded by moving an amendment that the report should be read a second time that day three months. Wilkes was followed and supported by Nathaniel Smith, chief secretary to the court of directors, and by Alderman Townshend, who was no mean orator or debater. Islay Campbell, lord-advocate, took the same side, and reviewed the whole subject both as a lawyer and a statesman. He declared that, considering the House as sitting in the capacity of a grand jury, and consequently that they ought to be thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the indictment, so far as the evidence went, and ought not to rest satisfied merely with remote probabilities, he could not conscientiously vote for the impeachment. He pointed out numerous parts in the articles of charge in which he conceived the evidence to be essentially defective. He considered the necessities of the company, and the dangerous crisis of their affairs as grounds of justification for the strong measures pursued by Hastings, in order to extricate them. He further observed that the late governor had been unjustly blamed for various acts of administration in which he had only concurred with others, or in which the members of the supreme council, untouched by this prosecution, had concurred and co-operated with him. He insisted that the order of dates, and the state of the council, ought to have been more distinctly attended to in the charges. Mr. Hastings, he said, had enjoyed the casting voice only for a very short time, and even then Mr. Barwell was equally responsible with him. Afterwards Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, Sir Eyre Coote, and Mr. Stables came one after another into the council. At one period there was a coalition between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis. How did the prosecutors account for this? Was Mr. Hastings alone to be made accountable during that curious period? He doubted, as a lawyer, whether, upon the supposition of guilt in any specific article, a set-off, or a balancing of accounts, could properly be admitted. But, at the same time, he contended that it was not altogether a new mode of defence. The proceedings in Lord Clive's case left no doubt that his lordship owed his safety to it. And there was a more ancient and illustrious example in the case of Epaminondas, the Theban general, who, being tried for his life for having kept the command of the army four months after he should, by law, have laid it down, confessed his crime, but enumerated the glorious actions he had performed with that army, and welcomed death if the sole merit of those deeds were ascribed to him. "This speech," said Campbell, "procured the acquittal of Epaminondas—and whoever reads the history of India during the late war, will be disposed to think that Mr. Hastings may die when he pleases with similar words in his mouth." The lord-advocate repeated the strong opinion of Wilkes as to the complicity of the East India Company. He said that, the company having actually reaped the benefit of Hastings's acts, and so far approved of them as never to have *signified* any intention of restitution, he could not conceive with what propriety Hastings could be impeached singly for those acts. And, in

* The apostasy of Wilkes had not passed off without severe comment: it had been made the subject of bitterer and better lampoons than he had ever written himself in his patriot days. Sheridan, and his friends Tickell and Richardson, had had a hand in several of these squibs of the day. The following seems to have been Sheridan's own:—

"Johnny W—lkes, Johnny W—lkes,
Thou greatest of bilks,
How chang'd are the notes you now sing!
Your fam'd Forty-five
Is Prerogative,
And your blasphemy, 'God save the King,'
Johnny W—lkes,
And your blasphemy, 'God save the King.'"

solemn truth, if there was to be an impeachment at all, it ought to have included all those who had been members of the court of directors between the years 1771 and 1785. The whole list of delinquents would thus have included the names of many who were living and flourishing, in health and reputation, and the names of some who were dead—men that had passed through life with the character of being eminent and virtuous citizens, excellent friends and neighbours, "highly respectable,"—who had had funeral sermons preached in their parish churches at their decease, and all the social and Christian virtues engraved upon their tombstones. Lord Mulgrave said that, as he had not been able to see any proof except on the charge relating to the accepting of the presents, he must vote against the impeachment. Mr. Burgess produced an address just received from the British officers commanding the army in India—an army that now amounted to 70,000 men—in which they all bore testimony to the excellent character, high abilities, and important services of the late governor-general. The heaviness of the debate was relieved by some buffoonery performed by Mr. John Courtenay, member for Tamworth, who first of all fell upon Lord Hood, and next upon Alderman Wilkes. "No man," he said, "could contemplate without reverence the person of the noble admiral, if he reflected how much his country owed him for having been a spectator of Lord Rodney's glorious victory of the 12th of April." He was assailed by loud cries of order from the ministerial benches, but Courtenay was a man not easily disconcerted or put down. He maintained that his remark was complimentary to the noble lord, on the circumstance of his having *chanced to be present* when Admiral Rodney defeated Count de Grasse; and that therefore no man had any right to accuse him of being disorderly. Then turning towards Wilkes, who was sitting next to him, he continued —"The worthy alderman possesses too much sense to feel anger, when I mean him a compliment; as I do, when I assert that his country owes him great obligations, for having, at one period of his life, diffused a spirit of liberty throughout the general mass of the people, unexampled—except indeed in the times of Jack Cade and Wat Tyler." The House resounded with roars of laughter, which encouraged Courtenay to go on. "The honourable magistrate," said he, "has defended Mr. Hastings's treatment of the Begums, by asserting that those princesses were engaged in rebellion. Surely he must have looked upon the transaction *obliquely* (Wilkes squinted dreadfully) or he never could have formed so erroneous an idea. Two old women in rebellion against the governor-general! Impossible! Nor would the worthy alderman have made an 'Essay on Woman' in the manner that Mr. Hastings did. The House well knows he would not."* After comparing Hastings to the execrable Colonel Kirk, Courtenay paralleled his cruelties with those of Fernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico; and then he brought in the *bulse*, or purse, with the extraordinary diamond in it, which had been presented to George III. "Cortez," said he, "marked his footsteps with blood and cruelty: his conduct excited abhorrence: an inquiry was at length instituted with a view of bringing him to justice. But Cortez, aware of his danger, took care to transmit some jewels to his sovereign—not a *bulse*,* for that was an oriental term; but a present of precious stones, which produced an equal effect on the Spanish monarch's mind, all mouths thenceforth rehearsing the praises of Fernando Cortez!" Alderman Townshend rose to express his astonishment that the Speaker should have allowed a member of that House to retail such jokes and to continue unchecked in his use of such indecent and unbecoming language. After urging that India could not have been saved without some sacrifice of rigid legal forms, Townshend reminded the minister of an historical anecdote. "I recollect," said the alderman, "the time when the father of the present chancellor of the exchequer, with a vigour of mind that did him honour, foreseeing that the French were making preparations for war, sent directions to seize their merchant ships, which he publicly sold, together with their cargoes, previous to any declaration of hostilities. The act was in itself illegal; for peace still existed between England and France. But, nevertheless, as the nation then respected justice, the value of the vessels and cargoes was restored to their owners afterwards." At a late hour Pitt rose to deliver his authoritative opinion. He began by remarking that Lord Hood, Wilkes, Hay Campbell, and Townshend, had been again pleading a *set-off*. This was a ground which he expected and hoped would have been abandoned, after what had already passed upon that subject, both from Mr. Hastings himself, who had disclaimed any such plea, and from many of the gentlemen who had delivered their opinions in the debates on the several charges. For his own part, such was his opinion of many parts of the charges, and of their importance and criminality, that he could not conceive, if they were well founded, how the highest and the greatest merits which had ever been alleged in favour of Mr. Hastings could be set in opposition to them as a plea even against conviction and punishment—much less against inquiry and trial, which were now the only objects in question. He thought that the House had gone too far to recede; —he felt himself at a loss to conceive how it could be reconciled to the honour, the consistency, or the justice of the House, to stop short of sending up the impeachment to the Lords. He attempted to defend the court of directors, and to separate their acts and instructions from the acts of the governor-general. He thought that, in one part of the Benares charge, there was criminality; and that in the case of the Begums there was a great deal more—and indeed he looked upon that charge as

* Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs.

* *Bulse* was nothing more nor less than an Indian corruption of the Portuguese and Spanish word *bolsa*—a purse.

the most serious in the whole accusation. He could conceive a state, compelled by a sudden invasion and an unprovided army, laying violent hands on the property of its subjects: but then, in so doing, it ought to do it openly; it ought to avow the necessity, it ought to avow the seizure, and it ought unquestionably to make provision for a proper compensation as soon as that should become practicable. But were these the principles on which Mr. Hastings proceeded? No; he neither avowed the necessity nor the exaction: he made criminal charges, and under the colour of them he levied heavy and inordinate penalties; seizing that which, if he had a right to take it at all, he would be highly criminal in taking in such a shape, but which having no right to take, the mode of taking it rendered it much more heinous and culpable. He certainly had no right to impose a fine of any sort on the Princesses of Oude; for there was not sufficient proof of their disaffection or rebellion. And the fine imposed on Cheyte Sing, in a certain degree, though not to the same extent, was very blameable. After reviewing some of the other charges which had been admitted, he went on to say that, because others were guilty, Hastings ought not to escape punishment; for the having accomplices in his crimes was no exculpation, and it would be highly derogatory to the dignity of that House to say, 'No, we will *not* bring the delinquent to justice, because there are many delinquents besides himself.' Nor would this be a reason for impeaching the rest. It was by no means advisable to multiply examples: the proper way was to select such persons as, from their exalted and ostensible situations, were the more likely to serve as an effectual example. Upon the whole he concluded with declaring that the House could no otherwise consult their own honour, the duty they owed their country, and the ends of public justice, than by sending up the impeachment to the House of Lords."* He said not a word about restitution of the money to the Begums, or to any other party from whom money had been wrung; well knowing that such a proposition would meet with no favour. Mr. Martin, member for Tewkesbury, after avowing himself favourable to the impeachment of Hastings, said, that if any member would move for a restitution of the money he would second him. But not a man rose. Major Scott said that, if he thought as the member for Tewkesbury did, he would not wait for any man to make such a motion, but would make it himself. "For," said the major, "the British House of Commons will become infamous to all posterity, the scoff and scorn of Europe, if, after impeaching Mr. Hastings for his pretended misdeeds, they basely profit by his crimes. He is accused of accumulating for the East India Company, by acts of oppression and injustice, nine millions and a half sterling. For every shilling of this ill-acquired sum credit has been taken by the minister (Dundas) who opened the Indian budget only two days ago. And, if the present charges are well founded, why do we not replace Cheyte Sing, who is now a fugitive, and repay him the lacs of pagodas which have been taken from him? Why do we not restore to the Nabob of Oude 150 lacs, due indeed by him to us, but of which we never could have obtained payment except by seizing on the treasures of the Begums? I think these acts wise, politic, and justifiable; but if I thought otherwise I should consider myself as infamous as the corregidor in Gil Blas, who punished the robber for stealing a bag of doubloons, and, instead of restoring the money to its owner, applied it to his own use." Wilkes's amendment was negatived, and the second reading of the report was carried by 175 against 89. The first article of impeachment was then read and agreed to without a division. The rest were deferred till the next day. When the House reassembled (on the 10th) all the rest of the articles were agreed to with some trifling amendments; and then Burke rose and moved "That Warren Hastings, Esq., be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours upon the said articles." No one seemed disposed to make any further attempt to stem the torrent. At length, however, Mr. Sumner—usually a silent member—who had been in India in the company's service, expressed his astonishment that a person of such high character, acknowledged ability, and rare indifference to money should be made the object of a prosecution carried on in that House with uncommon virulence—he was near saying with unexampled malice. He was regarded by the world at large as a great and wise politician, and as a statesman eminent for his activity and exertion. Such, he said, was the opinion entertained of the late governor-general in France;—indeed there was no place in any quarter of the globe that did not speak of him with raptures of admiration, except only the House of Commons, where he had been debased by joking phrases, run down by ribaldry, and loaded with invective, fit only to be applied to the most atrocious criminal after conviction. Burke's motion was carried without any further debate, and without a division. Mr. F. Montague, one of the committee of managers, next moved—"That Mr. Burke, in the name of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of Great Britain, do go to the bar of the House of Lords, and impeach Warren Hastings, Esq., late Governor-General of Bengal, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and do acquaint the Lords that the Commons will, with all convenient speed, exhibit articles against him, and make good the same." This too was agreed to without a division. And forthwith Burke, attended by the majority of the House, went up to the bar of the Lords and impeached Mr. Hastings with all proper form and solemnity.

On the next day, the 11th of May, Burke reported to the House what he had done at the bar

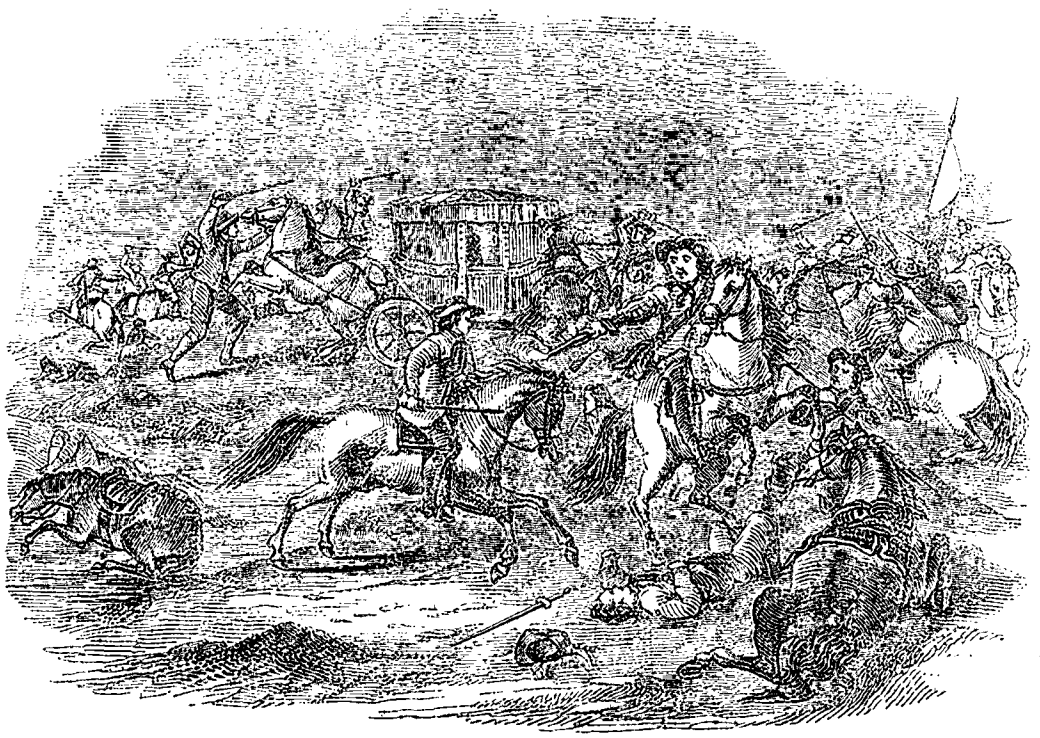
* Speeches of the Right Hon. W. Pitt in the House of Commons, edited (*rather badly*) by W. S. Hathaway.

of the Lords; and proposed that two solicitors (Messrs. Wallis and Troward) should be retained to act as solicitors for the impeachment on the part of the Commons. It was expected that here he would rest for the present session; but on the 21st, Burke remarked that it would be necessary, before the session ended, to take some steps for binding Mr. Hastings to be forthcoming whenever called upon; and he moved therefore, "That Warren Hastings, Esquire, be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms of this House." Mr. John Nicholls, then a barrister on the western circuit (afterwards Dr. Nicholls, and a civilian of some note),* observed, that, upon referring to the journals in search of precedents, he found there were three different modes of proceeding. The first was to take the party impeached into the custody of their own sergeant-at-arms; the second was to desire the Lords to take him into custody; the third was to desire the Lords to put him to answer, *i. e.* to hold him to bail. He thought that the last mode ought to be adopted, as it would be extremely cruel to brand Mr. Hastings in the face of his country by suggesting that the House had reason to suspect him of a design of attempting to elude justice by flight. Pitt urged that the most regular and orderly mode would be for that House to take Mr. Hastings into custody by their sergeant, and to deliver him over to the Lords. Burke concurring, a motion to this effect was immediately agreed to. Very shortly after, the House was informed that Hastings was in the housekeeper's room, in custody of the sergeant-at-arms; and hereupon Burke was directed to acquaint the Lords with the same, and to intimate that the prisoner was ready to be delivered up to the gentleman-usher of the black rod whenever their lordships should think proper. The message being delivered by Burke to the Lords, Lord Walsingham, after dwelling upon the necessity of being vigilant in such cases in their attention to the other House, moved that Hastings should be forthwith taken into custody of the black rod. This being agreed to, Sir Francis Molyneux, gentleman-usher of the black rod, received the orders of the House, and reappeared at their Lordship's bar very soon after to announce that the prisoner was in his custody. Black-rod was then ordered to bring the prisoner to the bar, which being done, and the late governor-general being upon his knees (for such was the rule), the lord chancellor directed him to rise, and ordered the articles of impeachment to be read over. After the clerk had read the long preamble to the charges, Hastings, knowing what a length they ran to, expressed a wish that the articles might be read *short*. The Duke of Richmond said he could not, upon such a solemn occasion, consent to this proposal; and the lord chancellor agreeing with his grace, the articles were ordered to be read at full length. They ought to have ordered in an additional supply of breath and strength for their clerk, who was not accustomed to such long readings. The reading began at half-past seven o'clock, and continued until ten, at which time the breathless clerk had got to the end of the sixth charge. Lord Townshend started up, and moved that the two remaining charges might be read short, in order to ease the House and the prisoner at the bar from the excessive weariness of such a long lecture. The Duke of Richmond opposed the motion. For some part of this time the late governor-general of India had been left standing at the bar; but, after some conversation, it was agreed to allow him the indulgence of a chair. As it was also agreed that the two remaining charges must be perused, the clerk resumed the reading, which was not finished till eleven o'clock. The lord chancellor then demanded of the prisoner what he had to say in his defence. "My lords," said Hastings, "I rely upon the justice of this House, and pray that I may be granted a copy of the charges, with a reasonable time to make my defence. Likewise that I may be allowed counsel, and that I may be admitted to bail." He was then led out of the House by black-rod. Lord Walsingham then moved that he should be admitted to bail, in the sum of 10,000*l.* himself, and two sureties in 5000*l.* each. The Duke of Norfolk (formerly Lord Surrey, the great motion-maker in the Commons for the coalition ministry) declared that, considering the enormity of the charges, he could not agree to take such slender bail. His grace thought that the least sum which could be demanded was 50,000*l.*, and he moved to that effect. Lord Townshend, who had been so impatient of the long reading, seconded the noble duke's motion. Lord Chancellor Thurlow quoted the precedent of Sir John Bennet, who had been made to give bail in the sum of 40,000*l.* upon an impeachment. His lordship thought excessive bail both oppressive and illegal, and precedent the best thing to go by: he therefore moved that Hastings, like Sir John Bennet, should be admitted to bail, himself in 20,000*l.*, and two sureties in 10,000*l.* each; and this was agreed to. It being also agreed to grant the other request of the prisoner, black-rod was summoned, and ordered to bring him again to the bar. Hastings was led in, and knelt while the lord chancellor addressed him, and told him that the House allowed him one month, and until the second day of the next session of parliament, to make his defence; that they had admitted him to bail in 40,000*l.* as a security for his abiding the issue of process; that they had likewise allowed him counsel, and called upon him to name them. Hastings named as his counsel Messrs. Plomer, Law, and Dallas. He then offered as his sureties Messrs. Sulivan and Sumner; and, their recognizance being accepted, Hastings was ordered to withdraw. As the session was drawing rapidly to a close, the Commons agreed to all the remaining articles of charge without any debate. They were presented by Burke to the Lords on the 28th of May, and,

* Author of "Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs during the reign of George III.,"—a work we have repeatedly cited.

Hastings being ordered to attend, they were read the same day, and copies of them ordered for his use. Sir Gilbert Eliott's motion for the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey was put off till the next session. On Wednesday, the 30th of May, the king prorogued parliament in person, with a gracious speech, that dwelt principally upon the unhappy dissensions which prevailed in the United Provinces, which, as a friend to the republic, he could not see without deep concern.

These Dutch troubles had, indeed, reached a terrible height, and insults had been offered, offensive to all the royalty of Europe. After the complete failure of the negotiations between Baron Goertz, the Prussian, and Rayneval, the French minister, and after the State of Holland had collected an army on its frontier, the senate of Amsterdam gave strong indications of favouring the cause of the Prince of Orange; and shortly after the States-General and the Council of State for the Seven Provinces, a body of the highest dignity, being alarmed at a coalition on the part of the aristocrats with the burghers, declared openly in favour of the stadtholder. The Orangists then threatened to reduce the city of Utrecht by force of arms; and the Council of State for the Seven Provinces passed a resolution forbidding the marching of any troops from any of the other provinces without consent of the States-General or the Council of State. At this critical moment, and while blood was shedding in skirmishes or paltry contests between the Orangists and the democrats of Utrecht, the Princess of Orange, who put far more heart and courage in the matter than her husband, the stadtholder, set off for the Hague, accompanied only by Count Bentinck and a few attendants, with a view of negotiating with the leaders of parties there. The princess had advanced on her journey as far as Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, when her carriage was surrounded by a party of armed burghers, who were soon joined by a detachment of light horse, whose commander, the Prince of Hesse Phillipstal, had gone over to the stadtholder, like nearly all



CAPTURE OF THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE. Drawn from a Dutch Print.

the officers of rank in the Seven Provinces. The light horse were now under the command of a rough burgher, the captain of the free corps. This man treated the princess with great rudeness, refused to let her continue her journey, and kept her stopped for some time upon a narrow road with a canal running on either side of it. His armed burghers made such an unsoldierlike clatter with their arms and their tongues that they startled the horses in the carriage, so that the princess had a narrow escape from being thrown into one of the canals. At last that proud and irritated woman submitted to be conducted back to a small town, there to await the further will of those who go-

verned the democratic party. She was shut up in a room of an inn, while one of the burgher guards, stationed at the outside of the door, swilled his beer and smoked his pipes remorselessly. After some hours, commissioners arrived from the head-quarters of the democrats. They behaved more like gentlemen, but they positively refused to permit the princess to continue her journey to the Hague, and recommended her, as the day was spent, and as accommodations were bad at the place she was in, to choose some neighbouring town where she might pass the night. She named Gouda as the nearest. They objected to that place, as they were not quite sure of its politics, and were rather apprehensive that the arrival of the princess as a prisoner might provoke an insurrection unfavourable to their cause. At last it was agreed that she should pass the night in the town of Schoonhoven; and thither she was conveyed, to all intents a prisoner. Upon her first detention the princess had dispatched letters or messengers to her husband, the stadtholder, and also to the grand pensionary, who still was in possession of some power, though over-ridden by the contending factions, who were all furious to a degree little short of madness, who had all their clubs, combinations, and volunteers, and none of whom seemed to have any other intention than that of asserting and establishing their own political opinions and system of government by force. The princess, receiving no answers, after staying at Schoonhoven two nights and a day, set out, on the morning of the 30th, on her forced return to Nimeguen, being escorted part of the way by one of the commissioners and a troop of horse. On the road she met messengers from the stadtholder, who had remained quietly at Nimeguen all the time, merely dispatching a letter to the States-General to claim their interference for the liberation of the princess, as well as for satisfaction for the insult which had been offered. The States-General, who might be considered at the moment in a state of war with the democratic party, had not had the power to prevent the insult, nor had they now the power to give satisfaction for it, or avenge it. It was true that a large part of the army, and even of the forces drawn up in cordon on the frontiers of the State of Holland, had declared for the stadtholder, and would have obeyed any orders of the States-General in favour of that prince; but the rest of the army, after changing their officers, remained attached to the democratic interest, and there were numerous free corps and volunteers devoted to the same cause. Thus the States-General, unassisted, were hardly in a condition to redress the grievances of the Princess of Orange, who, boiling with indignation, applied to her brother, Frederick William. It is extremely doubtful whether, even without this last provocation, the new King of Prussia would not have interfered in the affairs of the United Provinces. But, on receiving the letters of the Princess of Orange, he set no bounds to his rage and indignation; and in private conversation and public manifestos he set forth this cause as being in itself sufficient to justify an armed intervention. His majesty, on the 10th of July, transmitted a strong memorial to the States of Holland, expressing the deepest sense of the affront, violence, and injury inflicted on his sister, which he considered as offered personally to himself; and insisting upon immediate and ample satisfaction, with a proportionate punishment upon those who had committed the outrage. The memorial concluded by intimating that he would consider their conduct on this occasion as a test whether the States of Holland wished him to be their friend or their enemy. In sending off this memorial, Frederick William sent for the Duke of Brunswick, now the commander-in-chief of the army which had been organized and left by Frederick the Great—an army regarded, traditionally, with respect and awe by all the continent of Europe. The States of Holland, obeying the democratic impulse, and cherishing a confident hope that the French, who had led them on, would not abandon their cause, or ever permit the Prussians to overrun the Netherlands, passed a resolution justifying and approving the conduct of their commissioners in the arrest of the Princess of Orange, or, as they called it, "this extraordinary, unexpected, and disagreeable event." In their debates they treated the name and the character of the princess with very little respect: they affirmed that she could claim no right of entering the province of Holland without permission of the legislative bodies: some of them hinted that her purpose in going to the Hague was to throw with a still broader cast the seeds of discord and civil war, while others affirmed that she had undertaken the journey merely to provoke the insult, and to obtain materials for fresh complaints wherewith to work upon the passions of the despots and princes connected with her by blood and other ties. To the memorial of his Prussian majesty the States of Holland replied, in another memorial, which was very long, and, in the opinion of the court of Berlin, very unsatisfactory;—for, instead of promising redress, it insisted that there had never been any real insult or injury. The Dutch paper also declared that respect and friendly attentions between sovereign powers ought to be mutual, and that his majesty ought not to expect that her royal highness, his sister, should be put above the sovereignty, which in Holland resided in the States and representatives of the commonwealth; and it concluded with asserting that the measures which had been pursued in regard to the Princess of Orange had been necessary for preserving the peace of the province, and preventing those popular tumults and violences of which they had recently had such frequent and lamentable instances. At the same time, the States-General, who claimed and who had formerly been allowed a superior authority over Holland and all the rest of the Seven United Provinces, sent a very different paper to the King of Prussia, deploring what had happened, and stating that they had

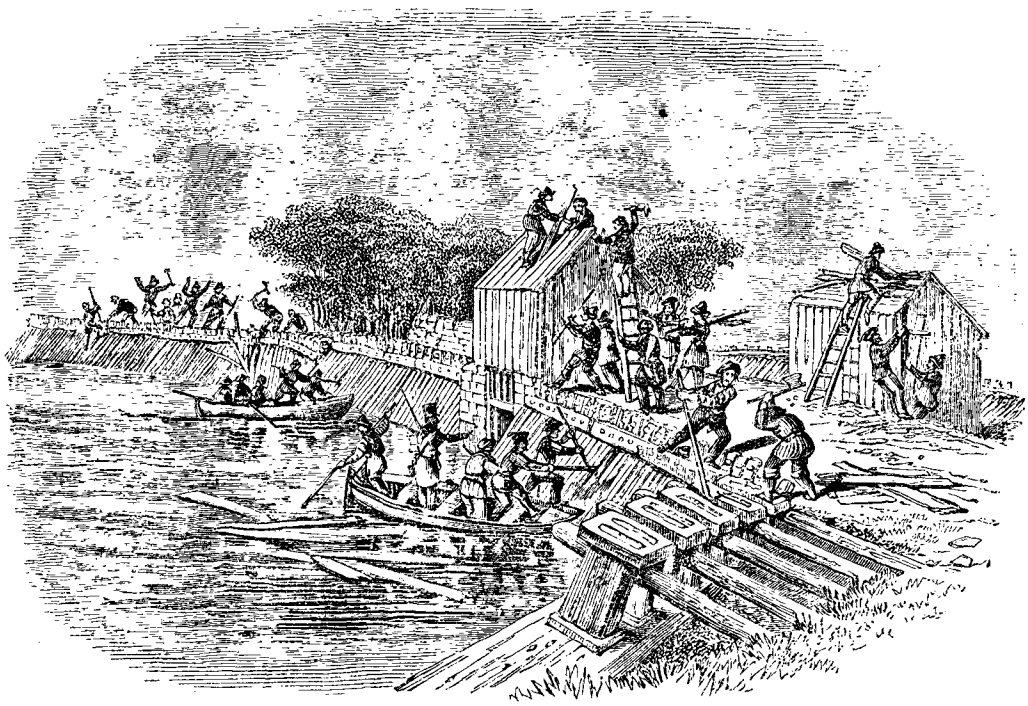
made repeated applications to the States of Holland upon this unfortunate affair; and that, since the States of Holland had disregarded these applications, they must be left to abide the consequences, without expecting favour or protection from the States-General. In the month of August Frederick William sent another memorial to "their noble and grand powers" the States of Holland and West Friesland, complaining of the disappointment of his just expectations of an offer of satisfaction for the attack made upon the person of his august sister, and that the answer he had received from their noble, great, and powerful lordships was grounded on arguments evasive and insufficient. He said that the suspicion they had ostentatiously published as to the princess's motives was a new insult; that she was going to the Hague to quiet all minds, and to point out the means of a general reconciliation in the provinces; that, if the people, overflowing with love and gratitude to the illustrious house of the founders of the liberty and independence of their country, should have forgotten themselves, and become tumultuous,—if the presence of the august consort of the stadtholder should have produced such demonstrations of joy as would have affected the public tranquillity, the means of making the residence of the sovereign secure from any attack, and unproductive of any danger, were left in the hands of the States. After recapitulating the indignities which his sister had suffered, his majesty repeated, that he considered the injuries as offered to himself, and that therefore he must demand immediate and suitable satisfaction. Care was taken to point out the very different conduct pursued by "that illustrious assembly the States-General, which represents the sovereignty of the States with regard to foreign powers." This was followed by a note from the Prussian ambassador at the Hague, specifying the degree of satisfaction the king required. The terms were very humiliating: the States of Holland were to write a letter of apology to the princess; to punish, at her requisition, those persons who had been guilty of the offences offered to her august person; to declare that their suspicions about her object in going to the Hague were unfounded; to revoke the erroneous and injurious resolutions which they had voted; and to accompany this revocation of the resolutions with a respectful invitation to her royal highness to come to the Hague, "to enter into negotiations in the name of the prince stadtholder, for conciliating, by a suitable arrangement, the differences which subsist at present." The haughty ultimatum added, that, if these conditions were complied with, her royal highness would interfere with the king, her brother, to induce him to forbear any further demands of satisfaction; but that in the interim his majesty expected that the States of Holland would not proceed to any suspension, deprivation, or any other measures offensive or prejudicial to the person of their prince stadtholder, captain, and admiral general, as, by so doing, they would render all conciliation impossible, and add to their present offences. These were not terms to be submitted to by any independent government; but, unfortunately, the States of Holland were only part of a government. The republican pride was deeply wounded; but pride was unsupported by strength; and, so far were the democratic party from being in a condition to resist a great Prussian army, that they could scarcely keep down the Orangists within their own towns and territories. And now events had happened which ought to have made them despair of French assistance. Still, however, they relied, if not on the court of Versailles, on a stirring part of the French nation, and they resolved to make a stand for their dignity: as the first step towards which, they issued their orders for laying the whole country under water the moment any Prussian troops should make their appearance on the frontiers of the republic. In the mean time the Duke of Brunswick held councils of war and collected troops on the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, which belongs to Prussia and borders the territories of the United Provinces; and the Prince of Orange succeeded in capturing the strongly fortified town of Wick, in the province of Utrecht, a place in every way important, and situated within twenty-four miles of Amsterdam, as also in taking Harderwick, a town of Guelderland, advantageously situated on the Zuyder Sea; and the whole province of Zealand declared almost unanimously in favour of the stadtholder, who advanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht, which still remained steady to the democratic interest. While the democrats had been looking to France, the Orangists had been again applying for the mediation or assistance of the King of England, who was himself not distantly related both to the Prince and the Princess of Orange, and who had, during the American war, several strong reasons for regarding with hostility the party which had brought Holland into the confederacy against him. Nor was it in the disposition of George III. or of any other king to sympathise with a fierce democracy. In the middle of August Sir James Harris, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses the States-General, deploring the continuation of discord and troubles which threatened the most grievous consequences to all the provinces; mentioning how often his Britannic majesty had shown himself "a good friend and neighbour of the republic," and how often he had endeavoured to co-operate in re-establishing peace among them; and further mentioning that the States of Zealand and Friesland had declared their disposition to ask the mediation of some neighbouring powers. The memorial went on to say that his majesty felt the greatest satisfaction in thinking that the internal means furnished by the constitution of the republic might have power sufficient to accomplish the salutary ends of reconciliation, peace, and tranquillity; but, at the same time, if their high mightinesses

the States-General should think it necessary to recur to a foreign mediation, and invite his majesty thereto, he would "be eager to prove to their high mightinesses his sincere desire to employ all the care that may depend on his majesty to bring the negotiation to a happy, solid, and permanent issue." This note signified very little, for their high mightinesses had an exceedingly small power, and, having identified themselves with the Orangists, they could scarcely look to any other issue than that of arms; nor would the mediation of all the sovereigns in Europe have sufficed to allay the animosities of the contending factions. The democrats applied to France more earnestly than ever, not for mediation, but for armies, or, at the very least, for an army to be stationed along the northern frontier of France to overawe the Prussians. But the French government, without money, without credit, agitated and absorbed by its own affairs—for the great revolution had, in fact, begun—could do nothing. The Marshal de Segur, then minister of war, did indeed represent the danger and disgrace there would be in permitting the invasion of Holland, and the necessity there was for forming a camp at Givet; but the minister of finance shuffled off the decision in council from day to day, and could not find, in time, the necessary funds.* It is possible that the democrats of Holland, who had begun their contest three or four years too soon, were deceived by French promises; for, though they could hear of no armament or assembling of troops in French Flanders, and though they must have known that from 60,000 to 70,000 Prussians were in the duchy of Cleves, with 140,000 veteran troops behind them, they kept up a very high and confident tone, resorting besides to certain unmannerly declarations against the stadtholder and the Princess of Orange, which would have been better spared had their power been ever so great. They issued a tremendous invective called "The Declaration of the People of Holland against William V.," which was signed by about 6000 names, and published. In this piece they called the stadtholder as great a tyrant as the Duke of Alva; they taxed him with perjury and violation of the oaths he had taken on succeeding to the government; they accused him of disobedience to his sovereign lords and masters; they proclaimed that during the late war he had betrayed the interests of his country to England; and they required that, as a traitor to his country, he should be stripped of all his dignities, deprived of all his authority, his goods confiscated, his person proscribed, and delivered up to the sovereign, to receive the recompense of his crimes. The military hero of this party, whose views were as extreme as any that were shown four years later by the French republicans, was no less a personage than the Rhingrave of Salm, a younger brother of the reigning prince of that House, who had about him a considerable number of Frenchmen, some officers seeking employment not to be found under their own government, some enthusiastic republicans of honest zeal and gentlemanly character, and a great many more propagandists of a lower description—adventurers and desperadoes who might have boasted, in their own persons, a real *sans-culottism*. The result was not the same, but some of these French had assisted in arresting and insulting the Princess of Orange, as if they were rehearsing for the sad drama that was afterwards played at Varennes. It is even said that a French officer "of rank and quality" was present at the seizure of the princess. After denouncing the stadtholder, the democrats declared it to be a high crime and misdemeanour to wear the Orange colours, and they openly hanged two men in the streets for this kind of treason against the sovereign people. To exhibit orange-coloured flowers had been decreed a crime of great magnitude long before; and the woman was deemed and treated no better than an arch-traitress that shaped the ribands in her cap into any form resembling that of the initial letter of the stadtholder's christian name. These proceedings of Dutch democrats have been overlooked and swallowed up in the grander revolution and triumph of Jacobinism which followed so immediately after; but a close inspection would show how near a resemblance, *en petit*, there was between the democracy of Holland and the democracy of France. At last, having obtained encouraging assurances from the English court, Frederick William gave his orders to march; and on the 13th of September the Duke of Brunswick quitted the duchy of Cleves and entered Guelderland with 30,000 men, divided into three columns. The French frontier had been previously reconnoitered. It is said that the Duke of Brunswick would not have ventured to invade the United Provinces if there had been a camp at Givet; but there was no camp there or anywhere else.* On the 17th the duke bombarded the town of Gorcum, which held out the white flag almost immediately, and surrendered without the loss of a life on either side. The greater part of the inhabitants put on the orange ribands, and welcomed the duke as their deliverer from anarchy. Shortly after the surrender the duke's adjutant-general, at the head of seven Prussian hussars, brought in as prisoners a whole troop of Dutchmen who had been interrupted in their attempt to open the sluices in order to lay the country under water, and who had surrendered in a panic without firing a musket—so great was their dread of the renowned army of Frederick the Great. As the Prussian columns intersected the country, and their detachments of light troops and cavalry showed themselves in all directions, their numbers were magnified by fear, and the Dutchmen were made to believe that the entire forces of the Prussian monarch were upon them: they fled from post to post, abandoning town after town, and not a few of them throwing away their arms and mounting the Orange cockade. Some of the fugitives committed sad excesses in

* Count Segur, Memoir of Frederick William.

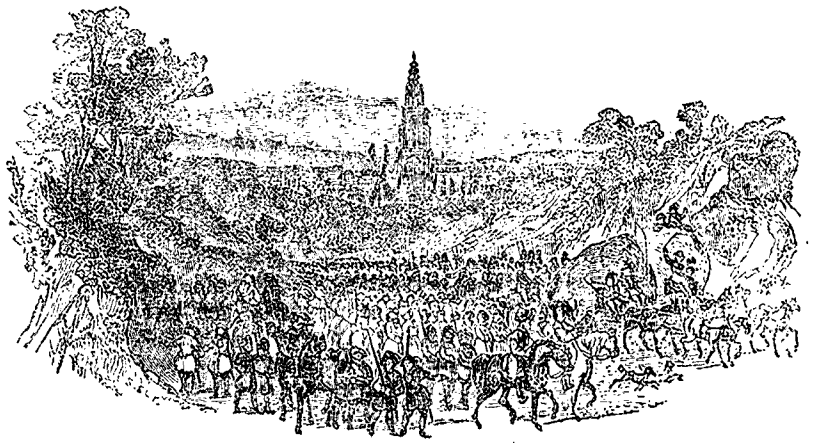
* Segur.

plundering and burning the houses of the Orangists. Several villages were reduced to ashes, and the blame was laid on the Prussians. It was represented by those who would only see faults on one side, that the most exemplary and wonderful discipline was observed by the Duke of Brunswick's army; but people who know of what materials a considerable part of all armies must be composed, and how the light troops were scattered over the country, may very reasonably doubt whether some of these excesses were not really committed by the Prussians, who, besides the soldier instinct for schnaps and strong drinks, were exasperated at the insults which had been offered to the sister of their king. Each of the three columns advanced unopposed: Nieuport, Schoonhoven, Dort, Leyden, Haarlem, Rotterdam itself surrendered without firing a gun; the Rhingrave of Salm, with his French staff and rabble army, fled from Utrecht to Amsterdam. The *débâcle* was universal. The waters upon which they had counted were low in most parts, so that the country could not be flooded; and in most places where the waters were higher, or the country lower, the sluice-breakers were prevented by the inhabitants or by the Prussians, who moved rapidly along the chief canals and ditches. The little army of the stadtholder, first collected at Amersford, had grown great by the junction of volunteers; the three Prussian columns were concentrating round Amsterdam, where not only the Dutch gentry, but a great part of the populace, were enthusiastic Orangists;



DUTCH SLUICE-BREAKERS ATTACKING A DYKE. From a Print by Mannes.

there was no sign of succour from France; the people at the Hague, assisted by some Swiss soldiers who had formerly composed the prince's state-guard, rose upon the republican volunteers, drove them out of the city or made them prisoners, and decorated the town, like a bride, with orange flowers and orange-coloured silks. It was clear that the game was up. On the 25th of September, less than a fortnight after the frontiers had been crossed, a deputation from Amsterdam repaired to the Duke of Brunswick's head-quarters to solicit an accommodation. The duke granted a short truce, and the business of negotiation was transferred to the Hague, where the Prince of Orange had been received in triumph and with every demonstration of joy several days before. On the 30th of September the truce expired, and, as the negotiators had come to no conclusion or agreement, the Duke of Brunswick recommenced hostilities by making an attack on Amstelveen, which commanded some of the approaches to Amsterdam, which was abundantly provided with artillery and artillerymen, mostly French, which was strong by art, and still stronger from its situation in the midst of swamps and waters. But an English officer, serving as a volunteer under the Duke of Brunswick, crossing the Haarlem Meer in an open boat, examined the nature of the ground at the back of the fort and lying between it and Amsterdam: the duke collected a great number of boats, and a detachment, led by the English officer, crossed that broad water, and gained possession of the great road leading to Amsterdam. Nearly at the same moment in which



Amersford.

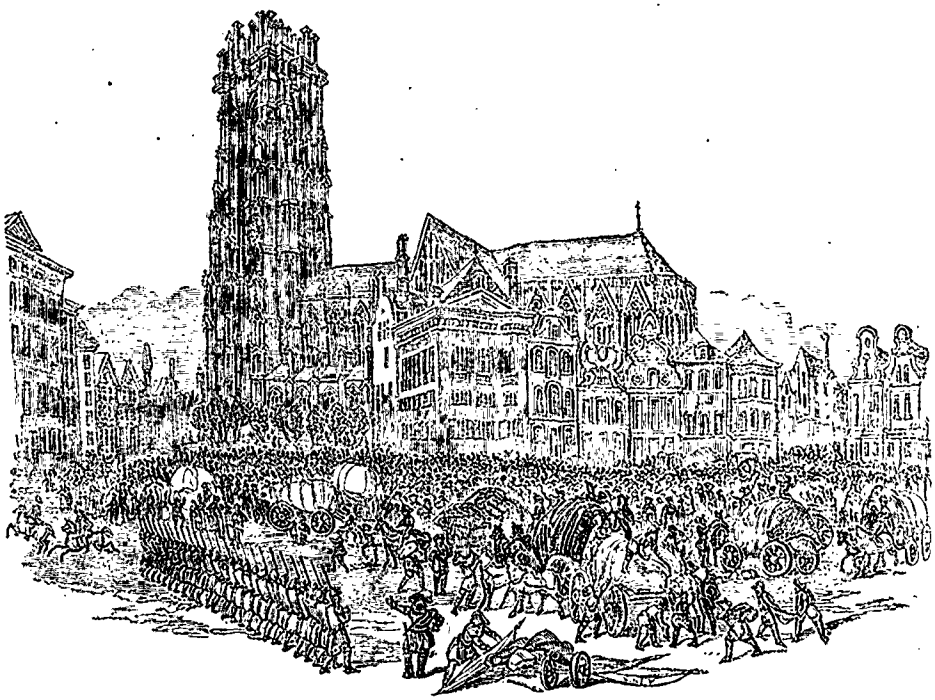
this detachment established themselves in the rear of the fort, the Duke of Brunswick made an attack in front, advancing along a narrow dyke with deep water on either side. Here there was some fighting, for the Frenchmen stood to their guns; but in the course of the night and the following morning the batteries were all taken, and Amstelveen was occupied by the Prussians, who had lost four officers and two or three hundred men. The prevailing authorities in Amsterdam now sent another deputation to the Duke of Brunswick, who was erecting batteries to bombard their city. The terms these deputies proposed were—that the people should be admitted to a share in the government of Amsterdam, by being allowed to vote in the election of magistrates; that they should not be disarmed; that the magistrates actually in office should not be displaced; that no garrison should enter the city; that a general indemnity should be granted to all persons who had taken refuge in Amsterdam; *and that no Orange ribands should be worn in the city.* The duke sent back the deputies, seized the suburb of Overtoom, fixed his head-quarters there, and continued his preparations both for a storm and bombardment. The Amsterdamers dispatched with all speed deputies to join a general deputation from the provinces, which had met in the mean time at the Hague, and there concluded a treaty with the Prince of Orange. The Amsterdam deputies acceded to the conditions proposed to them; and on the 10th of October the keys of the Leyden gate were surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick. By the terms of capitulation, 250 Prussians with two pieces of cannon were to keep possession of the Leyden gate, and two squadrons of horse were to remain quartered in the suburb of Overtoom; none of the king's troops were to enter the city without permission of the magistrates; the magistrates were to guard and be answerable for the sluices, and for the disarming all classes and conditions except the legal militia of Amsterdam; and a Prussian commissioner was to attend to receive the arms delivered. The clause about Orange ribands had been declared altogether inadmissible. It was mentioned at the time, as a certain fact, that when the Amsterdam magistrates had signed the capitulation, they made it a request to the duke that none of the English officers that were serving as volunteers in his army should be present, to witness the humiliation of the Dutch, when the troops took possession of the Leyden gate.* In the course of the day some riots occurred, not without bloodshed, in various parts of the city, the greatest sufferers being the Jews, who had been all along accused of a very decided Orangism. The Prussians scrupulously observed the condition as to not entering the city: but the magistrates were obliged to apply to the stadtholder for a garrison to prevent an absolute anarchy; and in a few days a Swiss regiment and the Prince of Orange's horse-guards entered into and garrisoned Amsterdam. The terms of the general accommodation settled at the Hague stipulated that the magistrates and members of the regency of Amsterdam, who had been forcibly turned out of their places by the democrats, should all be restored, and that the same rule should be followed in other places; and that, as satisfaction to the Princess of Orange, sixteen persons, named by herself, should be deprived of their offices and declared incapable of holding any public office in future. At the head of her highness's black-list stood the name of the celebrated Van Berkel, pensionary of Amsterdam, an ardent republican, who had taken a principal part in all the measures hostile to the stadtholder, but who, before the approach of danger and of the Prussian invaders, had taken his departure for America, as minister and consul-general to the United States. Among other names, we find that of de Witt, the owner of which, described as a magistrate of Amsterdam, was a member of the old republican family which, in the preceding century, had been at the head of affairs in Holland, and whose chiefs had been torn to pieces by

* Ann. Regist.

the people. The result of the whole sad turmoil was, that the stadtholder was reinstated in all his rights and prerogatives, and allowed to assume powers which had not before belonged to his office; and that the defeated party remained sullen, discontented, vindictive, and ripe for another insurrection whenever an opportunity should offer. This opportunity occurred sooner than might have been expected; and when the French republicans invaded the United Provinces their progress was as much favoured by the democrats as the advance of the Prussians had been helped by the Orangists.

Although the French government, for the strong reasons already stated, had formed no camp at Givet, they took an early opportunity of remonstrating with the cabinets of Berlin and St. James's; they threatened and they blustered, and there was a great parade about fitting out the Brest fleet. Pitt and Dundas got a good English fleet ready in earnest, and replied to the diplomatic notes in a very decided tone, intimating that England was not going to take any active part in the contest, and that France should not, unless she were prepared for a declaration of war. On the 27th of October, when the contest in Holland was finished, the Duke of Dorset, our ambassador at Paris, gave in a declaration, stating that, as events in the United Provinces appeared to have left no subject of discussion, and still less of hostilities between the two courts, the British government asked whether it was the intention of his most Christian majesty to abide by his former announcement, that he would give succour to Holland, an intention which had caused the naval armaments on the part of his Britannic majesty; and adding, that, if the court of Versailles would explain itself satisfactorily upon this point, all warlike preparations should be discontinued in Great Britain, &c. On the same day the court of Versailles presented a counter declaration, setting forth that his most Christian majesty had never had any intention of interfering by force in the affairs of the republic of the United Provinces; that since the King of Prussia had given satisfactory explanations, France certainly would give no succour to Holland, &c.

While the Dutch were engaged in these struggles to decide upon principles of government, their neighbours in the Austrian Netherlands (the fine country now called Belgium) were engaged in insurrections against their emperor about forms of law and forms of faith. Joseph II., who had commenced his reign as a reformer, and who had committed the great mistake of reforming too rapidly and absolutely, without sufficient attention to the prejudices of his subjects, had created great dissatisfaction among the devout or superstitious Netherlanders by suppressing monasteries, expelling monks, and interfering in other matters. That people also retained an unpleasant recollection of their baffled hopes on the subject of the free navigation of the Scheldt—hopes which Joseph had raised and then blighted with the volatility of a schoolboy. The spirit of discontent was encouraged, not merely by the monastic order, which probably was most influential on the poorer classes and the peasantry, but by the whole body of the clergy, who do not always make common cause with the monks, but who, not knowing how far the emperor might extend his reforming processes, trembled for their own wealth and possessions, which, collectively, included a very large portion of the riches of that fat and plentiful land. The disaffection was increased by arbitrary attempts to abrogate old privileges, and customs, and municipal rights, which had been respected in the most tyrannical times, and by the most powerful sovereigns of the House of Austria. So thorough a reformer was Joseph, that he would interfere even in popular sports and pastimes; and, after striking a great number of feasts and holidays out of the rubric—not a bad thing if the people had been prepared for it—he resolved, in his imperial wisdom and might, to suppress and abolish for ever the Keremesse, a festival of great antiquity in the Low Countries, and as dear to the people as the Saturnalia to the ancient Romans, or as Carnival to the old Venetians. It was a season in which the peasantry contracted their marriages and made up their animosities;—it was a season of piping and dancing, of drinking and feasting, to a degree which shocked the emperor's utilitarian spirit; and his edict struck it. But to enforce the edict was beyond his power, and the attempt provoked as passionate a feeling of resentment as would have been produced by his striking out an article of the Roman Catholic creed, or by his declaring the patron saint of the Netherlanders to be no saint at all. The public mind was in this state when the emperor promulgated, on the 1st of January, 1787, certain edicts of a most sweeping kind, annihilating what was left of the old municipal liberty, changing and new modelling the courts of judicature, and in fact establishing an entirely new form of law and government, in direct contravention of the compact made by the Emperor Charles V., and called the "Joyous Entry." The states of Brabant took the lead in a determined opposition to these measures; they were soon joined by the states of Flanders and Hainault, and in a very brief space of time the spirit of resistance manifested itself in all the fine, antiquated, and picturesque towns that so thickly dot the surface of that exuberant country, and spread itself through every village and every hamlet. It appeared as if Philip van Arteveldt, the brewer of Ghent, had risen from his grave to teach the burghers and peasants how to beard kings and defy the chivalry of Europe. The syndics drew up and presented to the emperor's minister or viceroy at Brussels a most spirited memorial, in which, after exhibiting their ancient rights and liberties, and recounting their present grievances, they quoted a clause in the old constitution of Brabant—"That, if the sovereign shall infringe the articles of the 'Joyous Entry,' his subjects shall be discharged from all duty and service to him until



Malines—Meeting of Armed Burghers. From a Drawing by Anelay.

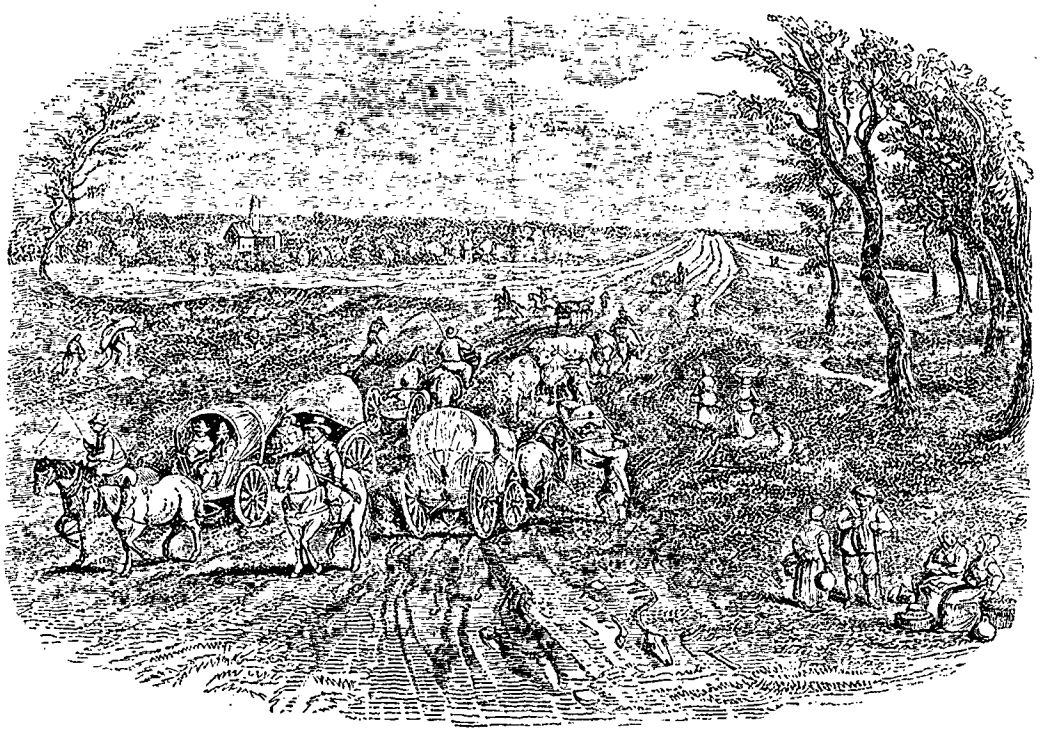
such time as due reparation shall be made for such infringement." And yet, as if there were not already sufficient causes for discontent and universal excitement, the emperor chose this very moment for trying a fresh innovation. The university of Louvain, in Brabant, which had once been among the foremost schools of learning in Europe, was rather ancient, and so proud of its antiquity, that it seemed to consider it an article of faith to revere and pertinaciously defend everything in it and about it that was old.* In this spirit it had retained all the nonsense of the old schools, still teaching philosophy and divinity as they were taught in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and still clinging to the most extravagant notions and pretensions of the papal see. Perhaps, without even excepting Salamanca, there was not a university in Europe that more required new light through "chinks which time had made," or that more called for improvement and renovation. It had sat for ages like a huge nightmare on the breast of Flanders and Brabant; and, perhaps, its effects are not yet obliterated from the popular intellect. But a reform, to be efficacious, ought to have been mild and gradual; professors and pupils, doctors and masters of arts, ought to have been weaned from their old opinions before new ones were imposed upon them by edicts from the Aulic council at Vienna; and it was irrational and unseemly in the Emperor Joseph to pretend to force a better philosophy and a more tolerant theology down men's throats by swords and bayonets, by Pandours, Croats, Hungarian hussars, and native-bred Austrian grenadiers, who had not been hitherto considered anywhere as proper teachers of the Baconian and Newtonian philosophies. Regardless of the *odium theologicum*, which an old proverb would have told him was the sharpest of all hatreds, Joseph began with the theology first, resenting probably the promulgation of university opinions which confirmed the people in their belief that in suppressing rich monasteries, and thereby putting some millions of florins in his treasury, he had been guilty of robbery and sacrilege. By a stroke of his imperial pen he suppressed all the colleges in which theology was exclusively taught, turned off the old professors, who were chiefly monks, and established a new seminary, in which divinity was to be taught thenceforth, not according to St. Thomas Aquinas and the old fathers of the Romish church, but according to Joseph II., by the Divine Grace Emperor of Germany, Duke of Austria, &c. &c. The chairs in this new seminary were filled, or were to be filled, with divinity professors from Austria and other parts of Germany; the new rector was a German; and proclamation went forth that all the youths of the country who were destined for the church should pursue and finish their theological studies in that general seminary, and in no other school whatsoever. Really, the Emperor Joseph showed less respect to the theology of Louvain than the Czar Peter I. showed to the mere beards of his poor subjects; and the Flemings were by no means

* The university of Louvain was founded A.D. 1426, by John, fourth Duke of Brabant

so submissive or slavish a people as the Muscovites. Bishops, priests, professors, students, with all the classes they could influence or command, rose up as it were in arms, so that the venerable nightmare university of Louvain seemed bristled all over, and with quills erect like the fretful porcupine. In the first place there was a cry about laws, vested rights, time-hallowed institutions, privileges made sacred by antiquity: then there was a louder cry that the new divinity professors, who spoke the language which the arch-heresiarch Martin Luther had spoken and written, were Arians, Socinians, Moravians, worse than downright Lutherans; and soon these cries were taken up and repeated from one end of the Netherlands to the other by boors and burghers, who knew not the meaning of some of the hard words used, but who believed what they were told, or that their religion was in danger. Divinity students refused to go to this new seminary at Louvain, or their parents and early instructors refused to let them go. It was therefore determined by this reforming emperor that force should be used, and the minister or viceroy began with father Godfrey Alost, visitor of the Capuchins at Brussels, commanding him to send the young students of his order, the most illiterate of all the orders, und who had never sent their students to any university, to finish their theology in the emperor's seminary. Doubly obstinate and sturdy, as a Fleming and as a Capuchin monk, Alost positively refused to obey the mandate, and boldly pleaded as his excuse the suspected heterodoxy of the German professors. The governor commanded the friar to depart from Brussels in twenty-four hours, and to quit the territories of the emperor within three days. The Capuchin girded up his loins and departed with all the dignity of a martyr, and wherever he passed the people regarded him in no other light, invoking blessings on his head, and curses on the heads of his persecutors. The better informed Flemings, moreover, objected that by their laws and constitution no man could be exiled, or punished in any other way, without legal process before proper magistrates. And yet nearly at the same time that the proscribed friar was touching the sympathies and rousing the wrath of the people, the governor seized M. Hondt, an eminent citizen of Brussels, and sent him off under a military escort to Vienna, there to be tried about some alleged irregularities in a contract with the government, though a suit was pending in the courts of Brussels. The states of Brabant, being convened at Brussels in the month of April, took cognizance of all these acts of oppression; refused the customary subsidies to the emperor, declaring that they would not vote them until their grievances should be redressed; issued orders to the collectors and receivers of the public revenues to pay no more money into the exchequer; presented a startling remonstrance to the governor; and declared that they would resolutely defend their laws and their religion. In Holland it had been a mad contention between party and party: but here there was but one party and one spirit; and we cannot consider the Flemings, fanatic as might be their theology or murky as might be their philosophy, as entitled to less respect than the republican faction in Holland. The states of Flanders and of Hainault would not be left behind by the states of Brabant. The Flanders body declared that there were mutual relations and obligations between subjects and sovereigns, and that they would vote no subsidies till the emperor revoked his edicts and mended all that had been done amiss or contrary to their privileges. "We demand," said their remonstrance, "only such things as are just and due, and assured to us by the oath taken at your inauguration." Belgioiso, the governor-general or viceroy, a nobleman from Milan, was perplexed and petrified at Brussels; the members of the Austrian cabinet were petrified at Vienna, by this unheard-of audacity; the emperor was petrified at Cherson, on the Black Sea, whither he had gone to meet the Czarina Catherine, in order to arrange with her the conquest and partition of the Turkish empire;—they were all petrified. And when they quitted this state of being, it was to order the collecting and marching of troops towards the Netherlands. But the whole disposable force of Austria was wanted, through Joseph's new schemes, on the Danube, and he was thinking more of Constantinople than of Brussels. The march, too, was long, and not unattended with difficulties, for the Netherlands were wholly detached from the other dominions of the emperor, so that the territories of other princes had to be traversed. But, before a courier could go and return from Cherson, the governor, who had very few troops of any kind, saw the necessity of yielding to the determined will of the people; and he suspended, until the further will of the sovereign should be known, a variety of obnoxious orders and regulations, shut up the new tribunals and opened the old ones, recalled the Capuchin exile, and promised to make application at Vienna for the liberty and return of the Brussels citizen. On the 30th of May a decree was issued in which all the governors of the provinces declared that every arrangement contrary to the Joyous Entry should be set aside, and that reparation should be made for all infringements on that cherished charter. The governors of the several provinces expressed their hopes that the emperor would ratify this decree; they promised to employ their own good offices to that end; and they consented to remove from their councils all persons obnoxious to the states. These declarations produced a jubilee throughout the Low Countries, and for some short time no doubt seemed to be entertained as to the sovereign's ratification. Some news from Vienna, and a letter from Prince Kaunitz, the emperor's prime minister, awoke suspicion and alarm, and the people began to enrol themselves and to practise military exercises, in order to maintain the decree, if necessary, by arms. At Brussels and in all the principal towns the respectable inhabitants formed

themselves into volunteer companies, and equipped themselves with uniforms and cockades. Kaunitz now liberated M. Hondt, and sent him back to Brussels to be tried by the proper tribunal there. The minister also sent gentle letters, not pledging himself to anything, but expressing the hope and the wish that his imperial majesty would fully ratify all that the governors had done or promised. But the minister, who was treading upon doubtful ground, made use in one of his letters of some ambiguous expressions which revived suspicion, and the volunteer corps continued their exercises and added daily to their numbers. The government of the province, without waiting the consent of the emperor, ventured to suppress the theological seminary of Louvain, and to send the divinity professors back to Germany. But, not satisfied with this great triumph, the devout Flemings and Brabanters called upon the governors to proceed without delay to the appointing of abbots to all the vacant abbeys, and to the re-establishing of all the suppressed convents and monasteries without exception. The states of Namur went still further, for they demanded the revocation of the edict of universal toleration, which, of all the emperor's reforms, was the purest and the best. Early in July, Joseph returned to Vienna, and instead of a ratification he dispatched to the Netherlands an angry mandate, expressing his astonishment and indignation at the intemperate and violent measures which the states had adopted, and demanding and requiring them to send deputies to Vienna. A deputation was appointed, respectful but strong representations were drawn up by the several states, and towards the end of July the deputies took the road to Vienna. They were not far advanced in their journey ere they were alarmed by rumours that a mighty army was about to march into the Low Countries; that the princes of the empire whose territories intervened had already granted the promise of a free passage to the imperial troops; and that the regiment of Bender, making forced marches, was already close upon the frontiers of Luxembourg. The last part of the rumour was perfectly correct, and it seemed to authenticate the rest. The deputies continued their journey with doubt and dread; the volunteer corps at home drilled and exercised more than ever; and at this moment certain applications were made or repeated to the French court for aid and assistance. Count Murray, a gentleman of Scotch descent, now held the chief authority at Brussels, for the Count Belgioiso had been summoned to Vienna to give his explanations, or, as the emperor had expressed it in his mandate to the states, to act as mediator. Murray sent a message to the states of Brabant acquainting them that, if they would permit the regiment of Bender to enter the provinces, the march of an imperial army might be suspended. The states, who had little to fear from a single regiment, submitted to this test of obedience. On the 15th of August, when the deputies had been three days at Vienna, they were admitted to an audience. The emperor's countenance was severe and his manner ungracious. He told them that his states in the Netherlands had been guilty of high offences, that they had insulted their sovereign and defied his authority, and that nothing but his own moderation and affection for them had prevented the immediate employment of military force. The deputies were further told that their complaints could not be listened to until certain preliminary articles should be executed. These articles in substance were—that all things in the provinces should be put on the same footing on which they stood previously to Count Belgioiso's decree; that the subsidies should be paid forthwith; that the theological seminary of Louvain should be re-established and the divinity professors recalled; that the volunteer companies should cease their martial exercises, and lay aside the uniforms and other marks of military distinction which they had assumed without the necessary assent of their sovereign. As to the tribunals, nothing was decided; but his imperial majesty would take council with the states upon that important matter. The deputies were given to understand that if these articles were rejected, far less favourable conditions would be imposed by means of an army. When the articles were communicated to the states by Count Murray they were rejected almost unanimously; and the volunteers continued exercising. But when the march of the grand army was expected fresh advices were received from the deputies at Vienna, who informed the states that his imperial majesty had since admitted them to several private conferences, had listened to their complaints and representations with marked kindness and attention, and assured them that he had meant no harm, and was well disposed to restore the charter of the Joyous Entry to its primitive vigour. The deputies further reported that the emperor intended, at his earliest convenience, to revisit the Low Countries, in order to confer with the states as to the best means of promoting the welfare of all parties. And at this moment the emperor, sacrificing his own personal feelings, named a new governor-general in the place of the Milanese noble, who was much suspected and disliked. It was a good wind for the Flemings and Brabanters that blew the emperor to the shores of the Black Sea, as, but for the arrangements he had entered into with the Empress Catherine, the whole or part of the army of 100,000 men, which were marched soon after this to the Danube, would have been sent into the Netherlands. As matters went, the states and the people enjoyed a complete triumph over their sovereign. They refused to execute the emperor's articles even after they had been materially qualified; but, as the danger seemed over, the volunteers consented to lay down their arms by a given day. When that day arrived—the 20th of September—a quarrel arose between the volunteers in Brussels and the regular troops that garrisoned the city for the emperor, and several shots were fired and re-

turned. The people ran to take part with the volunteers, and some companies of regulars that were quartered in the suburbs ran to support their comrades. The cry was spread that the emperor's troops were acting on a concerted scheme, and were aiming at nothing less than the slaughter of the good citizens and the enforcement of all the suspended edicts. The excitement was terrible: the pavements of the streets were torn up, and the stones were carried to upper windows and to the tops of the houses to overwhelm the soldiery. The peasants from all the country round about Brussels trooped into the town armed with clubs, scythes, and other rustic implements. A considerable quantity of blood was spilt, and a great deal more must have flowed, if Count Murray had been a less wise or less brave man. But Murray went from house to house showing to the respectable inhabitants how perfectly unfounded were their apprehensions, and how small the numbers of the regular troops; he walked through the streets, though bullets and paving-stones were flying about; he reasoned with the volunteers, got the regulars into their barracks, and finally succeeded in restoring



FLEMISH PEASANTRY:—SCENE ON THE BRUSSELS ROAD. From a Dutch Print.

tranquillity. Captivated by this temperate and wise conduct, and by the firmness and moderation of his views, the states voted the subsidies, and the volunteers laid by their arms and uniforms a few days after; and thereupon Count Murray published the emperor's declaration, that the fundamental laws of the provinces should all be preserved entire according to the tenor of the Joyous Entry. If Joseph II. had been studying to show how governments may be sunk into contempt and sovereignties overthrown, he could not have given a better demonstration than that which was afforded by the course and the termination of these affairs. We shall find presently, indeed, that the apparent termination was only a suspension of the contest.

We shall not for the present enter upon the arena of French politics, but wait till it will be more full of combatants, and the revolution considerably more advanced. We need merely state here, that such was the impoverishment and weakness of the government, and such the confusion in the council of ministers and throughout the kingdom, that France was compelled to stand by, a quiet spectatress of the league formed between Russia and Austria against her ancient ally Turkey, and of the mighty preparations making for the grand project which, it was supposed, would revolutionize and change all the relations of European policy.

In England the recess had passed off very tranquilly, and not, it is said, without some increasing popularity to ministers for the spirit and activity they had displayed in the affair of the armament, and the high and decided tone they had taken in their diplomatic correspondence with the court of

Versailles. It was, however, considered expedient to re-assemble parliament much earlier than had been usual for some years past; and it met on the 27th of November. The speech from the throne opened with the same subject with which the speech at the last prorogation had closed—"the unhappy differences subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces." It said that no endeavours had been wanting on the part of his majesty to contribute by his good offices to the restoration of tranquillity, and the maintenance of the *lawful government*; that his majesty had thought it necessary to explain his intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France; that the most Christian king had notified to his majesty an intention of interfering; that his majesty could not remain a quiet spectator of the armed interference of France, and that he had given immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; that in the course of these transactions he had thought proper to conclude a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in order to secure a considerable body of troops in case their services should be required—that, in the mean time, the rapid success of the Prussian troops had "enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured, and to re-establish their lawful government;" that, all subjects of contention being thus removed, amicable explanations had taken place between his majesty and the most Christian king. The speech further announced that commerce and revenue were in a flourishing state, and that the country was likely to continue in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, &c.; his majesty at the same time regretting that the tranquillity of one part of Europe was unhappily interrupted, as war had broken out between Russia and the Porte. In the debate on the address in the Commons, Lord Fielding, after expressing his approbation of what had been done by ministers, intimated a doubt whether they had not missed a favourable opportunity for insisting on the demolition of the stupendous works that were carrying on at Cherbourg. Fox followed Lord Fielding: he gave his fullest approbation to the energetic conduct of ministers in preventing France from interfering in the affairs of Holland; and he declared that he was invariably of opinion—that it was a fixed and unalterable maxim with him—that this country ought, whenever occasion required, to take an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe. This, he said, was his system, and for this he had been ridiculed by his adversaries upon former occasions, as wild and romantic. With respect to the subsidiary treaty with Hesse Cassel, he thought the House ought to be put in possession of fuller information. He called the revolution which had been effected in Holland by Prussian arms "the restoration of the independence of the United Provinces." Pitt expressed his satisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed in the House upon these subjects. In the House of Lords the Bishop of Llandaff spoke at great length on the address. He partook in the general feeling of satisfaction at seeing the French party, which had done so much mischief, put down in Holland, and the United Provinces once more linked in friendship with Great Britain. But there was one difficulty which occurred to his mind:—on what principles of the law of nature and nations had Great Britain and Prussia a right to interfere by force in settling the affairs of an independent state? But for this scruple of conscience he saw nothing to disapprove in our late interference; for, if France had been allowed to gain Holland, England had been undone. The addresses were agreed to *nem. con.* in both Houses.

It was not, however, compatible with the existence of party and opposition that this unanimity should be of *long* duration. Two nights after Fox moved for an address to his majesty, that he would direct copies or extracts from any notification made by the court of France of the intention of the most Christian king to interfere in the affairs of Holland to be laid before the House, and he now contended that ministers had incurred expenses very unnecessarily, as the King of France, in reality, had never had any intention of an armed interference. He was answered by Pitt, and his motion was negatived without a division. On the 5th of December the Hessian subsidy was brought under discussion by the minister moving that a sum not exceeding 36,093*l.* should be granted to the Prince of Hesse Cassel for the year 1788. Fox again insisted that further information in this matter was necessary, and that it was essential to show how these Hessian troops were to be employed. Pitt said in reply that the Hessian treaty formed a part of a general system, which it would be improper to explain at the moment, but which, he was sure, would be entitled to the approbation of the House. Burke warmly commended the measures which had been pursued with respect to Holland, and congratulated ministers on their having renewed our connexions with that country. He then gave his views as to subsidiary treaties and continental politics. He seemed to think that in many cases it was better to subsidize foreign troops than to raise troops at home; but he considered the present treaty as giving the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel a retaining fee of 36,000*l.* per annum, and guaranteeing the dominions of the Landgrave whenever he might happen to be involved in a war. He hoped that no notion was entertained of introducing the foreign troops into this island: he reminded the House of the proper jealousy which had always been entertained on that subject. He admitted that England must interfere occasionally in the affairs of the continent, and that the balance of power in Europe was as interesting a subject to us as to any of the nations on the continent. The minister's motion was agreed to unanimously. On the 10th of December the secretary-at-war, in recommending an augmentation of the land forces, intimated that his

majesty was disposed to reduce some corps of the household troops, which cost considerably more money, and were less available for general service, than troops of the line. This led to a long debate about the state of the army in general; but the views of ministers were adopted by a very large majority, and money was voted by equally large majorities for erecting fortifications in some of the West India islands which had seriously felt the want of them during the last war. Sheridan spoke some brilliant nonsense about these fortifications, insisting that the naval force ought always and in all cases to be sufficient for the protection of those islands, forgetting that a fleet cannot be everywhere at once. In the recent armament numerous promotions had been made in the navy, and it was held by many that they had not been made in conformity with the best rules of the service. By an order of the year 1747 the lords of the admiralty were authorised to pass over such superannuated captains as by age or infirmity might be considered incapable of acting efficiently in the command of a fleet. Sixteen new admirals had been made in the summer, and some forty post-captains who had been passed over complained of the treatment they had received, representing that, though seniors in the service, they were not incapacitated either by age or by sickness for doing admiral's duty. It appears that every one of these forty had convinced himself and his friends that he was as good a man as any of the sixteen promoted; and the opposition naturally embraced their view, and were anxious to prove that very great partiality had been displayed.

A.D. 1788. Soon after the Christmas recess the matter was taken up by Lord Rawdon, who moved in the Lords that an address should be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into consideration the services of such post-captains in his navy as had been passed over in the late promotion of admirals. In his speech Lord Rawdon complained of a system which allowed veterans who had bled in defence of the country to be passed over at the caprice of a minister. He said that the board of admiralty seemed to be conscious that they had done an injury to those who had been passed over, as they had offered every one of them, as compensation for not being employed, the half-pay of a rear-admiral. Admiral Lord Howe, who remained at the head of the board of admiralty, defended his own conduct. He said that, in accepting the responsibility, he obtained the right of exercising his own judgment and discretion in every branch of the executive duty of the admiralty; that it was painful to him, in the exercise of that discretion, to set officers aside; and that it would be invidious in him, and cruel of the House to desire him to do so, to go into the particular reasons which had influenced his judgment in making the late appointments. Their lordships, he said, must be aware that a captain who had displayed great bravery in the command of a single ship might yet be unqualified to command a squadron or a fleet. He added that, if the House thought proper to take upon themselves the promotion of officers, he should feel himself eased of the greatest anxiety attached to his present situation, and, of course, escape from the painful responsibility of office. He assured their lordships that the distribution of patronage was not quite so desirable as they might imagine. Out of twenty candidates he must disappoint nineteen, and was by no means certain of pleasing the twentieth. As to the half-pay of a rear-admiral given to the captains that had been passed over, he considered it to be given as a reward for long services; and men might be entitled to such compensation and to many honours without being exactly qualified for the command of fleets. Lord Sandwich, who had so long filled the same office, and who had been so often threatened with impeachment in it, was very facetious on the notion of the patronage being vested in the House of Lords. If the House of Lords took upon themselves a promotion of admirals, one noble lord would rise in his place and say, "Pray don't pass over my brother, make him an admiral;" another lord would stand up and intercede for his relation. Nor would applications be confined within those walls; each noble lord would be pestered at home to intercede for different captains; nay, even the ladies —and the House well knew the irresistible fascination of female influence—would catch hold of a peer's hand, clasp it with ardour, and say, "My dear lord, you must get my cousin made an admiral." For his part he would rather recommend the House of Commons to be the possessors of the privilege: they, no doubt, would receive numberless petitions from the different boroughs, and their constituents would send them up instructions who were the fittest persons to be made admirals! But, to speak seriously, he would say that it had been found at different periods extremely inconvenient and detrimental to the service that promotions to flags should be governed solely and absolutely by seniority. In 1747, he said, the board well knew that there were on the list captains with superior qualifications for the command of fleets; but, standing low down, the difficulty was how to get at them without loading the public with an intolerable expense. In concert, therefore, with two noble lords—the late Duke of Bedford and the late Lord Anson—he (Sandwich) had taken his share in planning the superannuated list, and he had been the person in whose hands it had been principally brought to bear. At that period eight admirals were made, and nineteen captains passed over; and yet there was no complaint then—no motion before that House to address his majesty on the subject, nor was there any idea of injustice or partiality. The motion was negatived in the Lords without a division. But the subject was brought forward again on the very next day in the House of Commons by Mr. Bastard, one of the members for Devonshire, who moved that his majesty should be requested to confer some marks of his royal favour on Captains Balfour and Thom-

son, two of the officers passed over in the late promotions, although they had formerly received the thanks of the House. He spoke with small knowledge of the subject, but with great violence. He maintained that the superannuated list, or, as it was commonly called, "the Yellow List," was an institution provided only for such officers as were wholly unfit to serve, either from want of *capacity* or from infirmity. He argued that, if it was left to the admiralty to make a selection for promotions, the tendency in the service would be to regard nothing but servility and meanness; to manifest a studious attention to the caprice of a first lord of the admiralty; to show a readiness to run on his errands, to be his flatterer, his follower, and perhaps his pimp. Bastard was answered by Mr. Beaufoy, who knew more about the subject. Pitt joined in the debate, and rebuked Bastard for using indelicate language. The premier pointed out the danger of the House of Commons interfering with the duties of the first lord of the admiralty. He maintained that the superannuated officers were not rejected, degraded, and stigmatised, as had been assumed; that they had an honourable retreat from service, a comfortable provision for advanced years, and a fit reward for meritorious services. Since the institution of the yellow list, 139 captains had been promoted to the flag, and 244 superannuated; and he would ask the honourable gentleman whether he considered that those 244 brave officers had been degraded or set aside for incapacity? Bastard, seeing the sense of the House clearly against him, withdrew his motion, giving notice, however, that on a future day he would move for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the conduct of the admiralty in the late promotion of admirals. And, on the 18th of April, he made a motion to that effect, which occasioned a longer and more stormy debate than the former one. Bastard mentioned particularly the cases of six captains who, after distinguishing themselves in actual combat in various parts of the world, had been passed over, and had not even been allowed the emoluments of the yellow list. Pitt argued that Lord Howe had made the best selection possible, and had not been actuated by any malice or other sinister motive towards those who had been passed over—that his lordship had only consulted the good of the service and the good of the country. The point to be decided by the House was, whether they could infer from the statement of cases they had heard, that the judgment of the noble viscount at the head of the admiralty, upon professional merits, was not to be trusted, but ought to be corrected by theirs? Such a case might undoubtedly occur; but he warned the House of the mischiefs that would inevitably arise from opening their doors, without the most palpable and urgent necessity, to the discussion of professional qualifications, and the arrangement of promotions. The only naval officer in the House who supported ministers on this occasion was the Honourable Captain Berkeley, who lamented that such a question should have been brought before the House, and who declared it to be his conviction that the House ought not to interfere in promotions, but leave the discretion unclogged to those who had the responsibility. Fox replied to Pitt, condemning the late promotions as unjust to certain individuals, but distinctly declaring that, if he was asked whether every captain, with merely negative merits as an officer, ought, upon seniority alone, to be made an admiral, he should answer—no. The office of an admiral, said Fox, ought to be considered in two views: the principal view undoubtedly was *prospective*, or to future services, and in this view *selection* was proper and justifiable; but it ought also to be considered *retrospectively*, as an honour and reward for past services. In the latter view at least the late promotions could not be defended, being most scandalously partial and unjust. But even prospectively Fox could not discover that the appointments were fairer: the admiralty, he said, had promoted Sir John Lindsay, a brave man indeed, and an officer of the highest reputation, but in so deplorable a state of health as to leave no room for the expectation of future services. Fox also said, that as there were already twenty-four admirals on the old list fit for service, and, as no service was likely to be wanted (*but there was a likelihood a few months before*), the late promotions must be considered as disgraceful. Several officers of the navy, including Admiral Sir Peter Parker and Sir George Osborne, spoke and voted with Fox. Sir John Miller observed that no man could doubt Lord Howe's integrity, though they might doubt his judgment. He considered his lordship as a man distinguished for his abilities in his profession, for his integrity and his justice; but he lamented that during the residence of the noble lord at the admiralty—though he believed him to be as honest and as brave a man as any that existed, and to whose conduct and command he would most freely confide that fleet that should fight for the last stake of the country—a precedent should be attempted to be established which had irritated and disgusted every seaman of Great Britain, except only a few gentlemen of the profession who had seats in that House. Admiral Lord Hood said that the first lord of the admiralty stood high in the opinion of his profession as a brave and skilful officer—he was unimpeached in honour and unimpeached in integrity—it was not likely, therefore, that his conduct could have been actuated by any indirect motive—nay, it was impossible for him to imagine that an officer who had trodden the deck of honour could, upon his holding the naval administration, plunge into the sink of corruption. Mr. Grenville said no man had attempted to suggest that the first lord had been influenced by any improper motive in the late promotions. This, indeed, was the firm belief of every man that knew the truly noble character of Lord Howe. The Devonshire squire's motion was negatived,

but by an unusually small majority—the numbers being only 150 against 134. Apparently encouraged by this narrow division, Bastard, on the 29th of the same month, reproduced his motion in another shape, and was seconded by Sir William Molesworth; but this time the majority against him was considerably greater, though far from being so great as might have been expected—the numbers being 220 against 169. We suspect that the firm, conscientious, and unaccommodating character of Lord Howe had a great deal to do with swelling the minority to so unaccountable a size. His lordship resigned in some disgust, not less with ministers than with parliament, very soon after these debates. To his friend, Commissioner Fanshaw, Howe made no secret of the feelings which had induced him to quit office. He said he had consented to take office along with a party who had pledged themselves to each other and to the public to economy; but that, whenever he wished to carry economy into practice, he found himself constantly thwarted and opposed. Mr. Pitt, he said, made no requisitions for naval patronage; *but Mr. Dundas complained he could never obtain any appointments from the admiralty for his Scotch connexions and dependents, and was continually carrying his complaints of this intractable rigidity to the premier.* "Mr. Pitt," said Howe, "*talked* of economy, but I *practised* it." There is something significant, too, and something that interferes with the idea of the premier's disinterestedness and indifference about naval patronage, in the choice made of a successor to Howe. This successor was that most unfortunate land-officer and respectable piece of mediocrity the Earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother. A month after Howe's retirement the king showed his sense of his services by raising him in the peerage from a viscount to an earl; and two years later, when England was called upon to put forth her strength in expectation of a war with Spain, the first man thought of for command was Earl Howe.

In various ways India and its concerns occupied the House for a considerable part of this session. In the preceding year, when a war with France was apprehended, and considered by many as inevitable, the board of control had resolved to send four additional regiments to India in the company's ships, and this had been unanimously approved by the court of directors. But when the alarm blew over, and pacific declarations had been exchanged with France, the gentlemen in Leadenhall-street thought that the additional regiments were not required, and that if the government wished to send them, it ought to defray the charges, and pay and provide for them when in India. Ministers certainly did wish to send them—they were desirous, in fact, of forming a permanent establishment of king's troops in those distant possessions—but they did not wish to pay for them. The board of control and the directors were again at issue. The directors quoted the act of 1781, by which it appeared that the company was bound to pay for such troops only as should be sent out at their own requisition. The board of control quoted the act of 1784, by which they were invested with the power to send troops, and, in case of the company refusing to pay them when sent, to defray the expenses out of their territorial possessions. The company consulted eminent lawyers; and ministers, being evidently doubtful of the law as it stood, brought in a bill to settle the question and establish the right they claimed. Pitt himself moved in the House on the 25th of February for leave to bring in a bill declaratory of the intention of the act of 1784. He said it was incomprehensible to him how respectable men of the law could have questioned the interpretation of the statute of 1784; that "in his mind nothing could be more clear than that there was no one step that could have been taken previous to passing the act of 1784 by the court of directors touching the military and political concerns of India, and also the collection, management, and application of the revenues of the territorial possessions, that the commissioners of the board of control had not now a right to take by virtue of the powers and authority vested in them by the act of 1784." This was the same as declaring that no power was left to the directors, and that all power was absorbed by the board of control or by ministers themselves. And yet Pitt himself had declared in 1784 that it was not his intention, or the meaning of the bill, to impair the power of the court of directors, but only to define and regulate it. The magnates in Leadenhall-street must by this time have sighed for Fox's bill. Dundas, as became his functions as leading member of the board of control, employed more comprehensive language even than that of the premier, affirming that by the act of 1784 the board of control might, if it chose, devote the whole revenue of India to the purpose of its defence, without leaving the company a single rupee! As doubts, however, had been entertained, he thought the best way of meeting them would be by the special act now proposed. The opposition maintained that this proceeding was highly unparliamentary; that the opinion of counsel, taken perhaps upon an imperfect state of the case, was not sufficient ground for a declaratory bill; that, if such a practice were to obtain, declaratory acts would be multiplied *ad infinitum;* that the legislature ought never to have recourse to such an expedient, except when the wording of an act was so ambiguous as to stand in need of explanation, or where, in consequence of the clashing judgments of courts, or doubts expressed by judges from the bench, it became necessary for the legislature to propound anew its own meaning; that in all other cases parliament, by making declaratory bills upon previous acts, would quit its legislative and assume a judicial capacity, and, as in the present case, would decide in a cause in which it was, in some respects, interested as a party, and would be a gainer by its

decision. If the minister, instead of submitting the claim of government to a legal decision, was resolved to supersede the question by an extraordinary declaration of parliament, what was it but to declare that he chose to remove the cause from the courts of law, where he knew he could have no undue influence, into the two Houses of Parliament, where he knew, and every one else knew, that he had an influence, and a great one? Surely such proceedings would amount to manifest and violent oppression. It was further argued that the measure proposed was liable to many political objections, and might be used as a precedent for the very worst purposes. A minister, strong in his majority, would have nothing to do but to bring in a bill for granting new powers, in doubtful and ambiguous words, and with clauses that had a double meaning—he would have nothing to do but to introduce this bill with a general declaration of its moderate principles and a sacred regard to the rights which it was intended to control. By these means the consent of the parties concerned might be obtained, and the alarm and unpopularity avoided; and then, when greater powers were assumed than were ever supposed to be granted, the minister might sweep away all objections and doubts by a high, over-ruling stretch of parliamentary authority, and declare that what he contended for was the law of the land. It was quite evident, they urged, that something of this sort had happened in the present case; that the company had been deluded into a consent to the bill of 1784; and that the minister, having obtained that consent, was now endeavouring to put his own construction upon the act. Mr. Baring, as a party interested, said that, when the bill of 1784 was in agitation, it had not been intimated to the directors that it gave any such power to the board of control as ministers were now contending for; and that, if the directors had so understood the bill, they would not have given their support to it, as they would have seen it tended to annihilate the company, and deprive them of all their rights and powers. After a long debate leave for bringing in the Declaratory Bill was granted without a division. On its second reading, on the 3rd of March, the East India Company were heard against it by their counsel, Mr. Erskine and Mr. Rouse. The counsel endeavoured to prove that the construction now attempted to be put upon the act of 1784 was contrary to its true and original meaning; that such construction would vest in the board of control powers injurious to the rights and interests of the company, and of a dangerous political nature. Mr. Pulteney, and some other members who had voted with the minister, declared that they supported him at the time from a conviction that the bill contained no such powers as were now claimed, for otherwise they would never have voted for it; that the construction attempted to be put upon it by this new declaratory bill made it as obnoxious as Mr. Fox's bill—with only this difference, that in Fox's bill all was open and without disguise, whereas Pitt's bill would work out its object by fraud and dissimulation. Mr. Powys said that in 1784 the House had no idea that any such meaning would be attempted to be given to Pitt's bill; and that, if the House had conceived anything of the kind, the bill would have been rejected. Colonel Barré, whose ardour was cooled by years and the pension of 3000*l.*, affirmed that, having asked at the time one of the directors why they had suffered the bill to pass unresisted, and with the sanction of their concurrence, the director had admitted that the bill darkly and tacitly conveyed powers to the board of control as hostile to the rights of the company as Mr. Fox's bill, but that they had a confidence in the administration which introduced it, and had no doubt of their exercising those powers with gentleness and moderation. If the directors had acted upon any such persuasion they must have been insane; but Mr. Baring, who was one of the directors, and a better authority in these matters than Barré, declared that the directors had never so understood Pitt's bill, or foreseen the powers which would be claimed by the board of control. Fox followed Barré in endeavouring to show that the company had submitted to worse terms from Pitt than any that were included in his own much-abused bill. "It will now," said Fox, "no longer be clamoured through the country that I am the violator of chartered rights, or the usurper of the powers of the East India Company. Had the right honourable gentleman (Pitt) acted in the same open way in 1783 as he does now, all that abuse which I have sustained, all that clamour that has been excited, all that popular frenzy which disgraced the kingdom from one end of it to the other, never would have been provoked." The opposition also contended that this new or declaratory bill would leave at the mercy of ministers all the money the company possessed either in India or in England, so that the very trade of the company might be interrupted or annihilated whenever the government should be very poor or very rapacious. It was idle to talk of the commercial powers of the company being left undisturbed, if the chancellor of the exchequer could withdraw that capital without which commerce has no powers. Strong objections were likewise urged against the particular measure which had brought on the struggle between the directors and the board of control. Colonel Barré, Colonel Fullarton, Mr. Baring, and several other members said that it would have been much more just, and a great deal more economical, to have suffered the company to raise four regiments, or to have sent over 2400 men, which were wanting to complete the king's regiments already in India, than to send out four new regiments of king's troops; that it was besides impolitic, and tended to produce confusion in the company's government in India, to put the power of the sword into two hands, and create jealousy and disgust in the minds of the officers in the company's service. They contended that administration had adopted the

measure proposed only with the view of extending their own influence and patronage in the distribution of commands and commissions. Colonel Barré remarked that, before this plan for sending out king's troops, ministers had contended that there were already troops enough, and more than enough, in India, and had forced the directors to adopt that opinion: "but," added he, "I have long seen, and I now see more distinctly, a system of patronage, a settled and digested plan at the bottom of the whole business. It is a regular progressive plan to grasp all the patronage of the company, in order to use it in parliament." Barré conjured the House to look about them; declaring that if the present bill passed a fatal stab would be given to the constitution. In the last place, doubts were started whether it were consistent with the principles of the constitution to allow the board of control to keep up an army of king's troops in India to any amount they chose, and take payment for them from the company's territorial revenues, and without vote of parliament, it being declared that the king could have no troops but those for which parliament annually voted the money. It was represented that, if the board of control should be allowed to touch any part of the territorial revenues, there was no knowing how far they might go, or how great might be the influence they would obtain; and Sheridan reminded the House that those revenues amounted to nine millions sterling! On the other side, Pitt urged that he had done nothing by stealth; that it was the declared intention of the act of 1784 to transfer the government of India from the board of directors to the board of control; and that he had never held a language which admitted of any other interpretation: that all the fears and doubts expressed were visionary; and that, in order to do much good and prevent much harm, it was necessary that the influence of the crown should be felt in India. Dundas reminded the House that the board of control had already exercised the right of paying the troops out of the territorial revenues: thus, in 1785, when the pay of the army was greatly in arrear, and when the troops in consequence were almost in a state of revolt and mutiny, the board of control had sent out orders to postpone payments of every other description, and apply the company's money to the satisfaction of the army. He insisted that without the powers in question the board of control would be but a useless institution, and that, as the members of the board of control were responsible to parliament for all their doings, there could be no great danger of their doing wrong, let their powers be as extensive as they might. Pitt ventured to say that he thought all the troops in India of whatsoever description ought to belong to the king; that there ought not to be two establishments, one the king's and the other the company's; and that it was really in preparation for this reform that he was now sending out the four regiments. As to the constitutional question about keeping troops on foot whose pay was not annually voted by parliament, he said that the Bill of Rights and the Mutiny Act—the *only* positive laws we had on the subject—referred to troops within the realm, and were, besides, somewhat vague in their wording. Indeed, he thought that one of the advantages attending the present question would be to draw attention to that important but defective part of constitutional law; and that he was ready to receive from any quarter suggestions upon that head, as also respecting the best means of preventing any abuse to which the army and the patronage of India might be liable. Still, however, this declaratory act seemed so different from the opinions Pitt had expressed in 1783 and in 1784, and the suspicions excited by it were so violent, that he saw his great majorities sliding away from him. The motion for committing the bill was carried, on the 5th of March, only by 182 against 125. Two days after, when the bill was to be brought up, he rose and said himself that he felt it his duty to move for its being recommitted, in order to obtain the insertion of some salutary checks on the sending of troops to India without consent of parliament, and on any improper application of the territorial revenues. On the 10th the bill was recommitted, and Pitt moved four additional clauses:—1. To limit the number of forces, for the payment of which the board of control were empowered to issue their orders to 8045 men of the king's troops, and 12,200 men of European forces in the company's service; 2. To prevent the board from increasing the salary of any officer in the service of the company, unless such increase should be proposed by the directors, and laid before parliament; 3. To prevent the board from ordering the payment of any extraordinary allowance to any person on account of services performed in India, except with the concurrence of the directors and parliament; 4. To oblige the directors to lay annually before parliament an account of the produce of all their revenues, and of all their disbursements. These clauses were agreed to without debate. But resistance to the bill was not yet over. On the third reading on the 14th of March Sir Grey Cooper, Wyndham, John Anstruther, Francis, Bastard, Martin, and others spoke strongly against the whole bill, endeavouring to show, by various arguments, that it was unparliamentary, illogical, and illegal. Sir Grey Cooper said that the bill had come out from the committee even more unparliamentary in its form than it was before: that it was inconsistent with the nature and principle of declaratory bills to superadd to the declaration of what was and is law explanatory clauses, qualifications, and restraints; and that, if the present bill passed the House, it would have the effect of declaring that certain powers had been vested in the board of control, and yet not vested without certain conditions which previously had not had existence. Sir Grey added, that the new clauses proposed by the minister to cover his rear were *preposterous* in the correct sense of the word;

they were in their nature antecedent to the declaratory bill, and ought to have made a part of the act to be explained, if that act really intended to give the extraordinary powers which this declaratory bill assumed, but which the omission of these clauses clearly proved that it did not give. Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon, Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, Lord Mulgrave, Hardinge, Thornton, one of the directors, Rolle, and others, defended the bill, and the motives and plans of Pitt in his great bill of 1784; and the third reading was carried, though by a majority of only 54, which at this time was considered a small majority. In the Lords the ministerial preponderance was more visible, yet there too the declaratory bill was warmly opposed. Lord Porchester moved that the opinion of the judges should be taken upon the construction and meaning of the India Bill of 1784. Lord Hawkesbury (lately Mr. Jenkinson) said that this would produce unnecessary delay and enormous expense to the company, whose ships were detained in port, and might lose their voyage for the present year. The motion was rejected by a majority of considerably more than two to one, as was also a motion made by the Duke of Norfolk, for deferring the second reading a week, agreeably to the prayer of a petition which he presented from some of the proprietors of India stock. The Marquess of Lansdowne expressed his utmost astonishment that any man who recollected what had passed in that House in the years 1783 and 1784, in debating the India Bill of Mr. Fox and the bill of the present chancellor of the exchequer, could contend for a moment that the powers or principles of the present bill were contained in that of 1784. He showed that their lordships had rejected Mr. Fox's bill upon the ground that it contained such powers and principles; and yet the very act which they afterwards passed in 1784, as now attempted to be explained, contained the very same principles which had been so much reprobated in Mr. Fox's bill. If there was to be a preference, he, for his part, would have preferred that bill which gave the government of India to parliament for four years. By this time it would have expired. But, if the powers proposed should once be given to the crown, what time and exertion would not be required to restore it, or to keep within due bounds the influence of the crown, when all the patronage of India would be added to that influence! As a proof that ministers had invidiously concealed their design—if they had ever really conceived the idea of stretching the act of 1784 to its present extent—the marquess quoted a pamphlet published by Mr. Pulteney at the time, which ministers themselves avowedly dispersed all over the kingdom, as containing sentiments which they wished to be considered as the principles of their conduct. Mr. Pulteney, he said, had on a very late occasion clearly proved the sense in which he had understood the bill of 1784. His lordship concluded with objecting that this declaratory bill, in some measure, decided a point hitherto left suspended, namely, the public right to the territorial possessions in India. He allowed that some decision upon that point must soon be made, and a general system for the government of India adopted. He was ready to enter into a cool discussion of that most important system; but he could not think that they ought to place so implicit a confidence in the profound wisdom and great experience of his majesty's present ministers as blindly and precipitately to adopt all their projects. The third reading was, however, carried by 71 against 28. The Dukes of Portland, Devonshire, and Bedford, Lords Carlisle, Porchester, Derby, Sandwich, Loughborough, Fitzwilliam, and six other lords, signed a long and powerfully expressed protest.

Some debates took place on a proposal made by ministers to incorporate in the army a newly-raised corps of military artificers, and to render the same liable to military law and the provisions of the Mutiny Act. In both Houses a laudable jealousy was shown of any extension of the military code: but from the nature of their services it was proper that these artificers should be considered as a part of the army; and a clause to that effect was inserted in the Mutiny Bill of the year. In opening the budget for the year Pitt spoke in a very cheerful and hopeful tone about improvements in various branches of the revenue, and of the susceptibility of improvement in some other branches. Sir Grey Cooper, Fox, and Sheridan endeavoured to show that the improvement was inconsiderable and the hope illusory. Fox made another attempt for the repeal of the shop-tax, but was out-voted by 141 against 98.

Since the beginning of the present reign several petitions had been presented to parliament against the slave-trade altogether, or for a more humane treatment of the unfortunate Africans that were made slaves and carried to the West India islands. In England, as in America, the Society of Friends had taken the first step in this direction: but they had been followed by Englishmen of all sects and classes; the subject had been taken up by orators, popular poets and other writers; and, by degrees, a strong feeling, wide and general enough to be called a national feeling, had been created on the subject. Mr. Ramsay* had published his "Essay on the Treatment of and Traffic in Slaves," which had made a great sensation; Mr. Thomas Clarkson had published his "Essay on the Slavery of the Human Species," which had made a still deeper impression; and Mr. Wilberforce, encou-

* Ramsay, who took the field early, and who contributed materially to the national excitement, without which nothing would have been done, had been a surgeon in the navy, and had served on board Sir Charles Middleton's ship. When Sir Charles went to the West Indies, a good many years before the present period, Ramsay married a lady of St. Kitt's, settled for some time on that island, quitted the navy and his old profession, and entered the church. After some time he received a presentation to the living of Teston, near Maidstone, apparently through Lady Middleton, to whose friend Mrs. Bouverie the advowson belonged. He came home and settled on that pleasant spot, which was in the neighbourhood of the two ladies. During his residence in St. Kitt's he had been greatly shocked by the condition of the slaves and the horrors of the slave-trade; and now his descriptions worked upon the feelings of the two ladies, who, reacting on him, urged him to write his Essay.—*Letter from the late C. J. Latrobe, as given in Life of Wilberforce by his Sons.*

raged and aided by many warm religious friends, had determined to devote his parliamentary life to this one great subject. "God Almighty," says the devout orator in his private journal, "had set before me two great objects—the suppression of the slave-trade and the reformation of manners."* With this conviction on his mind, Wilberforce had laboured hard to inspire the colder nature of his friend the chancellor of the exchequer with some of his own warmth, and he had had many communications on the subject with Mr. Grenville and other members of the government, as also with the leading men in parliament, in both Houses and of both parties. A society of twelve opulent London merchants and bankers, including the excellent Thornton, and having for their chairman the philanthropic Granville Sharpe, had formed themselves into a committee, and had adopted measures in order to raise funds and collect the information necessary. The society had increased rapidly, and committees had been established or subscriptions raised in Manchester and other great towns. Lady Middleton, wife of Sir Charles Middleton (afterwards Lord Barham), Mrs. Bouverie, and other ladies, had been exerting themselves for many months in procuring converts and subscribers, and with a zeal and success scarcely known except to ladies. With thirty petitions lying on the table, Pitt was induced to consent to issue, in the month of February of the present year, a summons to certain members of the privy council, to examine, as a board of trade, the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. The first witnesses heard by the privy council were some whom the African merchants had deputed, and who endeavoured to prove not only the absolute necessity, but the absolute humanity, of the slave-trade. Counter evidence was procured by Granville Sharpe and the London committee, it having been previously determined that the London committee should alone appear, whilst the leaders of the cause should direct their movements for a while in secrecy.† Wilberforce, however, undertook to bring forward a motion in the House of Commons in this session. As he was member for one of the greatest counties in the kingdom, the known close friend of the prime minister, an admirable speaker, and a man universally esteemed, the matter could scarcely be in better hands, nor could a better beginning have been easily made. But Wilberforce fell ill, retired to Bath, and left the motion to be made by the premier, who was solicited thereto not merely by his friend, but by Granville Sharpe and the London committee. It was on the 9th of May that Pitt rose in his place, and, after mentioning the bad state of health of his friend, moved the following resolution—"That this House will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade complained of in the petitions presented to the House, and what may be fit to be done thereupon."

* Journal, as quoted in Life by his Sons. The date of the entry is October the 28th, 1787.

† Letter from Sir Charles Middleton, as cited in Life of Wilberforce.

He added, that before the next session the inquiry instituted by the privy council would be brought to such a state of maturity as to facilitate the investigation, and enable the House to proceed to a decision, founded equally upon principles of humanity, justice, and policy. Burke, who, it is said, had thought of taking up the subject of the slave-trade eight years before, expressed his regret at the delay now proposed; and Fox exclaimed that he had almost made up his mind to immediate abolition. Both Burke and Fox declared that they were willing and prepared to have taken up the business themselves, and that they had given way to another honourable member, not only from a deference to his abilities and his known humanity, but on account of the influence he was supposed to have with his majesty's ministers in that House. They lamented the cause of that gentleman's absence, but thought that earlier notice might have been given, in order to enable the House to come to some decision, as well for the sake of the planters as for the sake of the slaves. But what called for their more severe reprobation was, the proposition to wait the report of the privy council: against the practice of the House in this way devolving its proper duties upon committees of the members of the government they both strongly protested. It was the duty of that House to advise the king, and not to ask or wait for his advice. This was an essential principle of the constitution. They therefore cautioned the House to beware of committees of the privy council, as they valued their functions, their honour, and their dignity. If they suffered the business of the House to be done by the privy council they would abdicate their trust, and make way for an entire abolition of their functions. If they neglected the petitions of their constituents, and left inquiries upon them and other steps to be made by ministers in privy council, there would be an end of the proper uses of parliaments; and the next thing would be that ministers would bring down the edicts of the privy council merely to be registered after the fashion of French parliaments. Sir William Dolben called the attention of the House, not to the sufferings of the negroes on the African coast, nor to their sufferings from the planters in the West India islands, but to that intermediate state of tenfold misery which they suffered on their voyage from the coast to the West Indies. This, he said, called for an immediate remedy, for if they waited till the beginning of the next session an average of ten thousand lives would be sacrificed, as hundreds of thousands had been sacrificed before, in close and horrid slave-ships! Sir William had evidently been devoting much time to the subject, for he stated many facts, and declared that he had witnesses ready to be called to the bar who would prove that the horrible voyages of the slave-ships were scarcely less destructive, in proportion to their numbers, to the British seamen than to the poor negroes.* He wished, therefore, that this part of

* "Some of our principal supporters," says Wilberforce, "one of

the subject should be taken into consideration instantly; and that some regulations should be adopted for restraining the captains from taking above a certain number of slaves on board, according to the size of their vessels, and for obliging them to let in fresh air and provide better accommodations for the slaves during their passage. Pitt's resolution was agreed to; and on the 21st of May Sir William Dolben moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the transportation of slaves. One of the most important regulations he proposed was, that no ship should be allowed to carry more than one slave to each ton of her burden or register, or that a ship of 250 tons should carry 250 slaves, a ship of 300 tons 300 slaves, and no more. On the 26th of May a petition was presented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Liverpool, stating that the suppression of the slave-trade would be attended with consequences little short of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under the faith of parliament, had embarked in the trade and invested their whole property therein; that it would be highly injurious to the interests and public revenues of this country, and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprise; and praying to be heard by counsel against the abolition or restriction of the trade, before any resolutions or bill should be passed. Accordingly, on the 2nd of June, counsel were heard at the bar of the House. These learned gentlemen, as instructed by their clients, endeavoured to prove that even Sir William Dolben's bill would be ruinous to Liverpool; and that the regulation of the number of slaves allowed to be put on board each vessel in proportion to its tonnage would of itself prove the ruin of the slave-trade and of all engaged in it. They produced their witnesses to speak to this effect, and to prove that the captains of the ships ought to be the proper judges as to what amount of living human cargo they could cram into their vessels. But the only effect of the arguments and evidence was, that the House was induced to allow, instead of one ton to each slave, three tons to every five slaves. (Within a few years these unwisely cruel slave merchants of Liverpool were compelled to confess that this forced sacrifice to humanity had actually increased their profits by decreasing the rate of mortality on the voyage from what it had been in their crammed and foul old ships.) Sir William Dolben's bill, being carried by considerable majorities through the House of Commons, was taken up to the Lords on the 10th of June. There it was vehemently opposed by Admiral Lord Rodney, who was a good and humane man, by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who was neither humane nor good, and by several other peers. Their lordships passed the bill, but introduced several amendments, which were considered both as spoiling its spirit, and as trenching on the privileges of the Lower House. The Commons therefore passed a new bill with the utmost possible rapidity, and sent it up to the Lords, who finally concurred, though by a reduced majority. The bill received the royal assent on the 11th of July. It was an immediate and important benefit to the English sailors engaged in the slave-ships, and to the poor Africans that remained to be transported year after year to the Western World; and the victory obtained served as an encouragement to Ramsay, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Thornton, and the other active friends of the blacks, whose numbers and whose means continued to increase rapidly.

During the session some time was occupied in discussing the claims of or compensations due to the unfortunate American royalists—a long and difficult business, which was not quite settled even now. Another measure of mercy was a bill which was brought into the House of Commons for granting to Anthony James, Earl of Newburgh, grandson of Charles Radcliffe, beheaded in 1746 for his share in the rebellion of 1715, a clear rent-charge of 2500*l.* out of the estates forfeited by the said Charles Radcliffe, and his brother James, third Earl of Derwentwater, who suffered on the same account in 1716, which estates were now settled upon Greenwich Hospital. Lord Newburgh, whose father was an infant at the time the estates were forfeited by his father's and uncle's rebellion, had succeeded in making parliament feel the hardship of his case, and during the reign of George II., as well as during the present reign, various sums of money had been voted from time to time for his lordship's relief. In the act passed in 1784 for restoring the estates forfeited by the unhappy attempts in favour of the expelled House of Stuart the estate of the Derwentwater family was not included; but an intention was then declared of making some special provision for the case. The only difficulty that now occurred arose out of the diminution which the grant would make in the funds of Greenwich Hospital, which had enjoyed the estate so many years. Some members proposed that the public should make good the deficiency, and that a grant should be voted to the hospital to that amount. But this was overruled, as was also another proposition to add 100*l.* to Lord Newburgh's annuity; and the bill passed as originally framed, greatly to the relief of an amiable and deserving nobleman.

A few days before the Christmas holidays—on the 12th of December, 1787—Sir Gilbert Elliott had made good his promise by presenting to the House six articles of charges of various high crimes and misdemeanors against Sir Elijah Impey, late chief justice of Bengal, &c. (It was only within the few previous weeks that the term *late* could be applied to the functions of this judge: Sir Elijah had not been deprived of his office in India—it is said that he

whom was the venerable Sir William Dolben, were led by curiosity to inspect, with their own eyes, the actual state of a slave-ship then fitting out in the river. . . . Sir W. Dolben and his friends came back to the House of Commons with a description which produced one universal feeling of pity, shame, and indignation. . . . . At once it was resolved that such enormities should not exist unchecked even for another session."—*Life by his Sons.*

was even making preparations for his return to that country—but on the 10th of November preceding Elliott's motion he had acquainted the court of directors that his majesty *had been pleased to accept his resignation.*) Sir Gilbert Elliott, one of the most approved orators in the House of Commons, made a long and impressive speech, in which he professed to describe Impey's legal career from his first arrival at Calcutta down to his recall on a resolution of the House of Commons, provoked by his having accepted the second or company's judgeship from Hastings—an original complaint which occupied but a small part of the present oration, the chief objects now proposed being to couple Impey with Hastings in the guilt of the execution of Nuncomar, and of the Benares and Oude transactions. As these subjects had been gone over so recently by Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, the audience was neither so full nor so attentive at Sir Gilbert's necessary repetitions. He began with an endeavour to show that he had no personal animosity against the person accused, and that there could be no imputation of party prejudices and passions, or party views, as Sir Elijah Impey had been declared a public culprit by the voice of parliament itself, before the parties into which the House was now divided had an existence, and as the proceedings in which this accusation originated had been carried on by persons of all parties, all descriptions, and had been countenanced by every one of the administrations which had succeeded each other in the course of the last six years. Sir Gilbert then paid a studied tribute to the great merits of Burke, in stepping in between the oppressors and the oppressed in India. "I need not name him," said he, "whom we have seen for years devote the noblest talents, genius more than human, the profoundest wisdom, the most exhaustless labour; him whom we have seen for years sacrifice the charms of private life, the lures of fortune, the aims of ambition; whom we have seen provoking, nay, courting, the dangerous and implacable enmities of wealth and greatness; enduring patiently the scoff of a corrupt and vulgar public; nay, struggling with that which must have broken all other spirits, sustained by a weaker principle or a meaner view, struggling with the dullness and the apathy even of the virtue of this age. Need I name him who has acted this great part under our eyes, in one uniform, one only, one simple, but grand pursuit—the happiness of mankind? Thanks, then, to him, thanks to this House, which has not disdained to listen to his voice; which has received from him, and has at length put into the hands of Britain, the clue both of its duty and of its interest!" Sir Gilbert then laid down the axiom that the proper way of reforming Indian abuse was to punish some great Indian delinquent. He proceeded to demonstrate that there was no greater delinquent—Hastings always excepted—than the late chief justice. He stated the nature, the occasion, and the purposes of the commission under which Sir Elijah Impey had been sent out to India: he contended that in the two great objects committed to his charge—the protection of the company from the frauds of their servants, and the protection of the natives from the oppression of Europeans—Sir Elijah had, by corruptly changing sides, added his new powers to the very force they were intended to control, and taken an active part in the oppressions which it was his duty to have prevented. Sir Gilbert energetically called upon the gentlemen of the law, to which body he himself had once belonged, to throw off from the nation and from their profession the guilt of an individual lawyer, by bringing him to punishment for crimes which had been committed in the name of law. The articles of charge which he moved to be read related—1. To the trial and execution of Nuncomar; 2. To the conduct of Sir Elijah in a cause called the Patna cause; 3. To extension of jurisdiction, illegally and oppressively, beyond the intention of the act and charter; 4. To the *Cossijurah cause*, in which the extension of jurisdiction had been carried out with peculiar violence; 5. To the acceptance of the office of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, which was affirmed to be contrary to law, and not only repugnant to the spirit of the act and charter, but fundamentally subversive of all its material purposes; 6. To the conduct of Sir Elijah in Oude and Benares, where it was declared the chief justice became the agent and tool of Hastings. Sir Gilbert Elliott affirmed that the conduct of the supreme court, and especially of Sir Elijah Impey, had been the subject of complaint in India from the first months of its institution; that Sir Elijah was accused, by a majority of the supreme council, of one of the most atrocious of offences that was ever laid to the account of man; and this made the subject of the first charge. He reminded his hearers that parliament had judged it proper, on the report made by the select committee on the Patna cause, to express its sense of the injustice and oppression of that judgment by reversing it; that parliament had not only granted the indemnity desired by the members of council for resisting the acts of the supreme court, but had expressly abridged the extravagant and oppressive jurisdiction claimed by the court in the instances comprised in the third charge, which were similar, though inferior in magnitude, to the occurrences detailed in the fourth charge; that the House had recalled Sir Elijah expressly for having accepted the office of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, which was the subject of the fifth charge; and finally, that Mr. Hastings was actually under prosecution by impeachment for the very crime in which the sixth charge accused Sir Elijah as accessory. The charges being received and laid upon the table, they were, upon a motion, read by the clerk in short, *pro forma*, after which Sir Gilbert moved that they should be at once referred to a committee. This was objected to by Pitt, who suggested that the charges ought in the first place to be printed and then referred to a committee of the whole House. This

mode of proceeding was adopted; and the 4th of February (1788) was fixed for the committee. On that day a petition was presented from Sir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard in answer to the charges, before the House proceeded any further. The prayer being granted, he was called to the bar. Sir Elijah complained that he had been recalled upon one charge, and was now accused on five other charges. He said that the whole matter of the four first articles was collected from evidence which had been drawn up by committees of the House, the last of which sat in 1781; that this evidence had been fully discussed, had been the subject of an act of parliament, and yet had furnished no charges against him at the time. He continued: "On the 27th of January, 1783, I received a letter from the Earl of Shelburne, dated the 8th of July, 1782, which conveyed his majesty's commands to me to return to this kingdom for the purpose of answering a charge *specified* in an address which had been laid before his majesty in consequence of a vote of the 3rd of May, 1782. That vote related only *to the acceptance of an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act* 13 Geo. III. As the cause assigned for my recall was *subsequent* to all the transactions which have furnished matter for these charges, I entertained no idea that anything *within the knowledge of the House, prior* to the cause which had been selected as a charge against me, would be objected to me. In this opinion I was confirmed by the letters of my private friends; and I was thereby induced to esteem his lordship's letter, so particularising the charge, to be *a specific notice* of the whole evidence which I was to bring with me for my defence. I could not suspect, when the *acceptance of an office* had appeared the most proper subject for prosecution, that an accusation *for so foul an offence* as that ascertained in the first article could have been omitted. Under these impressions, though I collected all possible materials to defend myself against the charge of which I had notice, I did not bring any with me for the defence of those acts which, knowing [them] to be legal, and done in the necessary and conscientious discharge of my duty, *I had no reason* to think could ever have been imputed to me as criminal, and for which *I had reason* to think all intention of arraigning either me or the other judges, after the fullest consideration, had been totally abandoned. Had notice been given me, even after my arrival, or *within two years* of it, that these charges would have been preferred against me, I should have had full time to procure authentic vouchers and records for my judicial conduct, and witnesses to such other matters as could not be proved by written evidence. Thus misled by appearances, I am called to answer those charges without any evidence but that which I may be able to extract from the very materials which have been compiled against me, and from some few papers which I have casually, not purposely, brought with me." It had been urged that the first article, relating to Nuncomar's execution, was supported by the general sense of mankind; but he observed that, before the sense of mankind in general could be admitted, it would be just to examine by what means it had been acquired. If it was found to be the opinion of the public, founded on an impartial statement of the facts, on ample discussion of the arguments on both sides, on a full investigation of the proceedings, its authority was irresistible, and in that case it might be truly said that *vox populi est vox Dei*. But, if partial representations had been laid before the public; if one side of the question only had been stated; if no inquiry had been made into the facts; if it turned out that the public had been abused and misled; then the public opinion would be of no value, and to give weight to it would be to deliver up the lives, properties, and fame of the best men to the rage of partisans and the virulence of libellers, the base and mercenary instruments of every malignant and unprincipled faction. "It is now twelve years," said he, "since this nation has been deluded by false and perpetual informations, that the supreme court of judicature had most absurdly, cruelly, and without authority, obtruded the complex and intricate criminal laws of England on the populous nations of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, whose law, religion, and habits were peculiarly abhorrent to them; that *a native of Bengal*, of high rank, had been tried and convicted on a capital law of England for an offence punishable in *the place where it was committed* by fine only; that the court which had tried him had *no jurisdiction* over his person; that he was brought within the limits of the jurisdiction *by force*, and in that state that the court adjudged that its jurisdiction had attached upon him; and, to sum up all, in the words most deservedly odious to an English ear, he was finally executed under that which, if a law at all, was an *ex post facto* law." He complained that all kinds of calumnies had been propagated through the press, not merely in daily papers, but in laboured treatises, in histories, in books of travels, fabricated for the sole purpose of disseminating and perpetuating libels of this and a similar tendency, with a more certain effect because less suspected. These authors had dared to make use of the high and respectable names of Sir William Blackstone and Lord Mansfield, as condemning the illegality of the proceedings in the case of Nuncomar, the latter being made to call the execution "a legal murder." He read a letter written by Blackstone, who was recently dead, to express his admiration of the high reputation which he (Sir Elijah) and his colleagues had acquired by their prudent and impartial administration of justice in India; he prided himself on enjoying the favourable opinion of Lord Mansfield, who was living, and in full possession of his faculties, though at a very advanced age, and he assured the House that, so far from using any such expressions, that noble lord had declared that he had never formed any opinion upon Nuncomar's case,—that the assertion was an absolute falsehood,

and that he authorised him so to contradict it. The name of another great lawyer, Lord Ashburton (Dunning), had also been introduced to add to the weight of the popular condemnation. He read a letter from that nobleman expressly to the point, and containing his full approbation of Nuncomar's trial.* Dunning, like Blackstone, was in his grave, and Lord Mansfield, as full of honour as of years, had recently retired from the bench. "These," said Sir Elijah, "were not men who would hold correspondence with judges guilty of a legal murder; these were not men who would be volunteers in applauding such conduct; they were great lawyers in their day; they are gone, and almost a new generation has succeeded them. Though it has been given out authoritatively, and propagated in print to prejudice my cause, I shall not, till I am convinced by fatal experience, be induced to believe that the gentlemen of the same profession now in this House can so totally differ in opinion from them as to have reprobated my conduct and prejudged me unheard..... My defence depending chiefly on matters of law, my reliance is on no personal favour, but on their professional ability to determine on matters of law, and their characteristic habit not to condemn, not to reprobate, without a hearing. *Audi alteram partem* is a maxim acknowledged to be equitable by all who know what justice is; but it is engraven on the heart of every honest lawyer." After recapitulating the several articles contained in the charge about Nuncomar, as that he had illegally brought the rajah under the jurisdiction of his court, that Nuncomar had been committed on false and insufficient evidence, that all the proceedings were the fruit of a confederacy between him and Warren Hastings, for the purpose of screening Hastings from a just accusation by accomplishing the death of his accuser, &c., he said that if the premises were true they warranted a more severe conclusion than the words of the charge which pronounced him guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. "If the premises are true," said he, "then I am guilty, not of misdemeanors, but of murder—I am guilty of a murder of the basest, foulest, and most aggravated nature. From such premises *that* is the only *true* conclusion. I do not decline it. It would have been justice to have drawn it. My life would then have been forfeit, had I been found guilty: it would have been mercy to have sacrificed that life as an atonement for these enormous crimes, which, if I am convicted of [them], or am to lie under the public imputation of having perpetrated [them], would become a burden too intolerable to be dragged to a distant grave. The substance of this charge has long been before the public, but brought before it in a manner which afforded me no means of answering it. The weight of it has, indeed, borne so heavy on me that nothing but the consolation of my own conscience, indignation for unworthy treatment, and the expectation that the truth would at some time or other be revealed, could have supported me under it. With an overflowing heart I return my thanks to God, and his immediate instrument, my accuser, that he has been pleased to afford me this opportunity, now first given, of disclosing the true state of this so long misrepresented case, and of vindicating my own honour, and the conduct of the much injured judges of the supreme court." After reciting the powers and the extent of the jurisdiction of the court as established by act and charter, he positively averred that, from the establishment of the court till he left Bengal in December, 1783, there had been no indictment tried against any person who was not an *inhabitant of Calcutta*, nor for crimes *not committed in Calcutta*. He insisted that Nuncomar was a *settled inhabitant* of Calcutta, that he was not ignorant of the law, but well acquainted with it, and that the crime with which he was charged *was committed in Calcutta*. "An Hindu inhabitant of Calcutta," said he, "was as much amenable to the English law in Calcutta as if the said Hindu had been an inhabitant of London. He might with equal propriety object to being tried by any law but that of his native country at the Old Bailey as at the Court-house in Calcutta. Gibraltar, in the kingdom of Spain, is—Calais, in that of France, was, part of the dominion of this realm: admitting the laws of England to have been introduced into those towns, a French inhabitant of Calais, or a Spanish inhabitant of Gibraltar, having offended against the law under which he dwelt, might with equal reason complain that he was not tried by the law of the place of his nativity, as an Hindu in Calcutta, because that town is situated in Bengal. There is nothing in the quality of an Hindu that makes the law of the country wherein he was born more attached to him than to a Frenchman or Spaniard; —all must be obedient to the law that protects them. It was not till since the seat of government and the collection of the revenues have been brought to Calcutta, that it has become populous by the influx of black inhabitants. The laws have not been obtruded on them, they have come to the laws of England." He affirmed, that long before his time the laws of England, statute and common, had been indiscriminately put in force at Calcutta; that murders, highway robberies, burglaries, felonies of all kinds had been tried in the same manner as at the Old Bailey, and convictions and executions had on them, as well against Hindus, Mussulmans, Portuguese, and other foreign inhabitants, as against those who were more especially called British subjects. Copies of the records of the old court were in the India House, and must be full of such trials. Besides records, and the precedents they established, he had been guided by the charter and by instructions sent out by the court of directors,

* Dunning's letter was dated January the 5th, 1776. The passage which Sir Elijah read was this: "The publication of the trial has been of use, as it has obviated abundance of ridiculous and groundless stories. I see nothing in the proceedings to disapprove of, except that you seem to have wasted more time in the discussion of the privileges of ambassadors than so ridiculous a claim deserved."

showing the new court how to proceed against prisoners not understanding English, how to proceed when any Portuguese, Hindu, or other native of India, not born of British parents, should happen to be prosecuted for any capital offence, which, according to the instructions, "*would probably often happen.*" On legal conclusions and precedents the supreme court would have been justified in trying Nuncomar as an inhabitant of Calcutta for a crime committed in Calcutta: but before proceeding to the trial he made a still more particular search, and found that this specific statute of forgery had been acted on and most completely published to all the inhabitants of Calcutta, and to the Hindus more especially; for he found that in 1765 one Radachurn Metre, an Hindu, had been tried, convicted, and received sentence of death by the former court, for the forgery of the codicil of a will of one Cojah Solomon an Armenian. He admitted that this Hindu had not been hanged, but that was because it was the first condemnation for such a crime. "I found," said he, "that the Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta had petitioned the president and council for his respite, not pretending that they were not subject to the laws of Calcutta, but chiefly on this ground,—that till that trial neither they nor the prisoner understood the crime to be punishable by death, it not being so by the country laws. Their petition was solely for mercy *in that instance*, without any complaint of the law, or desire that it should not in future be executed. In consequence of this application the president and council resolved to recommend the prisoner to mercy in these remarkable expressions —'in hopes that the condemnation will be sufficient to deter others from committing the like offence.' It appeared by the records that the East India Company had sent his majesty's pardon; but all my diligence could not furnish me with any comment made on this proceeding; and finding no censure passed upon it by the court of directors or the king's ministers, to whom the case must have been submitted to obtain the pardon, and that the whole passed in the ordinary course of business, and accorded with the other proceedings of the court, I esteemed it a full precedent, more especially as there had been a plain intimation from the governor and council, if the condemnation should not be sufficient to deter the natives from the commission of forgery, that the law would be enforced in future." He read extracts from the company's letter which transmitted to India the pardon for Radachurn Metre; but those extracts scarcely made out Sir Elijah's case, for, instead of showing why it was proper to grant pardon for this first conviction on the statute, they affirmed that the Hindu ought not to have been convicted at all, as there was a flaw in the indictment which would have caused it to have been quashed in our courts in England, and as there appeared but slender legal evidence to ground a conviction of the prisoner upon. "We are glad," said the directors, "you have interfered in his behalf." It was alleged in the present articles of charge that Nuncomar had been brought to Calcutta by force, and was there detained as a prisoner at the time of the commission of the crime. "I deny the truth of the fact," said Sir Elijah, "and those gentlemen who were members of the council when Nuncomar was tried, and are now members of this House, must well know the fact is not true. Had it been true, yet, before it could be matter of objection to the judgment, it must be shown it was proved in evidence at the trial; it then would have been made part, and a material part, of his defence; it would have been decisive in his favour: but the contrary was in proof at the trial; he was proved to be a *settled inhabitant* of Calcutta; no such objection was ever suggested, nor was any attempt made to take him out of the jurisdiction of the court as not being an inhabitant of the town." He said he could trace the story of Nuncomar's being conducted to Calcutta, and detained a prisoner there until the arrival of the supreme court, to no better authority than that of a libellous letter in a book entitled 'Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa,' published in 1782;* that the author of that book, from his known connexion, might have received more true information; and that that book, like every libel published on the subject, uniformly endeavoured, as the articles of charge were now doing, to advance the character of Sir Robert Chambers at the expense of his own. As to the part of the charge which alleged that Nuncomar had been convicted on false and insufficient evidence, he requested the House, before they assented to the truth of that proposition, to peruse the whole trial and judge for themselves. As to the mode of execution by hanging, the laws of England left nothing to the discretion of the court, the sentence for the felony being that the convict be hung by the neck until he is dead. To vary was treated by our law books as criminal in the highest degree. "Some," said Impey, "go so far (though certainly too far) as to say that this is not in the power of the king himself; that he may indeed pardon part of the sentence, (as, in high treason, all but beheading,) but that he cannot order execution to be done in a manner variant from the sentence." He declared that before Nuncomar suffered he had the most authentic information that Hindus of all castes, Brahmins included, had been executed by hanging. "I was particularly informed," said he, "by a gentleman formerly a member of the council in Bengal, and now a member of this House,† who has this day repeated to me the same information, that he had himself carried such sentence into execution against two Brahmins, without any disturbance, and even with the consent of the Hindus themselves. The prosecutor who sued for the execution in Nuncomar's case was an Hindu; many of the wit-

* The book referred to is, we suppose, Mackintosh's Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa; 2 vols. 8vo., 1782; of which a French translation appeared at Paris the same year, and a German translation at Leipsic in 1785.

† Evidently Barwell.

nesses were Hindus; what the sentence must be was well known to the prisoner, the prosecutor, and all the Hindus in the settlement; yet no objection was made by the prisoner or his counsel, before or after the sentence was pronounced, to the mode by which he was to suffer death; no evidence was given of its being shocking to the religious opinions of the Hindus, no mention of it was made in the address of the Hindus." The articles alleged in the broadest manner that there was a conspiracy between him and Hastings in order to destroy so dangerous a witness as Nuncomar, and inferences to support the assertion were drawn from these circumstances:—that the forgery had been committed five years before Nuncomar was brought to trial before the supreme court; that it had been, and was at the time, the subject of a *civil suit* in the Dewannee Adaulut, a country court; and that no steps had ever been taken to make it a matter of *criminal* prosecution, much less of a *capital* indictment, until Nuncomar had become the accuser of the governor-general. General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Francis had even deposed that in the interval between the forgery and the trial Nuncomar had been protected and employed by Hastings; and this deposition had been inserted in the report of a committee of the House of Commons. Now, in defending himself, Sir Elijah Impey not merely admitted, but insisted upon, the fact asserted by Clavering, Monson, and Francis; and he even cited the evidence of Hastings himself when examined upon oath on the trial of Joseph Fowke and others for a conspiracy against him. This course, if it proved that Nuncomar could not have been tried for forgery before he *was* tried, proved also that the governor-general had, at least in this case, put himself above the law for temporary political purposes—proved that the guilty could not be prosecuted, previously to the arrival of the supreme court, so long as Hastings extended his protection. Hastings's evidence *upon oath*, which Impey read to the House, contained, however, a denial of his ever having directly or indirectly countenanced or forwarded the prosecution against Nuncomar. When asked whether he had not had connexions with that rajah, he had said he certainly had; that he had employed him on many occasions; had patronised and countenanced him, though he never had any opinion of his virtue or integrity, and believed the rajah knew he had not.* "It was in evidence," said Impey, "at the trial that Mr. Palk, judge of the Adaulut, had once confined him (Nuncomar) for the forgery. It was notorious that Mr. Hastings had ordered him to be released. This of itself was sufficient to prevent any native inhabitant of Calcutta from commencing a prosecution against him, for there was then no other criminal court to resort to but that in which Mr. Hastings presided. It was in evidence also that the prosecutor had it not in his power to commence a criminal suit, even in the court in which Mr. Hastings presided, or in any other court, *before the time at which the indictment was actually preferred;* for the *forged instrument* was deposited in the mayor's court, and could not be procured from thence. It was not restored to the party entitled to it till after the records and papers of the mayor's court had been delivered over to the supreme court. One main cause assigned for erecting the supreme court was, that the company's servants either presided in or could influence the other courts. The supreme court, the only court where Mr. Hastings's influence could not extend, sat for the first time towards the end of October, 1774. In June, 1775, at the first effective court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery held by that court, the indictment was preferred and tried. That the endeavouring to procure the papers from the mayor's court was intended as '*a step* taken' towards a criminal prosecution, before Nuncomar became the accuser of Mr. Hastings, I have no evidence to prove; but that no *effectual steps* could have been taken I have given satisfactory proof. As there had been no delay in the prosecution, as the point of time when the prosecution was brought was the *first possible point* of time when it could be brought, no presumption whatsoever could arise from lapse of time, or the coincidence of the prosecution of Mohunpersaud* with the accusation before the council, or from the unavoidable accident of the prosecution not having been commenced until he had become the accuser of Mr. Hastings. That the accusation was the cause of the prosecution of Nuncomar by another person,—that it had been the subject of a civil suit in the Dewannee court, there was no legal evidence: the proceedings themselves, or authenticated copies, ought to have been shown; parole testimony was not admissible; it did not lie on the *prosecutor* to produce them. Had they tended to the defence of the prisoner, *he* should have produced them; his *not* doing it at least induced a strong suspicion that they would *not have made for him*. That suspicion was strengthened by the evidence given that he had been imprisoned by Mr. Palk, the judge of the court in which the proceedings were supposed to have been had. The matter, therefore, having

* The reader may refer back to pp. 116, 117 of the present volume for the positive and pressing orders of the directors to Hastings to countenance Nuncomar and employ him, with all his malice, as an informer against his old rival Mohammed Reza Khan. In the examinations upon oath, quoted by Sir Elijah Impey, Hastings himself said: "I beg leave to add, that, when I employed him as an *instrument of government*, I might have other motives than my reliance on the man's integrity, motives which did not depend upon me. I might have other motives; I had; I considered it as a point of duty which I could not dispense with. I have, till lately, concealed the motives, because I thought it my duty; but I now think it necessary for my own character to declare that *I had the orders of my superiors to employ this man.* He never was, in any period of my life, in my friendship or confidence;—never." When asked at what time he had employed Nuncomar particularly, Hastings replied, "It was about the removal of Mohammed Reza Khan and the making the new arrangements. His interest and inclination were contrary to Mohammed Reza Khan's, and he was thought fittest to destroy the influence of Mohammed Reza Khan till the new arrangements should be confirmed." These depositions upon oath leave the *character* of the directors or their secret committee in a lamentable plight; but they also suggest the doubt that a man who had acted—no matter what his orders—as Hastings had done in these matters might, under every provocation, and the double incentives of policy and revenge go further.

* The ostensible prosecutor of Nuncomar.

been in a civil court, as he made it no part of his defence, but chose to keep back the evidence, furnishing a fair presumption against him, it could not with justice have been applied by the court to fling an imputation on the prosecution, nor did it give any appearance that the prosecution bore any relation to the accusation against Mr. Hastings." All this may prove that the supreme court could not have tried Nuncomar sooner than they did; but it does not prove that the governor-general had not chosen the moment for letting loose the proofs of Nuncomar's guilt. But, at the same time, there was nothing in the circumstance of Nuncomar's being in the character of an accuser of Hastings that could stop proceedings against himself upon a separate and unconnected charge, brought forward by a different prosecutor, with different witnesses, and with everything about it different and distinct. "The prosecutor," said Impey, "had a right to demand redress: to have refused it would have been a denial of justice. Had I taken so decided a part as to have flung out the indictment on the ground of the prisoner having been the accuser of Mr. Hastings, how could I have justified the casting that imputation on the prosecution, without any evidence being laid before the court that any accusation existed? Had there been evidence of an accusation, with what justice to the community at large could the court have adjudged that to be a sufficient cause for not putting the prisoner on his trial? If such indemnities were held forth to informers, what man would have been safe in his property, liberty, fame, or life? What kind of informers were likely to be brought forward? Those who by their crimes were subjected to the laws, and had been thereby taught that, by simply preferring accusations, they would be protected from the justice of the laws." After mentioning what was set forth in the charge—as that Nuncomar had accused Hastings of various peculations and other corrupt practices before the council at Calcutta, and that Hastings, instead of confronting his accuser, thought proper, under pretence of his dignity, to decline all defence, and to dissolve the said council at various times—Impey asked how this could affect him, as nothing of the sort had been before him and the court when they were proceeding against Nuncomar? He said that the circumstances were not only not in evidence, but were not known to him and the other judges; that by rumour, and by rumour only, it was known in Calcutta that Nuncomar had preferred some accusations against Mr. Hastings—accusations which, so far from being public, were preferred to the council in their private department, where each member was under an oath of secrecy. If the prisoner Nuncomar was an object of the special protection of the court, from the circumstances in which he stood as an accuser, that claim should have been laid before the court in evidence, and ought to have formed part of the defence:—they were all matters capable of proof; they were proper subjects to go to a jury. Why were they kept back? Why were not the court and jury acquainted therewith? "If," continued Impey, "they could leave no doubt in the mind and opinion of the jury, the jury would not have hesitated to acquit the prisoner. If the judges *must* have been convinced, it would have been their duty to have directed the acquittal. This was the only mode by which protection could have been legally given to Nuncomar: they were not thought sufficient to produce that conviction when the transactions were recent; if they had been, they would have formed a material part of the defence. Why, then, is it averred they must produce such conviction now, at the distance of thirteen years from the transactions?" It was inserted in the charge, and Impey allowed it to be true, that Chambers had made a motion from the bench for quashing the indictment; but Impey urged that this was done more in *favorem vitæ*, and from the natural lenity of Chambers's disposition, than from any sound reason in law. Sir Robert Chambers had wished to try Nuncomar on a statute that did not inflict capital punishment for forgery—the 5th of Elizabeth—thinking it optional in the court to adopt that statute instead of the statute of George II., which made forgery capital. "That it was optional in the court," said Sir Elijah, "to choose the statute which it liked best, I thought impossible: for I understood it to be an undoubted maxim in law, that, whenever a statute constitutes that offence which was a misdemeanor to be a felony, the existence of the misdemeanor is destroyed and annihilated; or, as lawyers express it, the misdemeanor is merged in the felony. The 2nd George II. having made forgery, which was a misdemeanor, both at common law and by the 5th Elizabeth, to be a felony, the offence at law and by the 5th Elizabeth were both merged; and neither the common law nor the 5th of Elizabeth were any longer existing laws with regard to forgery. The 2nd George II. became the only law by which forgery was a crime; the court therefore must have proceeded on that statute or not at all. If forgery was not a capital offence in Calcutta, it was no offence there. If the statute could not have been put in force, it would have operated as a pardon for the offence, which the legislature intended it to punish with more severity. These arguments were made use of by me in court to support the indictment. By these I then understood that Sir Robert Chambers was *convinced;* he most certainly *acquiesced;* I never understood him to have been overruled, and his subsequent conduct proves most manifestly that he was not: for he not only sat through the whole trial, but concurred in overruling every objection in arrest of judgment; assented to the summing up of the evidence; was present, and concurred in the sentence." Impey then read a paragraph of a letter written to the court of directors shortly after the trial, and signed by Chambers, the two other judges, and himself, and in which they all asserted that they had in every instance been unanimous, whatever repre-

sentation might be made to the contrary. Impey further showed that all the judges, Chambers included, signed the calendars, which were the only warrants for execution in Calcutta. Nay, still further: he showed that Chambers, on the same day and only a few hours after the execution of Nuncomar, proposed carrying the consequences of the conviction even beyond the execution; and he read a letter in which Chambers suggested that the sheriff should be immediately ordered to seal up, not only the books and papers of the malefactor, but also his house and goods; and that a commission should issue under the seal of the supreme court, to inquire after his effects at Moorshedabad and elsewhere.* Sir Elijah said that, as the charter had not appointed any officer to secure escheats and forfeitures, he did not consider it to be the duty of the court to act as escheator for the crown, and that, therefore, he declined giving any such orders. He asked whether Sir Robert Chambers, after his public concurrence, and his zeal to prosecute the effect of the conviction to its utmost consequence, could wish to be defended by a denial of his approbation both of the judgment and the execution? Sir Elijah had no recollection of any appeal; but he had reason to believe that a petition delivered by the prisoner, desiring to be respited and recommended to his majesty's mercy, had been, after a long lapse of time, confounded with an appeal. If there had been an appeal, it must remain on record and be capable of proof. He quoted the clause of the charter respecting appeals, by which clause the supreme court had full and absolute power to allow or *deny* appeals. He next quoted the clause relating to respites: by this last clause the supreme court were empowered "to reprieve and suspend the execution of any capital sentence, wherein there shall appear, in their judgment, a proper occasion for mercy;" but in such case they were to transmit to the sovereign a state of the case, of the evidence, and of their reasons for recommending the criminal to mercy. Hereupon Impey argued that neither the law nor the charter required the judges to assign reasons for carrying the judgment into execution; that it was only in case of their not executing it that they were bound to assign their reasons. He maintained that there were no reasons to be assigned for respiting Nuncomar. "Could it," said he, "have been stated as a reason to his majesty that Nuncomar had preferred an accusation against Mr. Hastings? Who was the accuser, and who was the accused? It was notorious to all India that Nuncomar had been the public accuser of Mohammed Reza Khan without effect, though supported by the power and influence of government. He had been convicted before the judges of a conspiracy to bring false accusations against another member of the council. Against whom was the accusation? Not against Mr. Hastings censured by the House of Commons; not against Mr. Hastings impeached before the House of Lords; not the Mr. Hastings for whom the scaffold is now erected in Westminster Hall; but that Mr. Hastings whom I had heard the prime minister of England, in full parliament, declare to consist of the only flesh and blood that had resisted temptation in the infectious climate of India; that Mr. Hastings whom the king and parliament of England had selected for his exemplary integrity, and entrusted with the most important interest of this realm. Whatever ought to be my opinion of Mr. Hastings *now*, I claim to be judged by the opinion I ought to have had of him *then*. What evidence had the judges that the accusation of Nuncomar was true? How could they know that they were screening a public offender in the person of Mr. Hastings, so lately applauded, so lately rewarded, by the whole nation? Ought the judges to have taken so decided an opinion on the guilt of Mr. Hastings, as to grant a pardon to a felon, and assign as a reason that the convict had been *his* accuser? With what justice to Mr. Hastings could this have been done—with what justice to the community? Who could have been safe, if mere accusation merited indemnity?" Sir Elijah insisted that neither he nor the other judges had prejudiced Nuncomar, or acted unfairly towards him or his witnesses; that, while there was no reason that could justify the court in recommending the prisoner to mercy, there were many against it; that the defence, in the opinion both of the judges and jury, was a fabricated system of perjury; that the jury requested that the prisoner's witnesses might be prosecuted; that after the trial it became matter of public notoriety that the defence had been fabricated, and witnesses procured to swear to it by an agent of the prisoner; and that one of the judges, Mr. Justice Lemaistre, had declared that a large sum of money had been offered to him to procure a respite. In the next place Impey alluded to the attentions and honours paid to Nuncomar while in prison by General Clavering, Monson, and Francis; stating that the secretaries and aides-de-camp of those members of council visited him after his commitment for the felony, and that even the ladies of the families of General Clavering and Colonel Monson were in the habit of sending their compliments to him in the prison. He affirmed, what had already been affirmed upon oath in another place, that Nuncomar, cheered by these flattering attentions—very unusual in such a case—conceived hopes of his being released, through the influence of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, even to the day before his execution, when he wrote a letter to the council for that purpose. After reading the affidavit of Yeandle, the gaoler, Impey read two other affidavits made at the time by two gentlemen at Calcutta who were connected

* Chambers said in this letter, "Among his papers it is said there will be found bonds from many persons, both black and white, against whom I conceive that writs of *scire facias* should be directed by us as supreme coroners."

In the recent article in the Edinburgh Review it is said:—"The Mussulman historian of those times assures us that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing *counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province*. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which, in itself, is by no means improbable." —*No. CXLIX., Art. on Gleig's Life of Hastings.*

with the native inhabitants, and who swore that it was an opinion prevalent among them that the rajah would be released by General Clavering or the council. One of these affidavits was that of Mr. Alexander Elliot, a younger brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot, the present accuser of Sir Elijah Impey. Alexander Elliot, who held at the time a civil office at Calcutta, had been conversant with the whole business, and had even interpreted at the trial of Nuncomar. He left India not long after to return to England, and was then intrusted with a discretionary power from Impey and his brother judges to publish the trial if he thought it necessary, it being known to them that very unfavourable representations were current in England. "He," said Impey, "had collated the notes, and had undertaken to bear testimony to the authority of them; he had served voluntarily as interpreter through the whole trial. He pointed out the prevarications of the witnesses; he could have verified the narration from his own memory; and he could have spoken as an eye-witness to my particular conduct at the trial. He lived in that intimacy with me, that I may almost say he made part of my family; and, as no secret of my heart was unrevealed to him, he could have given the fullest and most unequivocal account of my sentiments with regard to carrying the sentence into execution. . . . . The calumnies propagated from Calcutta by minutes (of council), secret there, but published, and meant to be published in England, made him use the discretion intrusted to him to refute them. He printed the trial: his testimony could have supported the truth of it; if it could not, no consideration would have prevailed on him to have published a trial with such gross misrepresentations, and, by undertaking the vindication of the judges, to have been instrumental in deceiving the king, his ministers, and the public, in the most abandoned manner. He is unfortunately no more. But, though I am deprived of his living testimony, yet his acts and his character still bear evidence for me." Impey then read a letter from another gentleman eminent in the civil service in India, to show the sense entertained of Alexander Elliot's excellent qualities, and the impression made by his premature death; and he otherwise dwelt upon the subject in a manner to embarrass Sir Gilbert Elliot, the brother of the deceased. "Inventive malice," said Impey, "can do no injury to his memory, except the prosecutor, by maintaining the foul motives charged on me, should, by necessary consequence, fix them on him, and thereby blast his fair fame with unmerited infamy, for the zealous part he took in the investigation of truth." In his correspondence with the secretary of state Impey had referred to Mr. Elliot and to the papers of which he was the bearer, for proofs that nothing relating to the trial was intended to be hid from the English nation. In the same letter to the secretary of state, a copy of which Impey read at the bar, he affirmed that, on a detection of gross practices on the part of the prisoner to suborn witnesses, made before Mr. Justice Lemaistre and Mr. Justice Hyde, a band of witnesses sent down from Burdwan to give evidence at his trial immediately disappeared; and that it would be seen, on perusal of the trial, that the guilt of the prisoner was proved as strongly from the case he attempted to make out as from the evidence on the side of the prosecution. Sir Elijah also read a letter addressed to himself by Mr. Alexander Elliot, in which that gentleman spoke of the disputes, misrepresentations, and falsehoods of the majority of the supreme council, and pledged himself to be warm in defending the judges. In this letter Elliot said that no expressions could be harsher than what the council deserved—meaning hereby Clavering, Monson, and Francis. Sir Elijah complained that there had never been an instance of so extraordinary a charge against any judge in England, even on a recent cause; and that his own case was the more perilous and the more extraordinary, in his being accused on account of acts done thirteen years before the time at which, and in a country sixteen thousand miles from the place in which he was now called upon to answer for them, and that not only without receiving any notice of the charge, but after having been misled into a security that no such charge would ever be made against him. He reminded the House that his prosecutor, Sir Gilbert Elliot, had not even asserted that he could produce any evidence to show an illegal communication between him and Mr. Hastings or his partizans; that he was without evidence even that Mr. Hastings or his partizans were in any league or combination against the prisoner,—that they had any communication with the prosecutor, or were in any manner instrumental or privy to the prosecution. He said that Hastings himself had been purged on oath on that subject; that the only proof assumed was an inference drawn from the single circumstance that Nuncomar was not capitally indicted till after he had accused Hastings—a circumstance which had been satisfactorily accounted for; and he insisted that, though the fact had been for eleven years the subject of parliamentary investigation, and Hastings's conduct had been most critically scrutinized, nothing had been or possibly could be brought to light to prove any combination against Nuncomar. And yet, continued Sir Elijah, "it is asserted that such a notoriety has arisen as to produce an *universal necessary conviction* that the whole proceedings were for the purpose of screening Mr. Hastings from justice. That no such universal conviction did ever actually exist, I have the most infallible proofs, or, if it did exist, that the whole body of Armenians and Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta,—that all the free merchants, all the grand jury, all the petit jury, Sir Robert Chambers and all the judges, the governor-general and all the council, must have been united in the same horrid combination. For I have in my hand the addresses of all the Armenians, of all the Hindus, of all the free merchants, and of the grand jury, which authorized part, and heard all our proceedings, when those

proceedings were recent.* My portraits now hanging—the one in the town-hall, the other in the court-house—the one put up soon after this trial, the other on my leaving the settlement—if this notoriety be true, are libels against the inhabitants, the settlement, the judges, advocates, attorneys, and officers of the court, who subscribed no small sum for the preserving my memory amongst them." If the existence of a plot or combination against Nuncomar had been notorious, as described in Sir Gilbert Elliot's charge, how was the conduct of numerous and most respectable classes of men to be accounted for? Was it a universal conspiracy in favour of the governor-general? Was there no man left in all Calcutta with conscience and courage enough to interpose in order to prevent this alleged legal murder? "The alleged notoriety," said Impey, "could not have had any operation on the minds of the grand jury who found the bill, nor of the petit jury who convicted him; nor of Sir Robert Chambers and the other judges who sat through the trial, agreeing and assenting to all the acts of the court; who concurred in giving sentence, in disallowing the appeal (if any there was), in refusing the respite, signing the calendar, and carrying the sentence into execution. Had my conduct been profligate, as it is stated to have been, should not the other judges, instead of concurring, have opposed me in every step? If Sir Robert Chambers had really, as is asserted, thought the proceedings illegal,—if this notoriety had produced this conviction in him,—if he deemed my conduct iniquitous, was not he particularly bound to have taken an active part? Should he not have given a counter-charge to the jury? Should he not, by exposing my corruption and detecting my partiality, have held me up (if I had not sufficiently done it myself) to the detestation of the jury and the whole settlement? This has, under similar circumstances, been done by honest puisne judges in England: could passiveness and silence in such a case be reconciled to honour and conscience? That this notoriety did not influence the governor-general and council, or that which is called the majority of the council, I am able to give still more convincing proofs from their direct unequivocal official public acts; and by *those acts* I desire it may be determined whether their opinions are in support of, or in opposition to, the prosecution on this article." Impey then related one of the most startling circumstances in the whole affair. On the 30th of August, 1775, several days after the execution of Nuncomar, the governor-general and council ordered a paper to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, as containing libellous matter against the judges. The paper was a petition or representation from Nuncomar to the council; but its contents were not published. The judges knew that both this paper, and the proceedings on it, *ought* to be transmitted to the directors and the king's ministers; and that the paper, though kept secret in Calcutta, would be made public in England. They therefore applied for a copy of the libel. This reasonable request was refused by the council; but Impey said he had obtained from the India House a copy of the libel, and of the proceedings of the council upon it; and these he now read to the Commons. The proceedings were in every way curious. On the 14th of August, just nine days after Nuncomar had been hanged, General Clavering informed the council that, on the 4th of that month, the day before the execution of the rajah, a person, calling himself a servant of Nuncomar, came to his house and sent in an open paper. In presenting the prayer for a respite nine days after death, Clavering said, "As I imagined that the paper might contain some request that I should take some step to intercede for him, and being resolved *not to* make any application whatever in his favour, I left the paper on my table until the 6th, which was the day after his execution, when I ordered it to be translated by my interpreter. As it appears to me that this paper contains several circumstances which it may be proper for the court of directors and his majesty's ministers to be acquainted with, I have brought it with me here, and desire that the board will instruct me what I have to do with it: the title of it is, 'A Representation from Mahah Rajah Nuncomar to the General and Gentlemen of Council.'" Francis thought that the paper ought to be received and read. Barwell, who always voted with Hastings, could not understand by what authority General Clavering thought he might at his own pleasure keep back or bring before the board a paper addressed to them; or how the address came to be translated for the particular information of the general before it was presented to the council. "If the general," said he, "thinks himself authorized to suppress a paper addressed to the gentlemen of council, he is the only judge of that authority; for my part I confess myself to be equally astonished at the mysterious air with which this paper is brought before us, and the manner in which it came to the general's possession, as likewise at the particular explanation of every part of it before it was brought to the board." The astonishment expressed by Barwell must be felt by every one that reads these strange transactions, nor will it be diminished by the explanation given by Clavering. The general said, in reply to Barwell, that until he had put the

* Sir Elijah insisted that these Calcutta addresses had proceeded spontaneously from the good opinion of those who drew them up and signed them. He said—"To the addresses I know objections have been made, and perhaps will be revived, that they were procured by power and influence. How such influence or power could be derived from the court, cannot, I believe, be easily accounted for. In whom the power and influence of government were then vested, every act of power and every record of the company have fully published. The company's servants, on whom such power and influence must act most immediately and forcibly, formed the only body that did not join in the addresses. And that the gentleman whose name stood first on the address of the free merchants, who had been president of the settlement, and then enjoyed the office of superintendent of the police, for which a knowledge of the manners and habits of the country was particularly necessary, and for which his long residence in the country had peculiarly qualified him, was, immediately after presenting the address, without any fault objected to him, discharged from his office, and his place supplied by a gentleman who had not been many months in the settlement, is a fact which will not be controverted." The gentleman thus thrust into the office of superintendent of the police was Mr. Macrabie, *brother-in-law to Francis.*

paper into the hands of his translator he could not know what it meant; that the first day the council met after his knowing the contents—that is to say after Nuncomar had been hanged—he brought the paper to the board, but, the board not having gone that day into the *secret department*, he did not think it proper at that time to introduce it. Colonel Monson thought that the paper ought now to be received and read. Hastings said, "I do not understand this mystery. If there can be a doubt whether the paper be not already before the board, by the terms of the general's first minute upon it, I do myself insist that it be produced, if it be only to give me an opportunity of knowing the contents of an address to the superior council of India, excluding the first member in the title of it, and conferring that title on General Clavering; and I give it as my opinion that it ought to be produced." Clavering replied that the address did not bear the meaning which Hastings gave it; and that, at all events, he was no more answerable for the title of the paper than he was for its contents. It was then resolved that the paper should be received and read. Hastings then moved that, as the petition contained expressions reflecting upon the characters of the chief justice and judges, a copy of it should be sent to them. Francis objected that to send any such copy would be giving the thing more weight than it deserved. "I consider," said he, "the insinuations contained in it against them as wholly unsupported, and of a libellous nature; and if I am not irregular in this place, I would move that orders should be given to the sheriff to cause the original to be burned publicly by the hands of the common hangman." Mr. Barwell had no objection to the paper being burned by the hangman; but he agreed with the governor-general in thinking that a copy ought to be delivered to the judges. Colonel Monson, on the contrary, apprehended that the board, by communicating the thing to the judges, might make themselves liable to a prosecution for a libel. He added—"The paper I deem to have a libellous tendency, and the assertions contained in it are unsupported. I agree with Mr. Francis in opinion that the paper should be burned under the inspection of the sheriff by the hands of the common hangman." General Clavering also agreed with Francis that the paper ought to be burnt at once without saying anything to the judges about it. Hastings, on the other hand, urged that the people of Calcutta formed but a very small part of that collective body commonly called the world. "The petition itself," said he, "stands upon our records, through which it will find its way to the court of directors, to his majesty's ministers, and in all probability will become public to the whole people of Britain." Francis begged leave to observe that, by the same channel through which the directors, ministers, and British public might be informed of the contents of the paper, they would also be informed of the reception it had met with, and the sentence passed upon it by the board. "I therefore hope," said he, "that its being destroyed in the manner proposed will be sufficient to clear the character of the judges, so far as they appear to be attacked in that paper; and, to prevent *any possibility* of the imputations indirectly thrown on the judges from extending beyond this board, I move that the entry of the address from Rajah Nuncomar, entered in our proceedings, be expunged." The will of the majority was acted upon; the entry was expunged; the translation was destroyed, and the original, without any copy being sent to the judges, was publicly burned with all due solemnity, not by the common hangman, for there was none in Calcutta, but by the common gaoler. If Francis could have burned all the minutes in the council now raked up against him it would have been well for him! After reading all these minutes, Sir Elijah Impey said that, notwithstanding the anxiety of Francis,* that every memorial of Nuncomar's petition or representation should be destroyed, he possessed an authentic copy of it, with the translation corrected by Hastings, who had given him the copy. Hastings, continued Impey, "thought it no more than common justice to the judges to give it to me, and, as it was in the secret department of government, he delivered it to me under an oath of secrecy, not to disclose it in India except to the judges: except to them it has not been disclosed to this day, when it is called forth by necessity for my defence." As Hastings was bound by his oath of office to keep secret what passed in the secret department of government, he was guilty of perjury in giving the paper to Impey. His binding Impey in an oath of secrecy could not cover the breach of his own oath: the manœuvre was characteristic of the man; the perjury committed was certainly not of a heinous nature; but perjury it nevertheless was, and a breach of official trust and duty, rendered necessary in the eyes of Hastings and of Impey by the infamous proceedings and ill-concealed intentions of Clavering and Francis. At the desire of the House Sir Elijah Impey afterwards delivered in a facsimile copy of the original translation of the paper, with Hastings's interlineary corrections. The paper, after enumerating the rank, honours, and high employments of Nuncomar, said, that many English gentlemen had become his enemies, and, having no other means to conceal their own actions, revived an old affair which had repeatedly been found to be false; that the prosecutor was a notorious liar, and had been treated as such by the governor-general, who had turned him out of his

* In his examination before the committee of the whole House on the 16th of April, Francis said:—"My secret *predominant* motive for proposing to destroy the original paper produced by General Clavering was to save him and him alone from the danger to which he had exposed himself by that rash, inconsiderate action; yet the step I took was not immediately taken on my own suggestion. As soon as Mr. Hastings proposed that a copy of the paper should be sent to the judges, Colonel Monson started at it, and desired me to go with him to another room. He then said, 'I suppose you see what the governor means. If the judges get possession of the paper Clavering may be ruined by it.' My answer was, 'Why, what can they do to him?' To that he replied, 'I know not what they can do; but, since they have dipped their hands in blood, what is there they will not do?' He then desired me to move that the original paper be destroyed by the hands of the common hangman."

house; that the English gentlemen had become the aiders and abettors of this notorious liar, and that Lord Impey and the other justices had tried and condemned the writer, Nuncomar, by the English laws, which were contrary to the customs of the country, &c.* Sir Elijah Impey argued that General Clavering's sense of the propriety of allowing no respite must appear from the whole of his conduct, and from the mode in which he treated that paper after he received it. He also cited Clavering's testimony on oath, by which it appeared he did not consider that the prosecution of Mr. Hastings at all depended on the evidence of Nuncomar. If General Clavering thought there were circumstances in the case which ought to render Nuncomar a proper object for mercy, could he have defeated the petition of the unhappy convict, by detaining his paper until it could be of no possible use to him? That paper was no private address to the general, but an address to the board at large, whose sense he would not suffer to be taken on the propriety of recommending him to mercy, as he never produced the paper until days after the execution! If the paper was unsupported then, what new matter had arisen to support it now? If it was not good to obtain mercy for Nuncomar, how could it be good to bring down impeachment and punishment upon Sir Elijah Impey? What could make that a just accusation now which was held to be false and libellous then? Continuing his long speech, Impey closed the horns of a dilemma upon Francis until they went through and through him. "That the paper itself," said he, "should have survived, is hardly more providential for me, than that the gentleman who moved for the condemnation of it, and who expressed his hopes that it would prevent any possibility of the imputations indirectly thrown out against the judges from extending beyond that board, is the only surviving member of that majority. From him, who, to prevent its extending beyond that board, had with so much solicitude procured the paper to be expunged from the proceedings, I hope I may be thought to have some claim to expect that these imputations will not be encouraged in England: should, nevertheless, such imputations have been suggested by any member or members of the council (and I am sorry to say that their secret minutes show that there have), I am in the judgment of the House, whether it would not be a precedent of dangerous tendency to admit *secret communications and private informations* in evidence from any persons whomsoever to disavow and contradict their own *solemn official unanimous acts* entered upon public records—on records required by act of parliament to be transmitted to his majesty's ministers as authentic information both of their acts, and their reasons for their acts." Sir Elijah said that, as he had been charged as an individual, so he had defended himself as an individual. "But," added he, "though called to answer as for acts done by me singly, those acts not only were not, but could not have been, done by me individually: I was one member sitting in a court consisting of four members; all the four members concurred in the acts imputed to me; my voice singly and by itself could have had no operation; I might have been overruled by a majority of three to one. I was not *more* concerned in the proceedings than any other judge; I was *less* so than two. Informations had been laid against the criminal before two of the judges [Lemaistre and Hyde], who, by committing him for felony, had applied this law to his case without my knowledge or privity. I was, indeed, applied to by the council as to the mode of his confinement; I had no right to revise the acts of the judges; their authority was equal to mine; I did what humanity required; I made the strictest inquiries of the pundits, as to the effect of his imprisonment on his caste and religion; I learned they could not be hurt. I gave directions to the sheriff that he should have the best accommodations that the gaol would afford; the gaoler and his family quitted their apartments and gave them up to him; I directed that every indulgence, consistent with his safe custody, should be granted him. Those only were my individual acts, and they appear on the report of your committee. If it had been just so to do, it was not I, but the *court*, which must have afforded protection to the criminal because he was the accuser of Mr. Hastings; it was not I, but the court, that must have quashed the indictment; it was not I, but the court, which retained the prosecution; had Sir Robert Chambers been overruled, it was not I, but the court, that could have overruled him; it was not I, but the whole court, that rejected the appeal (if there was an appeal),—that refused the respite, and carried the sentence into execution. ALL signed the calendar; I executed no act of authority as a magistrate, but sitting in open court, assisted by all the judges: even those acts which are particularly objected to me, as mine individually, though I was only the channel of the court to pronounce them, are not my individual acts; as chief justice, I presided in the court, and was the mouth of the court; all questions put, all observations made by me, were with the judges sitting on my right hand and on my left; those questions and those observations were not mine, but the questions and observations of the court. I did not presume to make observa-

* The paper, which was in the first person, went on:—"Taking the evidence of my enemies in proof of my crime, they have condemned me to death. But, by my death, the king's justice will let the actions of no person remain concealed; and, now that the hour of death approaches, I shall not, for the sake of this world, be regardless of the next; but represent the truth to the gentlemen of the council. The forgery of the bond, of which I am accused, never proceeded from me. Many principal people of this country, who were acquainted with my honesty, frequently requested of [the judges to suspend my execution till the king's pleasure should be known, but this they refused, and unjustly take away my life. For God's sake, gentlemen of the council, you who are just, and whose words are truth, let me not undergo this injury, but wait the king's pleasure. If am unjustly put to death I will, with my family, demand justice in the next life. They put me to death out of enmity, and from partiality to the gentlemen who have betrayed their trust; and, in this case, the thread of life being cut, I, in my last moments, again request that you, gentlemen, will write my case particularly to the just king of England. I suffer, but my innocence will certainly be made known to him."

tions in my summing up to the jury, without having first communicated with the judges, and taken their unanimous opinion on every article. . . . . As no act is imputable solely to me, so there is no motive in the whole charge assigned for my conduct that is not equally applicable to every other judge; nor is there one allegation that exonerates the other judges, and applies them specifically to me; if they are true with regard to me, they are true as applied to every judge of the court. The notoriety of the injustice of the proceedings applies to all, and gives an equal ground of conviction that all the judges were in a combination to sacrifice an innocent man for the purpose of screening Mr. Hastings from justice; all must have shown an equally determined purpose against the life of the criminal; all had equal knowledge of the accusation, the proceedings in council, and the conduct of Mr. Hastings; all knew equally the credit of the witnesses, and the infamy of the unnamed witness. There is no stage of the business where they are not all as much implicated in the motives as I could be; yet I alone am called to answer, whilst they, if this charge be true, are still administering justice in Bengal notoriously branded with infamy, are still judging on the lives of men with hands stained with blood! Though I say this as necessary to my defence, I most solemnly protest, and most anxiously request, that it may clearly be understood that I do not entertain the most distant wish that any judge of the supreme court should meet with the same fate which I have experienced, after long and faithful services in so inhospitable a climate, in their decline of life, and be dragged from their tribunals to appear as criminals at this bar."

This defence, which occupied two days in the delivery, produced a deep and lasting impression. Pitt was heard to affirm that, if he had been placed in the same situation, he could not say but that he should have acted precisely as Sir Elijah Impey had done. It was quite clear that the prosecution would speedily be dropped. With the exception of the documents included in it, Sir Elijah had delivered his defence as an extempore speech, not reading it drily and heavily as Hastings had done. Accordingly, when asked whether he would leave the House a copy of it, he said he could not, as he had not written it out, and had spoken hurriedly and under great agitation of feeling; but soon after a full report of the speech appeared, evidently drawn up by himself or under his own superintendence.* Both Fox and Burke expressed their regret that the specific charges upon the table of the House had not been met by a specific written defence, a circumstance which, they said, must cause the House much inconvenience. On the second day, before Sir Elijah was called in, Francis rose to take notice of a serious charge which had been brought against him, and to move that Sir Elijah should be required to deliver to the House the original paper read by him as the translation of the petition of Nuncomar. "The reason," he said, "why he called for the original paper was, because Sir Elijah had stated at the bar that it was delivered to him by Mr. Hastings, and that it contained alterations in his handwriting. He wanted, therefore, to see what those alterations were, which he could not unless the original paper was deposited on the table." The premier, the solicitor-general, the master of the rolls, and other gentlemen of the robe, strongly objected to this motion, for which, although supported by Burke and Fox, was at length substituted the amendment, that the speaker should ask Sir Elijah if he had any objection to produce a *copy* of the paper in question. Sir Elijah, upon being called in, answered that he had no objection. The said paper, and still more the history attaching to it, copied from the records in the India House, tended greatly to incense and irritate a man who was naturally one of the most irritable of mankind. And, indeed, in various other ways, sad havoc was made on the character of Francis in the course of these proceedings against Sir Elijah Impey. When the party friends of Francis were applauding him as the most honourable, upright, and incorruptible of men, Major Scott spoiled the eulogium by speaking of the large fortune which that six years member of council had brought with him from India; and the allusion produced all the effect intended, as it was universally known that the man who had never held any higher appointment in England than that of a clerk in the war-office—and even that appointment he had lost some considerable time before he went to Calcutta—was now in possession of a splendid revenue. Scott, too, proposed applying in this instance the searching test which had been originally included in Pitt's India bill. "Before I join in applauding his integrity," said the major, "I require it be proved by the only possible way in which his integrity can be proved. Let him come fairly, boldly, and honestly forward as Lord Macartney has done; let him state that he left England in debt, that he was six years in India, that his expenses at home and abroad were so much, and his fortune barely the difference between the amount of his expenses and the amount of his salary. When the honourable gentleman shall have done this, I will join the committee with cheerfulness in pronouncing Mr. Francis to be one of the honestest men that ever came from Bengal. But, until he shall submit to this only true test of his integrity, I shall pay no attention to the animated panegyrics of his friends." Francis made no reply, nor ever showed any inclination to submit to such an ordeal. Moreover, it was

* The speech, which together with the copious appendix fills an octavo volume of 244 pages, was published by John Stockdale, and bears the date of 1788. The advertisement states that "the editor of this speech" took accurate notes of it when it was delivered. No editor's name is mentioned. In every part of the book there is internal evidence that the editor must have been Sir Elijah Impey himself, or some person employed by him, and working under his immediate direction or dictation. A good deal of the matter in the appendix could only have been furnished at the time by Sir Elijah; and no editor or bookseller could have arranged that matter, or have furnished the notes and comments upon it and upon the matter contained in the speech.

pretty well known that Francis, who as he grew older grew into something very like a miser, was exceedingly fond of money, and capable of many little sordid tricks which are altogether incompatible with the high and generous qualities of that fanciful portrait his party were attempting to draw for him. On this day Sir Elijah Impey claimed the protection of the House against certain libellous public prints, which were daily circulated to injure his cause. He was ordered to produce them the day following, when, upon the motion of Mr. Grenville, they were declared to be scandalous and seditious libels upon the House, and tending to prejudice the minds of the public against an accused individual; and an address was presented to the king to direct the attorney-general to prosecute the publishers.* When Sir Elijah had finished his answer to the Nuncomar charge, he submitted to the House that his mind had been so strongly affected, and his health so much impaired by the horror he had felt at the charge of having committed a deliberate legal murder, that he was unequal to the exertion of going into his defence upon the other articles before he was acquitted of the first. He said that the rest were so light in comparison with this, that, if it were decided against him, he was indifferent to their going at once to the bar of the Lords, without any further discussion. To this request Sir Gilbert Elliot readily consented. On the 11th of February, and the following days on which the House sat in committee, Mr. Thomas Farrer, who had acted as counsel to Nuncomar upon his trial, and who was now a member of the House of Commons, was examined as a witness, standing in his place as a member. His evidence in nearly every essential particular confirmed what Impey had himself said. He showed an attested copy of the warrant of commitment for the forgery, which was not signed by Impey, but by Justice Lemaistre and Justice Hyde; he showed that it was impossible to have tried Nuncomar either sooner or later; he declared, in the plainest language, that two of the judges concurred on every point with the chief justice, and that Chambers, after his first doubt as to the statute upon which the prisoner ought to be tried, sat on the bench, silent and to all appearance acquiescent; he spoke, as every one who knew him appears to have done, with the warmest feeling of the character of Mr. Elliot, who had acted as interpreter, and afterwards superintended the publication of the trial; he stated that the civil proceedings in the court of Dewannee Adaulut were not given in evidence at the trial by either party, and that the reasons why he as counsel for the prisoner did not give them in evidence were, 1. That Nuncomar's witnesses had in several material points contradicted each other. 2. That the plaintiff had expressly charged the instrument in question to be a forgery. 3. That when Nuncomar had this alternative offered him by the plaintiff, either to leave the matter to arbitration or to make oath that his demand was just and the bond no forgery, he appeared to have declined both the one and the other. 4. That when Nuncomar found the court, in consequence of his refusal, were proceeding to judgment, and that he would no longer be allowed to protract the decision by introducing from time to time new witnesses, he had then agreed to arbitration. Farrer also stated that these proceedings in the Dewannee Adaulut had commenced only at the end of 1773, and had terminated on the 9th of June, 1774, (five months before the arrival of Impey and the supreme court,) by the reference to arbitration. He informed the House that the trial for the capital offence had lasted several days, having ended on the 15th of June, or rather on the 16th, about four o'clock in the morning; and that all the proceedings, with the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, had appeared to him fair and unprejudiced. He said that a petition of appeal had been drawn up and presented; that this paper was not drawn up by him nor presented by him, but by Mr. Brix, another advocate, who had assisted him in the defence, and that he could not take it upon himself to say that Mr. Brix had stated to him whether Sir Elijah Impey was present or not when the petition of appeal was presented. Farrer also stated that an attempt was made by himself to induce the jury to recommend the prisoner to the judges for a respite; and that Mr. Robinson, the foreman of the jury, had peremptorily refused to join in such recommendation, upon the grounds that his conscience would not permit it, and that the high opinion he entertained of the judges would not allow him to doubt that, if they thought Nuncomar a proper object of mercy, they would themselves have recommended him for the king's pardon. Farrer produced and read Robinson's letters, as also the original of a petition which was signed by only *one* of the jury of twelve. He said that his next step was to endeavour to ascertain whether the governor-general and council would receive a petition addressed to them, and then enclose it with their recommendation to the four judges. Knowing, as every man in Calcutta did, that it was of no use to apply to the minority (Hastings and Barwell), Farrer resolved to speak with the majority, Clavering, Monson, and Francis, who were all to be at a party given by Lady Anne Monson. He called Francis aside and explained the business to him first. Francis, he said, made no objection, but, when they called Clavering and Monson into consultation, Clavering, without hesition, positively refused to interfere, assigning as his reasons "that it was a private transaction of Nuncomar's own, that it had no relation whatever to the public concerns of the country, which alone he, the general, was sent out to transact, and that he would not make any application in favour of a man who had been found guilty of forgery, nor,

* Fox and other members wished the House to take the punishment of the publishers into their own hands, as the mode of prosecution recommended by Mr. Grenville tended to bring the privileges of the House before inferior courts; but the original motion was carried by a large majority.

indeed, did he think it would do any good." Colonel Monson agreed with the general, and therefore the matter was dropped. Farrer had been told that Nuncomar's son-in-law had afterwards presented a petition either to Impey in person, or had left it at his house, but he was not sure which, and he had only the word of an Hindu for the fact. He read a petition from the native inhabitants of Calcutta, Moorshedabad, and other places, but he believed that it had neither been signed nor presented—that it was not even approved of by the Hindus. He said he had been informed that some of these people had prepared another petition, according to their own ideas, and presented it to the chief justice, but he had never seen it, and in fact knew nothing about it of his own knowledge. Farrer, who had frequently visited Nuncomar in prison, declared that he had never complained of harsh treatment.* He made prominent the fact that more than seven weeks were allowed to elapse between the sentence and the execution of the prisoner. He admitted, however, that there had been no person capitally executed during all the time he was in India, save Nuncomar. Concerning the petition sent by Nuncomar to Clavering the day before the execution he knew nothing either directly or indirectly. When asked whether he apprehended that Nuncomar himself supposed forgery to be a capital offence, he questioned the propriety of his answering that question; and, upon the question being repeated, he said he could not answer it as he knew nothing about it. It is quite clear, as stated by Sir Elijah Impey, that Nuncomar must have been aware of the former trial and capital conviction for forgery; but, as in that case the convict was pardoned, the impression on the mind of the old rajah may have been vague and confused.

As there has been great unfairness in nearly every account extant of these proceedings; as far too large a share in them has been universally attributed to the chief justice; as the charges and specific allegations against Sir Elijah Impey have been given at full length, and his answers to them nearly everywhere suppressed or slurred over in the most careless and hurried manner, we have devoted much more space to the subject than we should otherwise have done. But we must now hasten to a close, trusting that the matter we have laid before the reader will enable him to form an impartial opinion, and apportion the blame—for blame there was, even though the conviction and execution were strictly according to the letter of the English law—among all the parties concerned. On the 20th of February Mr. Rouse, who had formerly presided in the Dewannee Adaulut, before which the civil cause was brought, and who was now a member of the House of Commons, was examined in his place. The committee also examined Mr. Samuel Tolfrey, who was under-sheriff of Calcutta at the time of the arrest, trial, and execution, and Mr. James Durnford, who had been clerk to Mr. Justice Lemaistre. Durnford said nothing to the point, pleading that deficiency of memory which is common to unwilling witnesses; but Tolfrey spoke out with fulness and apparent frankness, and his depositions tended to strengthen the case for Sir Elijah. When asked whether Francis had ceased all friendly intercourse with Impey after the condemnation of Nuncomar, he said that he certainly had not, but that he believed there was, for a time, a suspension of friendly visits between them on account of a civil suit against Francis in the supreme court, *i. e.* the crim. con. action brought by Le Grand against Francis. Tolfrey could speak with some confidence on the latter subject, as he was attorney to Francis in that cause. He declared that the verdict in that case was given contrary to the opinion of Sir Robert Chambers; that Justice Lemaistre was then dead; that Justice Hyde and the chief justice agreed in the judgment, the reasons for which Sir Elijah gave at full length, to the evident dissatisfaction of Francis, the defendant.

On the 26th of February Francis rose to defend himself against some but not all of the charges and imputations which had been brought against him. He strongly called the attention of the committee to the irregularity of the proceeding by which Sir Elijah had become possessed of the translation of Nuncomar's last petition, exultingly reminding them that that transaction had passed in the *secret department* of government, and thence deducing the inference that the information possessed by Sir Elijah Impey was a positive proof of collusion between him and Mr. Hastings, who had evidently betrayed his colleagues, and his trust to the chief justice! This was a thrust with a two-edged sword; but it was likely to injure Hastings much more than Impey. He entered into a long detail on the subject of his own conduct in proposing the suppression of the petition; declaring, upon his honour, as, he said, he was ready to do upon his oath, that the protection of Clavering, or his extrication from the awkward predicament in which they feared he had involved himself, was the principal motive with Colonel Monson and himself for getting the paper destroyed. "As Mr. Hastings," he added, "entirely agreed with us in everything we did relative to the paper, I never had a doubt that all the translations of it were destroyed, until Sir Elijah produced a copy of it at the bar of the House—a copy, of the authenticity of which you have no evidence, and which, admitting it to be authentic, must have been obtained by means the most unjustifiable; by means which prove, what we always suspected, that we were betrayed by one of our own board to Sir Elijah Impey, and by means which prove to demonstration the collusion and confederacy that subsisted from the first between Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Hastings." On the 29th Mr. Edward Baber, who had been clerk of the court which tried and convicted

* This witness also said emphatically: "I never heard, to the best of my recollection, *any complaint of the want of humanity in Sir Elijah Impey, or of any other of the judges.*"

Radachund Metre for forgery, was called in and examined. Baber had been absent at Moorshedabad at the time of the execution of Nuncomar, and could speak to the impression produced on the natives by the execution, and by the application of the English penal code to their delinquencies His evidence on these particulars bore more against acts and charters, and the barbarous spirit of our statutory enactments, than against the judges or any of those concerned in enforcing the laws. Major Rennell, the able surveyor-general, geographer, and writer, who had owed his promotion to his honourable and most useful office to the discrimination and patronage of Clive, was also examined. The major said that the execution of Nuncomar was a degree of punishment so novel and unexpected, that, pending his trial, and till his execution, nobody supposed he would be executed. Being asked whether they did not know that forgery was a crime? he said they certainly knew it was a crime, but never deemed a capital one; nor was it ever so punished in their courts.*

On the 28th of April, all the evidence being gone through, Sir Gilbert Elliot began his reply to the defence of Sir Elijah Impey. After a very long speech, in the course of which he read the letter from the sheriff describing the execution,† the committee was adjourned to the 7th of May. On the 7th Sir Gilbert resumed his reply, and finished it on the 9th, which was the next day of sitting. The defence of Sir Elijah was undertaken by Sir Richard Sutton, Mr. D. Pulteney, the attorney and solicitor general, and the chancellor of the exchequer, who was exceedingly severe, as he had been before, on the conduct and motives of Francis. Sir Gilbert Elliot's motion, importing that the first charge had been made good, was supported by Fox, Burke, and Colonel Fullarton; but, upon a division, it was lost by a majority of eightcen, the numbers being 73 against 55. On the 27th of May, the day appointed for the committee to sit again, upon the usual motion that the speaker do now leave the chair, the attorney-general opposed the motion, on the ground that the next article of charge, the Patna cause, was then depending before the privy council, and likely to come speedily to a hearing. After a short conversation, in which Pitt again expressed a strong conviction in favour of Sir Elijah, the motion was negatived, even without a division, and the further consideration of the charges was adjourned to that day, three months. And thus ended the whole prosecution of the late chief justice of Bengal. The Patna charge came to nothing before the privy council; nor was there ever any attempt made to press any of the other charges or to revive the impeachment in any way whatsoever. Some of those charges, as those relating to the acceptance of the office in the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, and the proceedings in Oude and Benares, though far from being of so heinous a character, might possibly have been more difficult to justify than the Nuncomar charge; but, as his accusers never gave Sir Elijah the opportunity of meeting them in the House of Commons or before any public tribunal, it is not safe or fair to say that he might not have been able to give many explanations of his conduct in taking the second well-paid place, and in collecting the evidence against the Begums in the manner he did. As his defence was certainly a triumphant one upon the only charge that was entered upon, the other charges which were let drop must at least be considered as "not proven;"—nay more, in ordinary reasoning, Sir Elijah is entitled to the benefit of the doubt that he might, if his prosecutors had persevered, have been enabled to *disprove* them, or extenuate what seems the worst part of them. There was, however, a tribunal to which the chief justice might have appealed, and to which, as far as we know, he never did appeal. We mean to the public at large, and by means of the press. It is true that this appeal was not a matter of obligation or necessity—it is true that the *onus probandi* lay with his accusers; but still, as the accusations were specified and were spread in all directions, in books, in pamphlets, in parliamentary reports and parliamentary histories, in annual registers, in newspapers, and magazines, it might have been expected that a man anxious for his fair fame, and being both an able lawyer and an accomplished writer, would at some moment have taken up the pen to undo the evil impressions which were made, and which have lasted more than half a century.

Meanwhile the impeachment of Hastings, in which that of Impey was a mere episode or interlude, had been carried on with all possible activity. A few days before the Christmas holidays the Lords informed the Commons that Warren Hastings, esquire, had delivered in answers to the articles of impeachment, a copy of which answers they sent them for the use of the Lower House. On the 5th of December (1787), after the answers were read short, Burke moved that they should be referred to a committee. This was agreed to. The speaker then desired him to name his committee; upon which, after he had himself been named as the first member by Mr. Pitt, he instantly named Francis as the second. But, when the question was put, this motion was negatived by a majority of more than four to one, the numbers being 97 noes against 23 ayes. Burke hereupon declared that he scarcely knew how to proceed without the valuable assistance of Francis, and that he felt the cause to be in some degree damned by this act of the House. So fully was he convinced of the great utility of the assistance of his honourable friend, that he should feel himself, who knew the subject as well as most men, so exceedingly crippled and

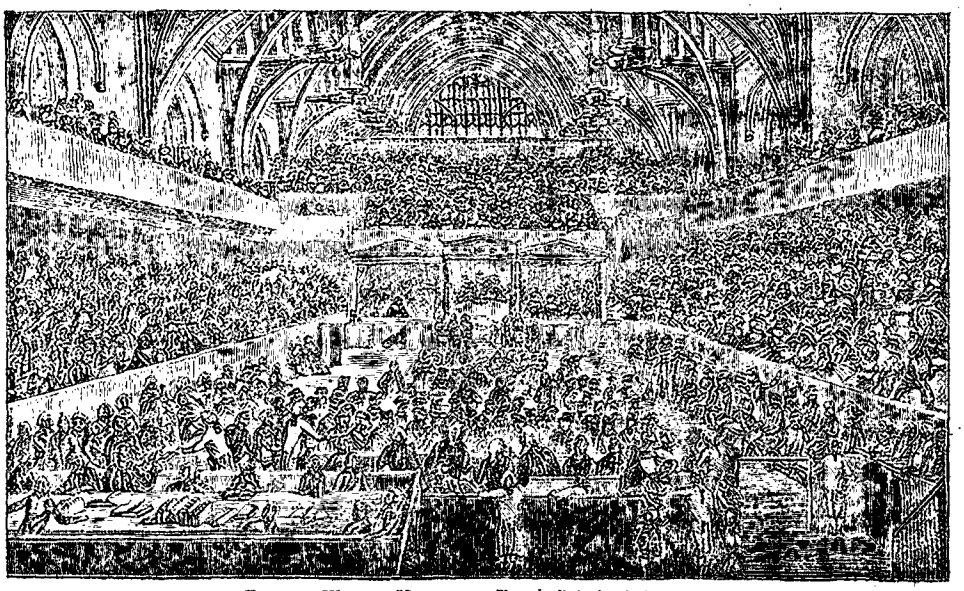
* "And being asked whether the opinion of the people at Dacca, that Mar Rajah Nuncomar would not be executed, arose from an idea that it would be impossible to obtain justice against a person of his rank and power? said, that amongst the lower sort of people he believed it did; but the better sort imagined that it was meant to terrify others from committing forgery by proceeding to sentence. He had long ceased to be a man of power."

† See ante, p. 137. It should be mentioned that the sheriff who superintended the execution and wrote the famous letter was Mr. Macrabie, the brother-in-law of Francis.

enfeebled without the advantage of his honourable friend's superior information, that, when the day for naming the next committee should come, he would again appeal to the sense of the House, and try to have his honourable friend reinstated. Meanwhile he proceeded to nominate the rest of the committee, which consisted of the same persons as the preceding one, with the omission of Francis and the addition of Wilbraham, Fitzpatrick, and Courtenay, and which was armed with the usual powers. Fox said that they were rejecting from the committee the man the most proper to be upon it; but, as the gentlemen on the ministerial benches had thus created a vacancy, he thought it but proper that they should fill it up with some person well acquainted with India affairs; and he archly suggested that the leading member of the India Board (Dundas) would be the proper man. Neither Dundas nor any of his friends condescended to notice Fox's suggestion. Two days after this Burke brought up from the committee a replication to the answers of Hastings, in which the Commons, in the usual form, averred their charges against the said Warren Hastings to be true, and declared their readiness to prove the same against him, at such convenient time and place as should be appointed for that purpose. On the next day of sitting this replication was ordered to be carried by Mr. Burke up to the Lords, who appointed Wednesday, the 13th of February (1788), for proceeding upon the trial in Westminster-Hall. It then became necessary to appoint a new committee of managers; and, after it had been agreed to, on the motion of Burke, that the committee to whom it was referred to consider the answer of Warren Hastings should be the said managers, Fox rose and moved that Philip Francis, esq., should be added to the committee. He earnestly implored the House to reconsider their former vote. He said the Commons, or their committee, were not now acting as the judges of Mr. Hastings; they were not even sitting in the character of a grand jury to decide whether or not a bill of indictment should be found against him; they were now become his prosecutors. Whatever objection might be urged to Mr. Francis as the judge of Mr. Hastings, there could be no objection to his appearing as his accuser. Fox again eulogised Francis as a man of immaculate virtue, and used many arguments to prove his peculiar fitness for a place in the committee. He was followed by Wyndham, who chimed in with the panegyric and insisted that no reasonable ground could be laid for the rejection of Francis. Pitt, who was not generally supposed to have much feeling of any kind, though he doubtless had more than his cold stiff manners betrayed, contended that this was not a question of argument, but a question of feeling. He thought that it was delicate and proper for the House to take from the impeachment every appearance of improper motives, and to exclude from the committee the only person in the House that had been concerned in a personal combat with Mr. Hastings. He said that it was impossible that the prosecution could be injured through the absence of Francis, who had already given all the materials he could furnish, and would be always at hand not merely to be consulted but also to be examined at the bar. Grenville took the same view of the case, and supported it with nearly the same arguments. Francis rose to declare that, though he had quarrelled with Hastings for six long years, and had fought him, and been wounded by him almost mortally, the quarrelling and the fighting had all arisen out of public matters, and that therefore he was not to be considered as the private personal enemy of Hastings. He made rather a long speech, and immediately left the House, who decided that he should not be of the committee by 122 voices against 60. A few days after this vote a letter was addressed to Francis by the managers of the impeachment, in which, after declaring their opinion that they would show very little regard to their honour, to their duty, or to the effectual execution of their trust, if they omitted any means left in their power to obtain the most beneficial use of the knowledge possessed by a person whose conduct and character appeared to them in all respects to merit the highest commendation, they concluded by saying—"We have expressed sentiments in which we are unanimous, and which, with pride and pleasure, we attest under all our signatures, entreating you to favour us as frequently as you can with your attendance in the committee; and you shall have due notice of the days on which your advice and instructions may be more particularly necessary." We believe, nevertheless, we may say that the common feeling of mankind since has gone along with the vote of the House; and that Francis has been generally thought to have shown quite as much moral obtuseness as intellectual acuteness in his conduct on this occasion. "His local knowledge and his habits of business," says a recent writer, "were of invaluable service to the managers: he exerted his whole energies in a cause so near his heart from every principle and from all personal feelings; nor could he ever be taught to understand why the circumstance of his being the private enemy of the man, as well as the public adversary of the governor, should be deemed an obstacle to his taking this part. The motives of delicacy, which so many thought that he ought to have felt on this subject, were wholly beyond his conception: for he argued that the more he disliked Mr. Hastings, the wider his grounds of quarrel with him were, the more natural was it that he should be his assailant; and the reason for the House of Commons excluding him by their vote from a place among the managers surpassed his powers of comprehension. Had the question been of making him a judge in the cause, or of appointing him to assist in the defence, he could well have understood how he should be deemed disqualified; but that a prosecutor should be thought the less fit for the office when he was the more likely strenuously to discharge its duties of bringing the accused to justice and exacting pu-

nishment for his offences, because he hated him on private as well as public grounds, was a thing to him inconceivable. It never once occurred to him that an impeachment by the Commons is like the proceedings of an inquest; that the managers represent the grand jury acting for the nation, and actuated only by the love of strict justice; and that to choose for their organ one who was also known to be actuated by individual passions would have been as indecorous as for the prosecutor in a common indictment to sit upon the grand jury, and accompany the foreman in presenting his bill to the court."*

In the mean time the magnificent old hall, which the second of our Norman kings had built for very different purposes, was prepared and decorated as a grand court of justice. Benches, stages, and boxes were erected, and the grey walls were hung with scarlet. On the appointed day (the 13th of February), at eleven o'clock in the morning, all the magnates of the land began to crowd within those walls. Her majesty and her daugh-



TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS. From a Painting by Dayes.

ters, with the princesses Elizabeth, Augusta, and Mary, took their places in the Duke of Newcastle's gallery before the peers arrived. Near one hundred and seventy lords, robed in gold and ermine, and marshalled by the heralds under Garter King at Arms, walked in solemn procession from their own House to Westminster Hall, the junior baron present, Lord Heathfield (the excellent old Eliot, who had defended Gibraltar), leading the way, and the procession being closed by the Duke of Norfolk (Earl Marshal of England), by the great dignitaries, by the brothers and sons of the king, and last of all by the Prince of Wales. Above two hundred of the Commons followed their speaker into the hall; but, as very few of them, except Charles Fox, Burke, and the rest of the managers, were in full dress, and as some of them were in boots, those who had critical eyes in these matters complained that they made but a shabby appearance. The managers were attended by the counsel for the impeachment, Drs. Scott and Lawrence, and Messrs. Mansfield, Pigot, Burke, and Douglas. The seats for the Commons were covered with green cloth; the rest of the vast room being all "one red." The twelve judges, in their dresses of state, attended to give advice on points of law. Galleries were set apart for the accommodation of ambassadors and envoys, for distinguished foreigners, and for distinguished Englishmen who had reached fame and fortune by different paths. Gibbon, the historian of the Roman Empire, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Dr. Parr, Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Mackintosh, with other men of note, were present in that imposing scene. And there were other ladies besides the queen and her daughters. The Duchess of Gloucester, the niece of Horace Walpole, and once the wife of the honest Earl Waldegrave, was there with her young son (the late Duke of Gloucester); Mrs. Fitzherbert was there, with royal accommodations, and looking queen-like; her friend and champion, Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, was there with a crowd of beauties about her; and Sheridan's musical and beautiful wife was conspicuous among them all. Mrs. Siddons also was there, looking, even as a spectatress, the queen of tragedy. When all were seated the sergeant-at-arms made proclamation, commanding silence, and called upon Warren Hastings, esquire, to come into court. Hastings

* Character of Sir Philip Francis, in Lord Brougham's Historical Sketches of Statesmen.

advanced, accompanied by Sulivan and Sumner, his two bail, and, kneeling at the bar in the box assigned to him, he was ordered to rise. Precedents had been diligently studied; none of the old forms were omitted, and they all made a deep impression. After a pause the sergeant-at-arms made proclamation again, that, whereas charges of high crimes and misdemeanors had been exhibited by the honourable the House of Commons, in the name of themselves and of all the Commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, esquire, all persons concerned were to take notice that he now stood upon his trial, and that they might come forth and make good the said charges. And when this was done Lord Chancellor Thurlow, with a form and face well adapted to represent the inflexible severity of the laws, then rolled out in his sonorous manner:—"Warren Hastings, you stand at the bar of this court charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, a copy of which has been delivered to you; you have been allowed counsel, and a long time has been given to you for your defence; but this is not to be considered as a particular indulgence to you, as it arose from the necessity of the case, the crimes with which you are charged being stated to have been committed in a distant place. These charges contain the most weighty allegations, and they come from the highest authority: this circumstance, however, though it carries with it the most serious importance, is not to prevent you from making your defence in a firm and collected manner, in the confidence that, as a British subject, you are entitled to, and will receive, full justice from a British court." Hastings replied, both firmly and briefly, that he came to that high tribunal equally impressed with a confidence in his own integrity and in the justice of the court before which he stood. The clerks of the court then proceeded to read the charges and the answers, which they did as long as they had daylight; but about a quarter-past five, when they had only got to the end of the seventh charge and answer, the lord chancellor moved that the lords should adjourn to their own chamber of parliament, and their lordships accordingly withdrew in the order in which they had come, and the assembly broke up. The next day the reading of the charges and answers was continued; and on the next, the third day of the trial, Burke rose to deliver, or to begin, his opening speech, which occupied four days —the 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th of February. Although the length of it must have wearied some people almost to death, and although a very considerable portion of it must have been above the capacity of most of that brilliant audience, there were parts and passages that charmed and excited, and terrified and filled with indignation, and produced all the effects attributed to the most successful and triumphant oratory of ancient times. Mrs. Siddons is said to have been as much affected as she affected others by her wonderful acting on the stage. Ladies fainted in the galleries, and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in convulsions: sobs and tears, which are said not all to have proceeded from the gentler sex, were heard and seen in nearly every part of the hall; even Thurlow seemed at moments to be affected. The orator had not reflected on the amplification and exaggeration common to all Oriental people, who neither see with our eyes nor describe with our tongues; who look at everything as if through a magnifying lens, and who heighten in describing by one sense what they have falsely seen with another. This is the case even when they are subjected to no extraordinary excitement, or are agitated by no violent passion: every one that knows anything of the East must be aware of this unvarying spirit of exaggeration in all moods and humours and in the most trite and self-evident matters; but only let the more violent passions, the hatred and the revenge of these Easterns be inflamed, and there is no calculable limit to the range this spirit will take. Some of the Indian ryots had been harshly, and perhaps in some instances barbarously, treated by other natives employed in collecting the revenue. These ryots had afterwards been encouraged by the agents of Francis and Clavering to raise complaints, and their tongues, being once loosened, were sure not to stop so long as they left a monstrosity unmentioned. Francis, who had not been, while in India, scrupulous enough to authenticate or examine these horrible tales, told them all to Burke as if upon undoubted authority; and the orator introduced the essence of them all in his four days' speech, building up a climax of abomination, horror, and guilt out of materials which in good part were only proper for a ghastly Eastern tale of ghouls, and ghins, and other monsters. And these were the things which terrified and made to faint the ladies in the galleries. These appeals to the feelings and passions of the auditory were much too frequent; but there was other matter in this grand oration, or series of orations, that was free from the faults of exaggeration, and that was soberly sublime—there was matter showing a wonderful range of knowledge, a high statesmanlike philosophy, and a beautiful spirit of philanthropy and love. He astonished even those who best knew him and the subject by the vast extent and minuteness of his information, the variety of his resources, and the lucid order in which he arranged the whole for the support of his object. The sober and the best parts of the oration were not, however, those which were the most admired by hearers who went there to have their feelings excited and not their judgment convinced. In the most terrible passages Burke's own excitement was as great as any that he produced in others. In detailing the cruelties of Debi Sing, on the third day, he became almost convulsed himself; he dropped his head upon his hands, and, for some moments, was unable to proceed: he recovered sufficiently to go on a little further, but, being obliged to cease speaking twice at short intervals, the Prince of Wales, to relieve him, moved the adjournment of the

court. "For half an hour," said Hastings, "I looked up at the orator in a reverie of wonder; and, during that space, I actually felt myself the most culpable man on earth; but I recurred to my own bosom, and there found a consciousness that consoled me under all I heard and all I suffered." In pronouncing his peroration, on the fourth day, Burke raised his voice to such a pitch as seemed to shake the walls and roof of the antique hall. "Therefore," said he, "it is with confidence that, ordered by the Commons,

"I impeach Warren Hastings, esquire, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

"I impeach him in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed.

"I impeach him in the name of all the Commons of Great Britain, whose national character he has dishonoured.

"I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights, and liberties he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate.

"I impeach him in the name and by virtue of those eternal laws of justice which he has violated.

"I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppressed, in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life.

"And I conjure this high and sacred Court to let not these pleadings be heard in vain!"

As soon as the agitation had somewhat subsided Fox rose to address their lordships respecting the course of proceeding to be followed on the trial: he said it was the wish of the committee to proceed to a conclusion, on both sides, upon each article separately, before they opened another article; that is, to open and adduce evidence to substantiate one charge at a time, to hear the prisoner's defence and evidence upon that charge, and afterwards to reply; and to proceed in the same manner with the rest of the articles, one after the other. This was the course adopted in the House of Commons with regard to the charges against Sir Elijah Impey, and it was adopted at Sir Elijah's own request. But Hastings and his legal advisers preferred the opposite course; and, when the lord chancellor called upon Hastings's council to know whether the mode proposed by Fox would be agreeable to them, they answered in the negative. The chancellor then intimated to the committee that their lordships would be glad to know the reasons which induced the managers to call upon the court to adopt that mode. Fox immediately stated that, in a cause of such magnitude and complexity, the mode proposed appeared absolutely necessary, and was calculated to prevent confusion, to aid their lordships' memory, and to enable them to form a more distinct view of the merits of the charge and defence upon each separate article than could possibly be done by running over all the articles before concluding upon any. He mentioned the cases of the Earls of Strafford and Middleton as precedents. He urged that, if the mode adopted for the defence should be the ordinary mode of procedure among lawyers, their lordships must be called upon to decide upon evidence after they had forgotten the greater part of it; and that such a mass of matter would be offered all at once to their minds as must confound them. The chancellor next called upon Hastings's counsel—three barristers of note—Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough and chief justice of the King's Bench; Dallas, afterwards chief justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer, afterwards vice-chancellor and master of the rolls. These learned gentlemen argued that the mode proposed by Fox was contrary to the practice of all courts of justice, and was inconsistent with all principles of equity, as it subjected the defendant to many obvious and most manifest disadvantages. As for the precedents quoted by Fox, they maintained that in both cases the mode of proceeding was regulated by mutual consent of the parties. Law took this early opportunity of condemning the violent language which Burke had used against Hastings. "The defendant," said he, "has been loaded with terms of such calumny and reproach as since the days of Sir Walter Raleigh were never used at the bar of this House." Fox, interrupting him, said, that, vested with a great trust by the House of Commons, he could not sit still and hear such language applied to an accusation which that House, in the prosecution of high crimes, had carried to the bar of the competent court. The Lords then retired to their own House, and an order was made that they should be summoned to take the matter of the proceedings into their consideration on the Thursday following. On that day Thurlow left the woolsack, and, after pronouncing an eulogium on Burke's great speech in the hall,* declared that, if the crimes charged upon the defendant could be proved, no punishment their lordships could inflict would be adequate to his guilt. But he then decidedly took the part of Hastings and his counsel, saying that what they claimed was no indulgence, but a right; that his imagination could not conceive any other possible mode of defending Mr. Hastings than that which his counsel had proposed; that the articles were so intimately blended and mixed up with one another, that he would defy any man living to separate them; that they comprised the whole of Mr. Hastings's government for a long series of years, and that the merits or demerits of particular parts might depend upon the various relations they bore to each other, and upon the construction put upon the great whole. That other great law lord, Loughborough, who always called black what Thurlow called white, took the side of Fox and the ma-

* "Their lordships," said Thurlow, "all know the effect of that speech upon the auditors, many of whom had not to that moment, and perhaps never would, recover from the shock it had occasioned." The chill atmosphere of the immense old hall, at any rate, proved fatal to many of those who attended. Among others, poor Gainsborough caught a cold at the trial, which aggravated other disorders, and carried him to his grave.

nagers, and spoke at great length to show that the mode of procedure they proposed was the best, and that the high court of parliament was not to be shackled by the rules of the courts below. He then moved that their lordships should agree with the proposition as stated by the managers. Lord Stormont and Lord Grantley replied to Loughborough; the Duke of Norfolk endeavoured to support his arguments; but upon a division the motion was negatived by 88 against 33. When the court met again in the hall, the lord chancellor informed the managers that they must produce the whole of their charges, with the evidence upon each, before the prisoner should be called upon for his defence. After some complaints against this decision, Fox, in a speech which lasted five hours, opened the Benares charge, down to the expulsion of Cheyte Sing; and Mr. Grey followed up and completed the charge on the succeeding day. Several days were then spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses, there being various long disputes as to what evidence ought to be received and what rejected. Anstruther then summed up the evidence admitted, and commented on it as establishing the charge. The court did not meet again till the 15th of April, which was the fourteenth day of the trial. Then Mr. Adam opened the next charge, relating to the Begums of Oude; and on the 15th Mr. Pelham continued the same subject, endeavouring chiefly to refute the defence of that part of his conduct which had been put in by Hastings. The sixteen following days were consumed in reading and examining evidence; and it was not until Tuesday, the 3rd of June, that Sheridan began to sum up the evidence, and apply it in proof of the charge. This was another of the grand displays of Sheridan; but it seems to be generally admitted that his speech was far inferior to the one he had delivered on the same subject in the House of Commons. Yet he had evidently spoiled it in labouring to make it grander and finer. His performance, however, attracted a fuller audience than had yet assembled in the hall: it lasted three days, and the court was crowded to suffocation the whole of that time. It is said that as much as fifty guineas were paid for a single seat. Of the fragments that remain of the speech there are few that convey any notion of the fascination which it certainly exercised over those who heard it from Sheridan's own lips. One passage has often been quoted, not as a specimen of eloquence, but as containing a prompt and happy compliment to the great living historian who was among the auditors and spectators. After describing the treaty of Chunar, and the obligation put by Hastings upon the Nabob of Oude to plunder and offer violence to his own mother and grandmother, Sheridan added—"I do say, that, if you search the history of the world, you will not find an act of tyranny and fraud to surpass this; if you read all past histories, peruse the Annals of Tacitus, read the luminous page of Gibbon, and all the ancient or modern writers that have searched into the depravity of former ages to draw a lesson for the present, you will not find an act of treacherous, deliberate, cool cruelty that would exceed this."* The peroration, as preserved to us in print, is a sonorous roll of words, with a meaning not above commonplace; and it was ended by a downright stage trick. After describing the beauty, the loveliness, and the majesty of British justice, he said—"It is by the majesty, by the form of that justice, that I do conjure and implore your lordships to give your minds to this great business; that I exhort you to look, not so much to words, which may be denied or quibbled away, but to the plain facts—to weigh and consider the testimony in your own minds: we know the result must be inevitable. Let the truth appear, and our cause is gained. It is this, I conjure your lordships, for your own honour, for the honour of the nation, for the honour of human nature, now intrusted to your care—it is this duty that the Commons of England, speaking through us, claim at your hands. They exhort you to it by everything that calls sublimely upon the heart of man, by the majesty of that justice which this bold man has libelled, by the wide fame of your own tribunal, by the sacred pledge by which you swear in the solemn hour of decision, knowing that that decision will then bring you the highest reward that ever blessed the heart of man—the consciousness of having done the greatest act of mercy for the world that the earth has ever yet received from any hand but heaven. My lords, I have done." And, having so said, Sheridan fell back, as if fainting, into the arms of Burke.

The prorogation of parliament was now at hand, and no more work was done in the hall. Of twenty charges only two had been heard, and these remained to be answered in form by Hastings and his counsel. In the meanwhile Mr. Burgess had moved in the House of Commons, "That an account of the money issued from the exchequer for the discharge of the expenses incurred in the impeachment should be laid before the House." The managers made some objection to the motion, which they said they considered merely as an attempt by the friends of Mr. Hastings to vex and impede the committee in the prosecution. The motion, however, was carried, and the account of the expenses was laid upon the table. Exclusive of the buildings or erections in Westminster Hall, they amounted to 4300*l.* The trial had already cost Hastings a much larger sum. Burgess again rose to observe that the account submitted to the House was incomplete, and did not convey all the information wanted. He demanded to know how the money issued had been expended, and he moved that the solicitors to the impeachment should lay a particular account of the expenditure before the House. This motion was supported by Pitt, who

* When asked by some thick-headed Whig how he could call such a thorough Tory as Gibbon a luminous historian, "I said *voluminous*," replied Sheridan.

was violently assailed thereupon by the managers. They accused him of seeking to obstruct and render unpopular measures in which he had himself concurred. The motion, however, was agreed to without a division, and the solicitors' accounts were produced the very next day by Burke. As reports had got abroad that many men were making a most profitable job of the impeachment, and that enormous fees were given to the counsel for the prosecution, and as no notice was taken of the solicitors' accounts after they had been produced, the managers, a few nights afterwards, called upon Mr. Burgess to proceed with that inquiry. Burgess then declared that the accounts were still vague and unsatisfactory, and that he should therefore move "that the solicitors should give in an account stating specifically to whom and on what account the several sums had been paid." The motion was seconded by Sir William Dolben. The managers declared that, as far as regarded themselves, they had nothing to object, but that there were forcible and obvious objections to the present motion. The House, they said, had solemnly determined that Mr. Hastings should be impeached; they had appointed a committee of managers and armed them with a variety of powers, including that of acting as a *secret committee;* and could the House now demand a public account and disclosure of all the private grounds of their conduct? They asserted that such a measure was unprecedented, and had never been attempted nor dreamed of in any great prosecution; that the charges already incurred in employing counsel were remarkably moderate, the fees paid being in fact shamefully inadequate to the services performed; and that no unnecessary expense whatever had been incurred. They said if more money had been spent more good might have been done: *secret services*, for example, might have been procured by means of money, and they thought secret services very necessary in such a case;—an argument, we think, of very dangerous tendency; for, if a bountiful market for secret services had been opened, it would almost inevitably have become a market for false witnesses. Sheridan said, no doubt the House might order that no counsel should be allowed the managers; but if they came to that determination he should move that the attorney and solicitor-general, together with the master of the rolls, should be added to the committee of managers: or, if the House thought proper, they might resolve that the managers should pay all the lawyers' fees out of their own pockets; but in that case he hoped the House would have the goodness to add to the committee Sir Sampson Gideon* and his money-bags. Pitt again supported Burgess, declaring that he thought it necessary that the House should know how the money was spent, and have the power of checking the expenditure if they found it in any case excessive or unnecessary. The managers withdrew before the division; and Burgess's motion was carried by 60 against only 13. The solicitors' accounts were laid upon the table, but several days passed without any notice being taken of them. When called upon by the managers to give his opinion of these lawyers' bills, Burgess said that he had done his duty, and that the papers were now before the House, who might judge for themselves: he hinted, however, that there were still doubts upon his mind as to the accounts. The managers called upon him afresh, insisting that he should either act upon his doubts, or get some other gentleman to state his doubts for him—that the matter, after what had passed, could not be let drop without further investigation. Thus pulled from his seat, Burgess gave notice of a motion on the subject; and a few days after he moved that the solicitors should continue to present from time to time an account of the expenses incurred in the impeachment. In his speech his doubts came out. He doubted whether the House had really authorised the managers to employ counsel; he doubted whether there was any precedent for their employing counsel; and he doubted whether there was any peculiar difficulty in the present prosecution that rendered the assistance of counsel necessary. The managers said in reply that, if no precedent could be found for employing counsel, it should be remembered that the present was a remarkable case, in which the managers were left without the advice and assistance of the great law-officers; and that, though they had great confidence in the legal knowledge of several of their own committee—several, in fact, were regular-trained lawyers—they did not choose, in a cause of such magnitude, for the proper management of which they were responsible, to proceed without the sanction of learned persons in actual practice. Pitt doubted whether there was any absolute necessity for their employing, besides ordinary counsel, *two* civilians. To this they answered that the services of both those doctors were indispensable in such a cause, and that one of them (Dr. Lawrence) was eminently useful from his deep and perfect knowledge of the subject. As Mr. Burgess doubted whether there were not some errors in the accounts, the managers proposed that the solicitors should be called in and examined; but the previous question was carried against this proposition, and so the discussion ended. It will not perhaps be very uncharitable to draw two inferences—1. That the discussions were really brought on, not out of any regard to the public purse, but in order to benefit Hastings, by encouraging doubts and insinuations against his prosecutors, who counted in their number at least two men who enjoyed very indifferent reputations in money matters. 2. That the discussions tended materially to keep down the growth of the law expenses by drawing public attention in that direction, and by establishing the rule that the solicitors should present their accounts from time to time drawn up in a clear and specific manner.

On the 11th of July the king in person pro-

* Member for Coventry; soon after made an Irish peer by the title of Baron Eardley.

rogued parliament. The speech from the throne mentioned that the Emperor of Germany had joined the Empress of Russia in the war against the Sultan; and also that his majesty had entered into treaties with his good brother the King of Prussia and with the States General of the United Provinces, which he hoped would be productive of the happiest consequences.

George III. (His usual appearance at this period.) From a Sketch by Gear.

The king appeared to be in his usual robust state of health; but some weeks after the prorogation it was rumoured that he was unwell, and that he had gone to Cheltenham by the advice of his physicians. At that pleasant sojourn his majesty was seen much abroad; but in the autumn, when he returned to Kew, he almost disappeared entirely from the public eye, and mysterious whispers got into circulation abroad that his mind was deranged. The belief was confirmed by his not holding the usual drawing-rooms at St. James's. As if to remove the impression, a drawing-room was held on the 24th of October; but the king's manner and conversation only confirmed the suspicion in those who approached him. When the court broke up Pitt attended him in the closet. It is said that the minister clearly perceived the unhappy condition of the sovereign, and was deeply affected by it: but if this were the case Pitt certainly took no notice of it at the time; and the next day the king was allowed to leave London for Windsor as if he were sane and well. Great pains were taken, and had evidently been taken for some time previously, by the queen and the household to conceal the dreadful malady; but the secret could not be kept long, and the sufferer himself had a fearful glimpse of the worse which was to follow. On the 5th of November he mounted his horse and rode wildly about the forest and the country round Windsor for five hours, and, meeting his second son, the Duke of York, who had recently returned from Germany, he burst into tears and said, "He hoped he should die, for he was going to be mad!"* That night the king was in a maniac state, and the madness was accompanied by a bilious fever, from which, for several days, his life was despaired of as well as his reason. The Prince of Wales joined his brother the Duke of York at Windsor, and Pitt, as prime minister, and Thurlow, as chancellor, made journeys thither to devise what should be done in case the sovereign should recover from the fever but not from the madness. It is said that Pitt paid assiduous court to the queen, assuring her of a proper share of authority in case it should be necessary to appoint a regency; and that Thurlow, as soon as he conceived the king's malady to be incurable, paid the same sort of court, but more secretly, to the Prince of Wales. There had never been much harmony between the chancellor and the premier,† and the disgrace of abandoning and betraying his official colleagues was a trifle in the eyes of Thurlow if thereby he should be enabled to preserve his post under the regency and keep the great seal from the eager clutch of his rival, Lord Loughborough, who was now putting himself forward as the chief adviser of the prince. Fox was absent on the continent, but his return was daily expected and most anxiously looked for by the Whig party. As parliament stood prorogued for the 20th of November, and as there was now no voice competent to prorogue it again to a more distant day, it was resolved to assemble a full cabinet council at Windsor to consider of the measures which might be required in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The council met, and Thurlow, who by possessing the great seal had in a manner all the sovereignty that was left in the land, took a part in the deliberations without revealing his plans or intentions. The physicians were examined, and their report convinced Thurlow that the king would never again be capable of holding the reins of government. When the anxious consultation was ended and the council broke up, Lord Camden asked the chancellor if he would

* Letter to Sheridan from Captain Payne, in Moore's Life of Sheridan.

† "Their tempers were indeed ill suited to co-operate for a length of time, though necessity and ambition had united them against Fox. Thurlow was sullen, and often intractable; Pitt, imperious, inflexible, and dictatorial. Many causes had combined to widen the breach. The chancellor highly disapproved of Hastings's impeachment, in which Pitt had concurred. His ill-humour was augmented by the obligation officially imposed on him of presiding in Westminster Hall during an interminable trial; compelled to listen for successive hours to Burke's and Fox's invectives, or to Sheridan's heart-rending descriptions of exaggerated, if not imaginary, acts of tyranny; while Thurlow seemed ready to exclaim,

'Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam,
Vexatus toties?' "

—*Sir N. W. Wraxall's Posthumous Memoirs.* But Thurlow, who, with all his roughness, was one of the greatest dissemblers that ever lived, would certainly have continued to act as Pitt's steady friend, but for his convictions that the king would not recover, and that Fox would be prime minister under the Prince of Wales.

accompany him back to town. Thurlow excused himself, saying he had a friend at Windsor to whom he wished to pay a visit. Lord Camden's suspicions were excited, and he contrived to learn that Thurlow's friend at Windsor was no other than the Prince of Wales, to whom he no doubt communicated all that had passed in the council. During the sharp political contest which followed Thurlow was discovered to have been several times closeted with Sheridan, and once, at least, in the house of Mrs. Fitzherbert.* The wily chancellor, however, was cautious in committing himself, and his mysterious visits could have been known but to very few.

On the 20th of November the two Houses of Parliament assembled pursuant to the prorogation; but, as there was no authority for opening the session, the Lords and the Commons remained in their respective chambers. In the Upper House the lord chancellor notified the cause—the malady of the king—of parliament being allowed to assemble without the usual forty days' notice and summons to meet for the dispatch of business; and then Earl Camden, the lord president of the council, after stating that he had found no instance in which either House of Parliament had proceeded to business until the session had been opened in the usual form, moved that the House should adjourn to the 4th of December. Pitt made the same announcement in the Lower House, and both Houses adjourned for a fortnight. Days, and nights too, were spent in deliberation and in active intrigue; and the varying opinions of the physicians gave rise to great perplexity and indecision in the minds of calculating politicians. Fox, though he travelled homeward with extraordinary speed, did not arrive until the end of November. On the 3rd of December a general meeting of the privy council was held at Whitehall, when the physicians who were attending the king were called in and examined. The first question put to the physicians was, whether his majesty was incapable of meeting his parliament, and of attending to any kind of public business? They answered, "Certainly he was incapable." The second question was, what was their opinion of the duration of the malady, and the probability of a cure? They replied, "There was a great probability of his recovery, but it was impossible to limit the time." The third question put by the privy council was, whether they gave this opinion from the particular symptoms of his majesty's disorder, or from their experience in complaints of a similar nature? Their general answer was, "It was from experience, and from having observed that the majority of those afflicted with the same disease had recovered." On the following day, the 4th, parliament reassembled, and both Houses were full, for ministers had issued circulars to their friends, and the heads of opposition had done the same; and without any of these summonses there would have been a full attendance. Men of all parties had hurried up to town on learning the nature of the king's disorder; and from the middle of November London had been crowded and excited to an unusual degree. In the Peers Lord Camden announced that the continuance of the king's illness rendered him incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby suspended. His lordship then declared it to be his opinion that, in this dismembered state of the legislature, the right devolved on the two Houses of Parliament to make such provision for supplying the defect as should be adequate to the necessity of the case; but that it was necessary, before any step could be taken in so delicate a business, that the deficiency should be fully ascertained. With this view his lordship moved that the minutes of the privy council taken in examining the physicians should be read, and that, that being done, they should be taken into consideration on Monday the 8th of December. In the Commons precisely the same course was pursued by Pitt, who now saw his rival, Fox, seated in his usual place on the opposition benches, but presenting an appearance that was anything rather than joyous or exultant. From the fatigue he had undergone in his rapid journey, and from other causes wherein the mind was probably more concerned than the body, Fox looked dispirited, haggard, and worn. He did not rise at once with alacrity and vigour, as was his habit whenever Pitt had to be met on a vital question, but sat still and silent, and allowed Mr. Vyner, a Lincolnshire Whig, to reply to the minister. Vyner expressed a doubt whether the House could proceed merely upon a report from the privy council, and whether they ought not rather to examine the physicians themselves at their own bar, or by means of a committee. Pitt rejoined that the greatest delicacy ought to be used in this case; and that the report of the physicians to the privy council was made upon oath, which the House of Commons had not the power to administer. Fox then rose and said, rather languidly, that he entertained the same doubts as Mr. Vyner; that he felt the propriety of proceeding with delicacy, but that, if delicacy and their duty should happen to clash, duty must not be sacrificed to delicacy. The speaker intimated his doubt whether in the present defective state of parliament he could issue writs for new elections to supply the places of some members who had died during the recess. It was determined that the speaker was competent to issue the writs; and then the House adjourned for four days. During that interval, from the private information Pitt received from *some* of the physicians, (for even the medical camp was divided into Whigs and Tories, or Foxites and Pittites,)*

* Memoranda dictated by Wilberforce, in Appendix to his Life by his Sons.

* "As men are naturally led to take the direction of their wishes, the physicians who were friendly to the opposition confidently predicted that there was no hope of the king's recovery. Dr. Warren, especially, was the chief authority on this side; and his and the prince's adherents set themselves in direct opposition to the Willises, who with equal confidence predicted the king's recovery. The language on the one side was, that, if a regency should once be esta-

the premier was induced to believe that the examination suggested by Vyner would not injure but materially serve his cause, as it would make more apparent the probability there was that the king would recover, and that the regency, if appointed, would last but a short time. It was, in fact, only by establishing this opinion that Pitt could hope to prevent a very considerable defection among his adherents. Accordingly, as soon as the House met, on the 8th, Pitt rose and proposed that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine all the physicians who had attended the king during his illness. Fox was *not* present—it was said he was *too* ill to attend—but Burke, who appears to have been but little consulted by the prince or his party, adjured the House not to sacrifice any of their constitutional privileges at this crisis, and least of all the right to examine evidence at their own bar. Pitt's motion was carried without a division, and the committee of twenty-one was appointed, with himself as their chairman. On the same evening the Marquess of Stafford made a similar motion in the Upper House, and a committee of peers was appointed for the same purpose. All this time Thurlow, who might have been expected to do the work which Stafford and Camden had done, remained inactive and silent. His object still was to avoid committing himself with either party until he should be able more accurately to calculate the chances of the king's recovery; but his conduct excited suspicion and disgust. The unfortunate king was now removed from Windsor to Kew, and placed more immediately under the care of the Rev. Dr. Willis, who had quitted his clerical functions and devoted himself with surprising application and success to the cure of insanity. It is said by the right reverend biographer of the premier that there was great difficulty in getting the king into his carriage for the journey to Kew; but, that as soon as the physicians showed him a pretended note from Mr. Pitt, recommending the change of residence, his majesty went quietly to the coach. On the 10th of December Pitt, as chairman of the committee of the Commons, presented the report of their examination of the physicians, which was read and ordered to be printed. Drs. Richard Warren, Sir George Baker, Willis, Gisborne, Addington, Sir Lucas Pepys, and Reynolds coincided in opinion as to the probable recovery of their patient: Dr. Willis spoke the most hopefully, and as if convalescence had already begun. Pitt, whose evident object it was to spin out time without coming to any decision, now moved that another committee should be appointed to examine the journals of the House and report precedents of such proceedings as might have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same. Fox was again in his place, having recently attended a great consultation at Carlton House. He rose as soon as Pitt had finished speaking, and objected to the motion as nugatory and productive of unnecessary and improper delay. He said, the right honourable gentleman knew very well that no precedent was to be found in which, at the same time, there existed an heir-apparent to the crown of full age and capacity. He said he was fully convinced, upon consideration of the principles and practice of the constitution, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of his natural demise. He acknowledged, however, that the two Houses of Parliament were alone competent to decide the precise time when the Prince of Wales ought to take possession of his right. Pitt said to a friend sitting near him, "I'll unwhig that gentleman for the rest of his life!" And, then rising, the Tory premier, whose tenure of place depended on a different view of the case being adopted by parliament, poured forth a torrent of pure Whigism against the head and chief professor of that creed, whose advancement to power now depended upon the assertion of Tory principles, or the establishment of unshackled hereditary right in contradistinction to the popular will and the elective quality of the British crown. With an appearance of patriotic indignation, the chancellor of the exchequer declared Fox's doctrine to be little short of treason against the constitution. He insisted that the heir apparent had no more right, in the case alleged, to the exercise of the executive power than any other subject in the realm; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legislature, in behalf of the people, to make such provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think most proper for preserving unimpaired the interests of the sovereign and the safety and welfare of the nation. He added that, from the manner in which Fox had treated the subject, a new question arose—a question of their own rights—a doubt whether the House had on this important occasion any deliberative power. The motion he had made could not therefore be called nugatory, but was become absolutely necessary in order to ascertain and establish their own rights at this critical period. Fox rejoined, that, the sovereignty of these kingdoms being hereditary, and no parliament existing which could legally alter the succession, nothing but a case of imperious necessity, which at present did not exist, could justify the two Houses of Parliament in assuming to themselves the right of setting aside the heir-apparent from the regency, or imposing limitations and restrictions on his authority. Burke followed Fox, and declared, with bitter sarcasm,

blished, the king would never be suffered again to resume his authority; that of the other, that ministers were resolved at all hazards to restore him to his power, and the Willises were said to be the supporters of the plot."—*Wilberforce, Memoranda.*

that the doctrine of the chancellor of the exchequer would go to change the character of the sovereignty from hereditary into elective, and to convert parliament into a sort of Polish diet. He said that, since it was proposed to make him an elector on the regency, he hoped he should be excused if he gave his vote for a Prince of Wales whose amiable disposition was one of his many recommendations, in preference to a competitor, the prince opposite (Pitt), who was threatening the supporters of the Prince of Wales's right with the penalty of constructive treason! Here he was interrupted by long cries of order. He insisted he was not disorderly: the right honourable gentleman, he said, had asserted that the prince had no more right to the regency than any other subject whatever; and, if the House should be of the same opinion, who could tell how the election might go? Pitt complained that Burke had used indecent expressions; and he asked whether, when Somers asserted in the convention of 1688 that no person had a right to the crown without the consent of parliament and the people, it would have been thought decent for any member to have called Somers the competitor of William III. and Queen Mary? The minister's motion was carried without a division; and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to sit, with the usual powers, to look for precedents, which, in reality, did not exist. The day following, the president of the council (Camden) made the same motion in the Lords. He strongly condemned the doctrine which had been advanced by Fox; and he maintained, as Pitt had done, that the right and duty of naming the regent, and limiting his power, belonged exclusively to the Houses of Parliament, the two remaining branches of the legislature. Chancellor Thurlow was still mute; but his rival, Loughborough, boldly defended Fox's position and the prince's hereditary right to the regency, both as being analogous to the law of the land and the spirit of the constitution, and as steering clear of the embarrassments and dangers which must arise from the opposite course. He ridiculed the notion of having an hereditary succession to the sovereignty and an elective regency. He asked whether the two Houses would not, by acting on their right of election, be assuming the whole power of government to themselves, when they might elect such a regent as would be little more than a slave to his electors? He asked what would be the consequence if the Irish parliament, assuming the same right, should elect a different person to be regent in Ireland? He said it would scarcely be denied, that, if the present unfortunate emergency had happened during an intermission of parliament, the Prince of Wales would have been warranted in issuing writs and summoning the parliament to meet. At the same time he agreed that, under the present circumstances, the prince ought to wait the declaration of the king's incapacity by parliament, before he took upon himself the office of regent. Lords Stormont and Porchester supported Loughborough; Lord Stanhope took the opposite side; and then Thurlow, the veritable image of a chancellor in doubt, growled a few words, and no more, implying that Loughborough's doctrine was new to him. On the next day—the 12th of December—the report of the committee was brought up, and ordered to be printed, in the Commons; and Fox then rose to complain that his doctrine had been misrepresented by Lord Camden. Fox had previously declared—what certainly was only formally true, if true at all—that he had had no communications with the Prince of Wales on this delicate subject; and he now repeated that he spoke merely as an individual member, without authority from the prince. He said he had been made to assert that the prince had a right to *assume* the royal authority; but he believed that he had never used the word *assume;* and what he undoubtedly meant was, that the right was in the prince, but that the adjudication of the possession was in the two Houses of Parliament. If he had used the word *assume*, it was only in the carelessness of debate; and he certainly did not mean that the prince ought now to take the regency without the consent of parliament. He hoped the chancellor of the exchequer would inform the House what course he meant to pursue. For his own part, he should not hesitate to declare what, in his opinion, that course ought to be:—it ought to be a declaration or address from parliament to the prince, stating the fact of his majesty's present incapacity, and investing his royal highness, during such incapacity, with the full exercise of all the royal powers. Pitt stood up to accept the explanation of Fox, and to declare again that the Prince of Wales had no right whatever to the regency. Upon this point he said they were at issue; and the question must be decided before they could proceed one step farther. He urged that it was subversive of the principles of the constitution to admit that the prince might, under any circumstances, seat himself on the throne during the lifetime of his father; and that the insinuation of the existence of any such right presented a question of greater magnitude even than the present exigency; a question that involved the constitution, the liberties, and the safety of the state. When the rights and powers of parliament were ascertained, it would then become a question to whom, and what portion of it, the sovereign power should be delegated during his majesty's illness. He would say that, however decided he might be in his opinion that no part of the royal power ought to be vested in the Prince of Wales as a matter of *right*, he thought it was highly desirable that whatever part of the regal power it was necessary to have exercised during the unhappy interval should be vested in a single person, and that that person should be, on the ground of expediency, but not of right, the Prince of Wales. In conclusion, Pitt intimated very plainly that the limitations and restrictions of the powers of the regent ought, in his opinion, to be numerous and severe, so that the king's lawful

authority might be returned unimpaired into his hands as soon as his majesty should recover. By this time the Whigs were convinced that their claiming the regency as a matter of right had no chance of success in either House; and their scheme now was to fight off the question and avoid any formal decision on that doctrinal point. On the 15th of December Earl Fitzwilliam observed in the Lords that it was very inexpedient at such a crisis, and when all parties were agreed that by right or by vote the prince was to be regent, to go into discussions of abstract political questions. Lord Camden replied that, as the most essential rights of the two Houses of Parliament had been called in question, it was absolutely necessary that they should not be left in a doubtful and unsettled state. The Duke of York, who is said to have been gratified by the promise of being appointed commander-in-chief of the army under the regency and Whig ministry, rose and spoke at some length, beginning with the excuse which no young orator has been able to use, since the days of a great comedian, without exciting a laugh, that he was unaccustomed to public speaking. His royal highness said that he entirely agreed with Earl Fitzwilliam, and wished to avoid any discussion of the rights of the Prince of Wales—that one fact was plain, that no such claim of right had been made on the part of the prince—and that he was confident his brother understood too well the sacred principles which seated the House of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives and their lordships in parliament assembled. He hoped that the wisdom and moderation of all considerate men would induce them to avoid pressing a decision which was not necessary, and which must be most painful in the discussion to a family already too much agitated and afflicted. Such, said his royal highness, in conclusion, were the sentiments of an honest heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his father, and by attachment to the constitutional rights of the people; and he was confident that, if his royal brother were to address their lordships in his place as a peer of the realm, these were the very sentiments which he would distinctly avow. The Duke of York was followed by his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who spoke still more warmly upon the impropriety and indelicacy of discussing the question of right. For his part, he felt so strongly on the subject, that if the attempt was persisted in, and the question brought before that House, he could only say that he believed he should not dare to trust himself to come forward and speak his sentiments on the extraordinary conduct of those who were unnecessarily compelling a decision on so delicate a question. But these appeals from royal princes had no effect on ministers and their majorities, who were determined to persevere. Thurlow, still doubting about the possibility of the king's speedy recovery, and discouraged in his hope of making a good bargain with the prince and the Whigs, who were evidently committing themselves to the interpretation of the law propounded by Loughborough, deplored, wtih a laughable attempt at pathos, that such a question had ever been started; but said that, as it had been brought forward, he could not see how they could avoid coming to some determination upon it. Pitt, therefore, pursued his course; and on the 16th of December, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, he moved three resolutions. The first, which merely affirmed the indisposition and incapacity of the king, was passed unanimously. The second resolution asserted that it was the right and duty of the two Houses of Parliament to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority in such manner as the urgency of the case might seem to require. And the third resolution was—"That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition." Upon these two last resolutions there was more eloquent, and passionate, and thoroughly earnest debating than had been heard in that House for many a year. The Whigs had every possible motive for exertion that can animate a party: if their adversaries triumphed, it was clear that such restrictions would be laid on the power and patronage of the regent as would make it next to impossible for Fox, as his minister, to carry on the administration—as would render all the business of government most unprofitable and uncertain; while the acceptance of office would bring a perpetual ban upon the acceptors, if the king should recover. On the other side, Pitt and his Tory phalanx well knew that they would secure the favour of the king more firmly than ever, if he should resume his seat on the throne; and, as George III. was little more than fifty years of age, his reign might yet be long. The thing was not unprecedented—the two great parties had interchanged political principles and professions—the Whigs had been heard clamouring for prerogative and the hereditary rights of princes, and the Tories had been heard clamouring for the rights of the parliament and the people, before now; but still it was curious to watch a combat in which Pitt had to maintain and declare that the assertion of the inherent right of the Prince of Wales was one of those exploded ideas of indefeasible right which had fallen into contempt; and Fox had to adjure the House not to recur to the primary axioms of government and the abstract rights of the people. Lord North, ailing and blind, spoke with great spirit against the resolu-

tions, being the first to rise and oppose Pitt. The master of the rolls, the lord-advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general, and the solicitor-general to the queen, spoke long and learnedly in support of the ministerial propositions and on regencies in general. Fox combated their arguments, and, though ill and suffering, fought like a man whose very existence depended on the issue; and, in fact, so utterly shattered was Fox's fortune and credit, that it did seem to depend on the issue, whether he should not be condemned to owe the means of a comfortable existence to the bounty of others. He reminded his opponents of the statute of the 13th of Charles II., which not only declared that the two Houses of Parliament could not make laws without the consent and concurrence of the king, but also that whoever should affirm the contrary should be held guilty of high treason. The right to make laws rested only with the three estates complete; the royal estate could do nothing of itself, nor could the two other estates, either singly or conjointly, make any law without it. This was the very principle upon which our constitution was built. Gentlemen on the other side had compared the present situation of affairs to the Revolution of 1688; but their proceedings were diametrically opposite to those that were then adopted. The convention of parliament which met at that crisis, conscious that they could not make laws until they had a head, first restored the third estate in the person of William and Mary, and then proceeded to define its powers; whereas the committee were now called upon first to new-cast the office, and then to name the officer. And what must be the condition of a regent thus elected, and with powers defined by that House? He must be a pageant and puppet, a mere creature of their own. They might appoint him for a year, a month, a day, and so change the monarchy into a republic. Another mischief of the most serious nature might arise from an elective regency. What if the two Houses should disagree as to the person to be appointed? What if one regent should be appointed in England, and another in Ireland? With respect to Ireland, if the two Houses of the British parliament simply declared the Prince of Wales regent, most probably the parliament in Ireland would do the same; if they speculated, the Irish parliament would speculate. Were the question of right but once set afloat, it would become impossible to say to what extent it might be carried. There had been two assertions of positive rights made on the two sides of the House: on his side the assertion of the right of the heir-apparent, being of full age and capacity, to exercise the sovereign authority during his majesty's infirmity; on the other side, the assertion that the prince had no more right to exercise the sovereign authority, under such circumstances, than any other individual subject. Why did they not let the question be—"That it is the opinion of this committee that his royal highness the Prince of Wales, being of full age and capacity, has no more right to exercise the royal authority during his majesty's incapacity than any other subject?" The right honourable gentleman well knew that he durst not venture to bring such a question into debate. Conscious of his error, and conscious that so monstrous a doctrine as he had suffered himself in an evil hour to deliver had revolted the public mind, he now sought to divert the public attention by a paltry triumph over him, though that triumph could not be obtained without putting a marked insult upon the Prince of Wales. For, whatever opinion he (Fox) might entertain, or might have expressed, of the prince's absolute right to the regency, why should that right be discussed when it had never been claimed by the prince? That this was the fact could not be doubted after the declaration which had been so graciously made in another place (the declaration of the Duke of York). The claim being thus disavowed on the part of the prince, the preamble of the bill, in order truly to describe the case as it stood, ought to be—"Whereas his royal highness the Prince of Wales has never claimed a right to the regency, it becomes necessary for the Lords spiritual and temporal, and for the Commons of England, to declare that his royal highness has no right, and therefore we do hereby declare his royal highness sole regent of these kingdoms." Fox said he had been accused, in the present case, of deserting the Whig cause, which he had hitherto been supposed to claim the merit of standing forth on all occasions to defend—had been accused of an inattention to the privileges of the House, as opposed to the encroachments of the prerogative of the crown. He believed the influence of the crown had in his time been checked more than once in that House, and, as he thought, to the advantage of the people. He followed up this part of the subject with uncommon eloquence. "Whenever," said he, "the executive authority was urged beyond its reasonable extent, it ought to be resisted; but he desired to ask if this was an occasion for exercising the constitutional power of resisting the prerogative or the influence of the crown in that House? He had ever made it his pride to combat with the crown in the plenitude of its power and the fulness of its authority: he wished not to trample on its rights while it lay extended at their feet, deprived of its functions, and incapable of resistance. Let the right honourable gentleman pride himself on a victory obtained against a defenceless foe; let him boast of a triumph where no battle had been fought, and, consequently, where no glory could be obtained. Let him take advantage of the calamities of human nature; let him, like an unfeeling lord of the manor, riot in the riches to be acquired by plundering shipwrecks, by rigorously seizing on waifs and strays, and deodands, and all the accumulated produce of the various accidents which misfortune could throw into his power." . . . . "Let it not be my boast," said Fox, "to have gained such victories, obtained such triumphs, or availed myself of wealth so acquired." The right honourable gentleman, he

added, appeared to have been so long in the possession of power, that he could not endure to part with it, and was resolved to destroy what he might no longer be permitted to enjoy. He had experienced the full favour of the crown, and enjoyed the advantage of exerting all its prerogatives; and, finding the operation of the whole not too much for the successful carrying on of the government, he had determined to cripple his successors, and deprive them of the same advantages which he had possessed; and thus circumscribe their power to serve their country, as if he dreaded that they would shade his fame. Pitt said, in reply, that this personal attack was unprovoked, unfounded, arrogant, and presumptuous. The right honourable gentleman thought proper to announce himself and his friends as the successors of the present administration. He did not know by what authority the right honourable gentleman had made that declaration; but he thought both the House and the country were obliged to him for the seasonable warning of what they were to expect. The nation had already had experience of that right honourable gentleman and his principles. It was the professed object of him and his party to nominate the ministers of the crown by the weight of their political influence. It was with them a fundamental principle, that ministers ought at all times so to be nominated. If persons possessing these principles were likely to become the advisers of the Prince of Wales in the exercise of those powers which were necessary to be given during the present unfortunate interval, it was a strong additional reason for parliament to be careful in considering what the extent of those powers ought to be. It was impossible not to suppose that by such advisers those powers of the regency would be perverted to a purpose which it was, indeed, impossible to imagine that the Prince of Wales could, if aware of it, endure for a moment; but to which, by artifice and misrepresentation, he might unintentionally be made accessary—for the purpose of creating a permanent weight and influence in the hands of a party which would be dangerous to the just rights of the crown when the moment should arrive (so much wished, and, *perhaps, so soon to be expected*) of his majesty being able to resume the exercise of his own authority. The committee then divided on the motion, "That the chairman report progress" (implying the non-adoption of the resolution), which was rejected, but by a much diminished ministerial majority, the numbers being only 268 against 204. Pitt's second and third resolutions were then put and carried without any debate. The exertions which Fox had made proved so injurious to his broken health, that the next day he was unable to attend; and on account of his illness the House adjourned till the 19th. On that day Pitt being called upon by Sir John Sinclair to state distinctly how he intended to represent the third estate, and give legality to the act of parliament which he proposed for defining and limiting the authority of the regent, boldly announced that he meant to employ the great seal, as if his majesty were not in a state of infirmity and incapacity, but competent to issue the usual order to his lord chancellor. The crown lawyers, in the preceding debate, had argued that there was a broad distinction between the *political* and natural capacity of the king; that, in the contemplation of the law, the monarchy was still perfect and complete, and the king's political capacity entire, notwithstanding his present illness;—in short, they extended the political fiction, and urged that the king could no more go mad than he could die. And the minister now stated that as, in contemplation of law, his majesty's political capacity was entire, he should propose that their proceedings should be carried on under his majesty's authority, delegated by a commission under the great seal; that commissioners so appointed should open parliament in the name of his majesty, in the usual form, and afterwards give the royal assent to such bill as might be passed by the two Houses for appointing a regent to exercise so much of the royal authority as was necessary during his majesty's indisposition. This he thought was the mode most consistent with the principles of the constitution. It was a good mode for the minister and his party, for it put the sovereignty into their hands for the signing of the Regency Bill, and enabled them to frame that bill as they chose, and make it law by giving their own assent to it. Pitt's three resolutions, which had passed in committee, were now brought up and debated. Fox, who had endangered his life in flying home over rough French roads, spurred on by the hope of having the reins of government put into his hands almost as soon as he should arrive at Carlton House, although able to attend, was still too unwell to take any prominent part in the debate; but his cause was ably supported by Sir Grey Cooper, Wyndham, and others. The House was again excessively crowded in all its parts. In the course of the debate a young member—Mr. Rushworth, who represented the borough of Newport, in Hampshire—standing upon the floor of the House, which was crowded right up to the table, suddenly spoke in a loud and startling tone. "I desire," said he, "that gentlemen of more age and experience than myself will refer to the glorious reign of George II. Let them recall to their memory the year 1745. Suppose that great and good king had lain under a similar affliction of madness at that period; where was the man, much less the minister, that would have dared to have come down to that House, and boldly, in the face of the world, say that the Prince of Wales had no more right to the regency than any other subject? The man or minister who could have dared to utter such language must have found shelter in some other place than in the House of Commons, and in some other country than England!" Tumultuous cheers rose from the one side, and loud murmurs from the other. In the end, two amendments—one moved by Mr. Powys, and one by Mr. Dempster—were negatived without a division, and the first and

second resolutions were received. Dempster then moved an amendment on the third resolution, which would have entirely changed its meaning and spirit. As the House was exhausted, the debate on this question was adjourned to the 23rd, when a most spirited and exciting struggle ensued on Pitt's proposal for holding the sovereignty to be for the moment in a piece of wax impressed by a symbol. Fox, though still evidently weak and in pain, was in his place, and spoke for a short time with much animation. He was vigorously supported by Lord North, who, in losing his sight, had not lost his wit, his enviable good humour, or his admirable ability and promptness as a debater; and he was sustained heart and hand by Burke, who opened the debate, and delivered one of his choicest harangues. Though firm to Fox and to his party, Burke was not moved by the encouragements and strong incentives which had operated upon his friends; and he declared to the House that he had had no part in any consultations about the regency: that he knew as little of the interior of Carlton House as he did of Buckingham House. At this moment his assertion was undoubtedly true; but it appears that he was called into the Carlton House consultations very soon after. Burke was very felicitous in his description of the fiction by which the great seal was to be converted, for the nonce, into the third branch of the legislature, and of the person of the man who then held that seal. "But what is to be done when the crown is in a *deliquium?* It was intended, he had heard, to set up a man with black brows and a large wig, a kind of scarecrow to the two Houses, who was to give a fictitious assent in the royal name, and this to be binding on the people at large!" Sheridan, who, behind the scenes, had been the busiest man of all the party, doing other work besides being closeted with Thurlow, writing and running in all directions for the prince, also spoke in this debate. He put several pointed questions to the minister. He asked whether his fears of the abuse of the prerogative did not arise out of the recollection of his own conduct? Whether every restriction not absolutely necessary was not a limitation, but an insult? Did not his haste proceed from his fear that he could not carry the limitations he proposed unless he were minister? Or was he apprehensive that parliament or the prince would forget their duty? What provision was made if the prince should refuse to be regent on the terms proposed? Supposing him not to refuse, what reason had they to believe he would withhold his consent from those restrictions when regent, under which he would consent to accept the trust? Would any one advise him to say, I accept the regency under limitations which I think, are improper, and which I hope parliament will annul? Pitt's scheme was, nevertheless, approved by a somewhat larger majority than had attended him on the previous divisions: Mr. Dempster's amendment was negatived by 251 against 178; and then the three resolutions, having been all received, were ordered to be communicated to the Lords at a conference, wherein their lordships' concurrence was to be desired. This conference took place on the morrow, the 23rd of December, and none of the Lords were so hearty in their concurrence as the lord chancellor. Thurlow had at last made up his mind on two very important points—that the king was likely to recover very soon—and that if he did not recover there was no permanent reliance to be placed on the Whigs, who, indeed, were bound by the honour of party to prefer his rival, Loughborough. He had had frequent and close communications with the physicians, and had, no doubt, found other means of prying into the interior of Kew Palace, and ascertaining the real condition of the king. It is said that Willis had pledged his reputation to him that the unhappy malady could not be of long duration, and that the king's temperate and orderly mode of life gave promise of health and longevity. And so cunning a man as Thurlow could not possibly avoid perceiving that Fox, even in conferring with him, regarded him with feelings of dislike, and evidently regretted the necessity imposed on him by others of breaking faith with Loughborough. It was Sheridan and the prince, and the prince's comptroller of the household, Captain Payne (afterwards admiral), that conceived the bright idea of treating with Thurlow; thinking "that the chancellor might take a good opportunity to break with his colleagues."* Fox was absent when the mysterious meetings and communications began. After his arrival from the continent Fox felt himself greatly embarrassed by the negotiation: for he was to be, if not in name, in fact, premier, and he stood pledged to bestow the great seal upon Loughborough. Finding, however, that the prince and his party had gone so far in a negotiation with Thurlow, he most reluctantly undertook to write to Loughborough to request him to waive his claim for the present. Loughborough, who was, at the least, as keen and cunning as Thurlow, must have known of the intrigue, which had been betrayed in various ways; and he could hardly have needed the intimation now sent to him.† In a letter to Sheridan, Fox said, "I have swallowed the pill—a most bitter one it was—and have written to Lord Loughborough, whose answer of course must be consent. What is to be done next? Should the prince himself, you, or I, or (Doctor) Warren, be the person to speak to the chancellor? The objection to the last is, that he must probably wait for an opportunity, and that no time is to be lost. Pray tell me what is to be done. I am convinced, after all, the negotiation (with Thurlow) will not succeed, and am not sure that I am sorry for it. I do not remember ever feeling so uneasy about

* See letters from Payne to Sheridan, in Moore's Life of Sheridan.

† It is said that on one occasion, during his manœuvres, the chancellor betrayed, to the no small amusement of his colleagues, the secret of an interview which he had just had with the prince, by coming to the council with his royal highness's hat in his hand instead of his own.—*Id. Id.*

any political thing I ever did in my life."* Loughborough, conscious of these feelings in the breast of Fox, soon undertook the very easy task of proving that Thurlow was not to be depended upon, whatever offers might be made to him. In a letter to Sheridan, Loughborough said, "The chancellor's object evidently is to make his way by himself, and he has managed hitherto as one very well practised in that game. His conversations, both with you and Mr. Fox, were encouraging, but at the same time checked all explanations on his part, under a pretence of delicacy towards his colleagues." Thurlow had managed to get himself appointed, as chancellor, to a visitation or inspection, and, unknown to the prince, had seen the king, apparently more than once, at Windsor or Kew, and had made a wonderful show of tenderness and affliction to her majesty. Loughborough pointed out to Sheridan the dangerous use which might be made by Thurlow of this office of inspection. "By this situation," said he, "he gains an easy and frequent access to the king, and an opportunity of possessing the confidence of the queen. I believe this the more from the account of the tenderness he showed at his first interview, for I am sure it is not in his character to feel any. With a little instruction from Lord Hawkesbury (Jenkinson), the sort of management that was carried on by means of the princess dowager, in the early part of the reign, may easily be practised.† In short, I think he (Thurlow) will try to find the key of the back-stairs, and, with that in his pocket, take any situation that preserves his access, and enables him to hold a line between different parties. . . . . I wish Mr. Fox and you would give these considerations what weight you think they deserve, and try if any means can be taken to remedy this mischief, if it appears in the same light to you." This letter could not fail of producing a deep impression; and it appears that, soon after it was written, and only a few days after the return of Fox (for all these intrigues were huddled together in the compass of a few weeks), distrust was shown of the Chancellor, and favour and consideration to Loughborough. Thus Thurlow was as much thrown off by the Whigs as he threw himself off from them on his selfish calculation of chances. Such double dealing at such a crisis, together with the sure knowledge that it had not been concealed, was enough to have sunk any other man; but Thurlow was not like other men, and he braved the matter with an audacity and a cant that will render his name immortal. He stood up from beside the woolsack in the House of Lords, and, with an awful solemnity of manner, undertook the defence of the king's sacred rights against the claims of the prince and the wicked Whigs. He seemed to pour out the whole strength of his heart and soul in a passionate eulogy on the superhuman virtues of his sovereign: he said his debt of gratitude for many favours graciously conferred was great beyond the power of expression; and he finished by exclaiming—"When I forget my king, then may God forget me!"* "Forget you!" said John Wilkes, who was one of a group of astonished auditors standing near the throne, within a few feet of Thurlow; "he'll see you damned first!" Wilkes knew the man well, and his oblique vision had an aptitude to see round corners and into secret places; and he was no doubt aware, as many others who heard the speech must have been, that Thurlow had only a few days before broken off his intrigue with Carlton House. According to Wilberforce, the same motives by which Thurlow had been actuated had led to many unprincipled and shameless desertions by political speculators, chiefly in the Upper House, who thought they could not be too early in worshipping the rising sun, and who were afterwards grievously disappointed at the king's recovery.† The steadier peers were, however, numerous enough to carry the question upon Pitt's three resolutions, to negative a motion of amendment, and to appoint a committee to acquaint the Commons at a conference that they concurred with them.‡ A strong protest was entered and signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland and forty-six other peers. The latter part of these debates took place in the Christmas holidays, for this was no time for allowing a recess. Christmas-day was observed, and that was almost all.

A.D. 1789.—On the 2nd of January, Cornwall, the speaker of the Commons, left the chair vacant by rather a sudden death. A trial of strength immediately took place on the appointment of his successor; and Pitt's relative, William Wyndham Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), triumphed over Sir Gilbert Elliot, the nominee of the Whigs, by a majority of seventy-one, the numbers being 215 against 144. On the day after this election—January the 6th—Pitt, having previously given notice, introduced the subject of the restrictions proposed to be put on the exercise of the regal power by the regent. Mr. Loveden, member for Abingdon, observed, that before the House pro-

* See Letters from Payne to Sheridan, in Moore's Life of Sheridan.

† Alluding to the year 1764, when the king was undoubtedly deranged for many weeks, and the secret of his malady was skilfully kept—so skilfully, that for many years no suspicion was entertained of the real nature of the disease. According to Captain Payne, who accompanied the prince to Windsor at the first intimation of the present disorder, the same attempt at concealment had been made now. "Truth," says the captain, "is not easily got at in palaces, and so I find here; and time only slowly brings it to one's knowledge. One hears a little bit every day from somebody, that has been reserved with great costiveness, or purposely forgotten; and by all such accounts I find that the present distemper has been very palpable for some time past, previous to any confinement from sickness; and so apprehensive have the people about him been of giving offence by interruption, that the two days (viz. yesterday se'nnight and the Monday following) that he was five hours each on horseback he was in a confirmed frenzy."—*Letters to Sheridan.*

* According to Wilberforce's memoranda, dictated in his old age, the words were, "When I forsake my king, may my God forsake *me*;" and these words were afterwards engraved, in Thurlow's honour, on rings and snuff-boxes! This exhibition of the chancellor's was made in the debate on the 15th of December, in which the Duke of York took part.

† Memoranda, in Appendix to Life.

‡ The amendment on the third resolution, which was the same as that moved by Mr. Dempster in the Commons, was proposed by Lord Rawdon, who made an able speech, and was supported by Lords Stormont, Porchester, Loughborough, and the Duke of Richmond; the chief opposers being the Chancellor and Lord Camden. Lord Rawdon was out-voted by 99 against 66.

ceeded any further they ought to know exactly where they were, and what the exigency of the case really was; they ought to know precisely what was the present state of his majesty's health, what the degree of alteration it had undergone since the physicians were last examined, and whether the probability of his majesty's recovery was increasing or diminishing. He said this was the more necessary as very contradictory reports had got abroad and were said to be supported by the different physicians who were attending his majesty. He therefore moved that the physicians should be again examined. A very hot, and not very decorous, debate ensued. Pitt treated Dr. Warren, to whom the unfavourable reports about the king's malady were more particularly imputed, as a violent Whig and party-man, whose wishes suggested his predictions that the speedy recovery of the king was not a probable event. He insinuated not only that Warren's opinion was dictated by a partiality to the rising administration, but also that gentlemen on the opposite side who were to form that administration wished the doctor's opinion to be true. As a matter of course, the gentlemen on the other side, with indignant voices and gestures, repelled these insinuations as scandalously unjust and basely illiberal; and then, with a liberality and delicacy equal to Pitt's, they fell upon Willis, the Tory doctor, and accused him of uttering false oracles and predictions of rapid amendment solely to suit the purposes of the minister and his faction. When this wrangling was over it was, however, agreed that a new committee of the House should be appointed to re-examine all the physicians. On the 13th of January the report of this committee was brought up. Burke instantly moved that it should be recommitted, as they had not examined into the grounds of the different opinions held by the physicians respecting the probability of the king's recovery. He was seconded by Windham, but the motion was negatived without a division; and it was ordered that the report should be printed, and be taken into consideration, in a committee of the whole House on the state of the nation, upon Friday the 16th. On that day Pitt, after expressing his great satisfaction at having consented to the re-examination of the physicians, the event of which had justified his sanguine expectations of the king's recovery, proceeded to open the subject of his proposed restrictions. As the report stated that all the physicians agreed that it was probable his majesty might recover, what parliament had to provide for was a deficiency in the executive government for an interval which he hoped would be a short one, and against any embarrassment in the resumption of the royal authority when his majesty should recover. If, contrary to his expectations, his majesty's illness should be protracted, then a more permanent plan of government might be arranged; but for the present they ought to grant such powers, and none other, as were necessary to carry on the government with energy and effect. To this end he moved that the Prince of Wales should be invested with the whole royal authority, subject only to certain necessary limitations. The first of these limitations was that the authority of the regent should not extend to the making of any new peers.* The second was that the prince should not grant any pension or place for life, or in reversion, other than such place as, from its nature, must by law be held for life or during good behaviour. This, Pitt urged, would prevent his majesty from finding himself on a worse footing on his recovery than he was before his illness; and the power restrained by this limitation was not necessary to a regent. The third restriction was, that the prince should not have any power over the personal property of the king. It was not to be supposed, said Pitt, that his royal highness would interfere with his majesty's personal property in his lifetime; but, as they were acting upon parliamentary principles, he thought it his duty to submit this clause to the committee. The fourth restriction was, that the prince should have nothing to do with his majesty's person or household, which were to be left entirely to the guardianship of the queen, who was to have full powers over his majesty's household, and to dismiss and appoint as she should think proper. And this was followed by the proposition that a council should be named to assist the queen with their advice whenever she should require it; but who should have no power of control, but barely that of giving advice, and of satisfying themselves daily of the state of the king's health; and that they, the said council, or some others, should be appointed to manage the real and personal estate of the king, being bound not to alienate or dispose of any part of it, except by lease. A new and terrible combat ensued on all and every part of this plan of restrictions. Mr. Powys moved a sweeping amendment, including the doctrine that the regent ought to exercise all the prerogatives and powers of the crown, which, by the act of the 5th of his majesty, the council and the regent were empowered to exercise in

* This greatest of peer-makers gave the following reasons for this restriction. 1. That the prerogative in question was designed to enable the king to counteract the designs of any factious cabal in the House of Lords which might have acquired a predominant influence in the deliberations of that House; *but it was not at all probable that the government of his royal highness would be obstructed by any such cabal.* (Why a cabal in the lords was less probable under a regent than under a king he did not explain. He said, indeed, that he, for one, would give no opposition to any administration the regent might choose to form, so long as their measures were compatible with the prosperity of the kingdom. But this meant just nothing at all; and Pitt was not a peer, but a commoner; and, if he had been a peer, how could he have engaged and promised for the other lords?) 2. That such a number of peers might be created by the regent as would considerably embarrass his majesty's government in the event of his being restored to health. (This seems a reasonable and a strong objection.) 3. That the power of making peers was also vested in the crown to enable the sovereign to reward eminent merit and excite emulation in the public service; but the suspension of such incentive for a few months was not likely to deprive the country of the services of men of merit: the king would get better, and then he might confer patents as heretofore; or, if his illness should be protracted, and he should be pronounced not likely to recover for a long time, then parliament might remove the restriction, and the prince regent make peers as he should see proper or necessary. 4. The prerogative was also designed to provide for the fluctuations of wealth and property in the country, that, by raising men of great landed interest to the peerage, that branch of the legislature might always be placed upon its true and proper basis; but, as the present arrangement was only meant to be temporary, no great evil could accrue in this direction.

case the crown had descended to any of his majesty's issue under the age of eighteen. Lord North seconded Powys with a long and able speech, in which he endeavoured to show that the bestowing of the whole power and patronage of the household upon the queen would be setting up a party in the court opposed to the administration of the regent. His lordship, who, in his long career as prime minister, had had abundant experience of the political value or weight of household appointments, said he thought that pages and grooms of the chamber might safely be left under the control of the queen; but the lords of the bed-chamber, who were part of the king's public state, who were in reality political servants, and who had proved themselves to be so on a recent occasion, ought undoubtedly to be under the control of the executive government. After paying a compliment to the queen, as an exalted personage incapable of abusing the enormous patronage proposed to be given to her, North said that that patronage would be only nominally hers; that it would be seized upon by the council which was to advise her, and for whose purity and exemption from party spirit and factious opposition there could be no guarantee. He concluded with declaring that he should tremble for his country if the resolutions now proposed were adopted; that he wished it not to be said that, for fear the regent should change the ministry, they were willing to change the constitution; that he probably should not live to see the fatal effects which might follow, but there were gentlemen sitting in the House who might live to repent having brought ruin on the constitution by their votes of that night. Sheridan followed Lord North, and was uncommonly witty and severe upon the abstraction of the household patronage, which, he said, was nearly the third part of the patronage of the crown, and intended, in reality, to be held by Pitt, when he could no longer hold his present high office. He represented the ex-premier coming down to the House in state, attended by a retinue of black and white wands, and a guard of beef-eaters marshalled by the lord steward, with the lord chamberlain and the master of the horse clearing his way through the lobby. After more wit of the same kind, Sheridan declared that, when the public should know that all these restrictions were only imposed *because* the prince was going to take into his service a different set of men from those now in office, they would despise and detest the cunning and the craft of such wretched proceedings. Colonel Fullarton spoke more seriously and at a greater length, quoting historical parallels and cases of regency in various parts of the world, and arguing, in conclusion, that there was not a single instance in the history of England, in the history of France, in the history of Spain, or in the history of any other country, where the established legal powers of executive government had been maimed, mutilated, and restrained, without producing inefficiency, counteraction, confusion, calamity, and disgrace. One of Fullarton's historical parallels—which will not altogether stand historical criticism—was savagely severe against the queen and Pitt. He compared the reign of George III. to that of Charles VI. of France, a sovereign subject to long fits of insanity (during which our Henry V. conquered his kingdom). He endeavoured to show that Isabella of Bavaria, Queen of France, and her confidential minister, Morvilliers—the former one of the most vicious as well as unnatural princesses commemorated in history, the latter an ambitious and unprincipled politician—were realized and resuscitated before their eyes. He depicted the queen of Charles VI. as "a woman attached only to her treasures, influenced by the *chancellor*, the *prime minister*, and other principal officers of the court; who apprehended that, if the government should be intrusted to the *heir apparent* during the king's incapacity, they would lose their employments." Morvilliers was described as "commencing his career in the profession of the law, but speedily opening for himself a nearer road to greatness by the more productive path of politics."* Finally, he portrayed the prince, afterwards Charles VII. of France, "who possessed," he said, "not only the most interesting qualities and the most fascinating manners, but who had attached to his cause the noblest spirits and the best abilities of his country." On the other side, Pitt's resolutions were most ably defended by the new speaker, Grenville, who arrested the attention of the committee for near three hours. At a late hour the committee divided, when the amendment which Powys had moved and Lord North had seconded was negatived by a majority of seventy-three, the numbers being 227 against 154. The resolution relative to the creation of peers was then carried by 216 against 159; and the other resolutions, with the exception of the last about the care of the king's person and the household, were carried without a division. That last or fifth resolution was debated on the 19th of January, with an increase of heat and animosity. Mr. Grey charged the minister with a systematic want of respect and common courtesy to the prince in the whole course of these proceedings. Mr. Bouverie moved an amendment, and Lord North another, for limiting the time to which the restrictions were to extend; but both were negatived by considerable majorities. On the 22nd the resolutions were taken into consideration by the Lords, who had also resolved themselves into a committee on the state of the nation. They were opposed by Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, and by Lords Stormont, Carlisle, Derby, Porchester, and Fitzwilliam; but an amendment, moved by Lord Sandwich, for limiting the time during which the regent should be restrained from creating peers, was negatived by 93 against 67. The debate was renewed on the next day, when another amendment to the same effect, moved by Viscount Stormont upon the third resolution (restraining the regent in regard

* Pitt had begun his career as a barrister, had pleaded at the bar, gone the circuit, &c.

to the granting of places, &c.), was rejected by 91 against 68; and after that division the combat ceased; but a protest was signed by fifty-seven peers. These debates in the Lords were signalised by some very pathetic acting on the part of Thurlow, who shed tears, and even quoted poetry, in expressing his deep sense of the lamentable condition of the best of kings. Burke exposed this hypocrisy in the Commons in his best manner. "The other House," said Burke, "were not yet perhaps recovered from that extraordinary burst of the pathetic which had been exhibited the other evening; they had not yet dried their eyes, or been restored to their former placidity, and were unqualified to attend to new business. The tears shed in that House on the occasion to which he alluded were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of lords for their expiring places. The iron tears which flowed down Pluto's cheek rather resembled the dismal bubbling of the Styx than the gentle murmuring streams of Aganippe."

The prince, as well as his friends, had bitterly complained of the conduct of ministers in opening everything to the House of Commons before making any communications to him on the subject of the regency. He had addressed a letter of remonstrance to Pitt, and Pitt had returned him a very haughty answer, telling his royal highness that he had several times at Windsor inquired whether he had any orders for him, and had received for answer that he had not. On the 30th of December, however, Pitt had thought proper to communicate his scheme of restrictions to the prince in a long letter, and the prince had employed the pen of Burke to write an answer to it.* In this letter, which lay for some time on the Duke of Portland's table, in order that the leading Whigs might fully consider it and suggest improvements† before it was sent to the minister, the prince agreed to accept the regency on the terms proposed, but did not withhold the expression of his discontent at the limitations put upon his authority. In the words of the letter—"His conviction of the evils which may arise to the king's interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs, in the prince's mind, every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed on him by the present melancholy necessity, (which of all the king's subjects he deplores the most,) in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the king, the experienced attachment to the House of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished the nation, will carry him through the many difficulties inseparable from this most difficult situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the king, and with advantage to the public." This letter appears to have been delivered after the discussions on the restrictions in the House of Lords; and Pitt, in the name of the cabinet, had sent the prince a very curious answer, asserting that, if ministers had seen their plan in the light in which they had now the mortification to observe that it was considered by his royal highness, it would never have occurred to them to propose it. This was indeed little better than a quibble and a sneer; and it will excite no surprise that a prince royal should have been exceedingly irritated by it. Pitt also treated the prince's letter as a state paper calling it, in his own reply to the prince, "the paper;" and, though it may not have been polite so to call it, Burke's production *was* a state paper, and not a letter: it had been exhibited, as we have seen, for state purposes, and had in a manner undergone the revision of the whole Whig party. The irritation felt by the prince was communicated to his friends, who, notwithstanding his acceptance of, or submission to, the Tory limitations, determined to raise a fresh tempest round the ears of the minister. On the 27th of January Pitt, after recapitulating all the steps which had been taken, suggested that it would now be both respectful to the Prince of Wales, and expedient in the order of their proceedings, to know parliamentarily whether his royal highness was willing to accept the regency upon the terms which they had come to: and he moved that a committee should be appointed to wait upon his royal highness for that purpose with the resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons. Fox was not present, having retired to Bath after the great debate of the 19th, to seek some alleviation to his malady, which had been irritated by his labours in the House; but Mr. Grey again charged the minister with having treated the prince with marked disrespect, and Burke joined in these reproachful accusations. The minister was accused of sending to his royal highness an ordinary summons to the privy council when the physicians were examined previously to the meeting of parliament, of neglecting to apprise him of the restrictions before they were discussed in parliament, and of having at last communicated them in a disrespectful manner. Pitt replied that, as to the first charge, he might transfer the blame, if there was any, to the lord president of the council, but that he disdained to avoid taking his share of any blame which might be deemed imputable to any measure of that respectable and venerable personage; that in regard to the second charge he was ready to acknowledge its truth—his majesty's ministers not having conceived it to be their duty to receive orders from the Prince of Wales at a time when they were the servants of the crown, and when his royal highness was in no political capacity whatever, nor had any authority to give

* This celebrated letter, which for many years was variously attributed to Sheridan, to Sir Gilbert Elliot, to Lord Loughborough, or to all of them and others conjointly, is now perfectly well ascertained to have been the production of Burke; and will remain as a striking proof of the varied styles of eloquence and versatility of genius of that extraordinary man.

† It is said that all who inspected the letter found it admirable and incapable of improvement *except* Sheridan, who ventured to make a few alterations that were not improvements. As Burke had been called in at a late hour, and as Sheridan had been previously the prince's chief penman, we may suspect the existence of some little pique and jealousy.

his majesty's ministers a single order of any description, knowing that theirs was the responsibility for every step they took, and that theirs ought to be the discretion. He declared, however, that Fox had forced him to explain his plan in the House earlier than he intended, and that the very next day he communicated the plan to the prince. Extravagant reports had been circulated in town and country: it had been said, for example, that his message to the prince had been a verbal one, and had been sent by a livery servant. The truth, however, was, that the communication had been made respectfully in writing, and the letter had been sent by a *special messenger*.* Burke, in one of his outbreaks, taxed Pitt with the design of converting the constitutional monarchy into a republic, with a regent, annually elected, nominally at its head. "If," said he, "it is intended to erect a republic, why is it not avowed? Should I be asked whether I disliked a commonwealth, I would answer, No! I am, however, aware that, according to our frame of government, we cannot speculate upon a republic." He burst into a paroxysm of rage at "the phantom, the fiction of law," by which it was intended to open parliament and give the sanction of the third estate to the Regency Bill. "It is," said he, "a mere mummery, a piece of masquerade buffoonery, formed to burlesque every species of government! A hideous spectre, to which, with Macbeth, we may exclaim,

> 'Avaunt, and quit my sight! Let the earth hide thee!
> Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold:
> Thou hast no speculation in those eyes
> That thou dost glare withal.'

So is it with this ministerial, political spectre. Its bones are marrowless, its blood is cold, and it has no speculation in its eyes. I reprobate it as a chimera, a monster summoned up from the depth of hell!" The minister's motion was carried without a division, and ordered to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence. Pitt next moved that a similar committee should be named to wait upon the queen, in order to ascertain whether her majesty would be graciously pleased to undertake the important trust of the care of his majesty's person, together with the management and control of the household; and this too was voted without a division, and ordered to be carried to the Lords. On the very next day a motion was made in the Upper House by Camden for the concurrence of their lordships in this resolution. The Duke of Northumberland repeated a proposal which had already been made several times under various shapes, in both Houses, to declare that the restrictions were imposed in the conviction that the king's illness would probably be of short duration; but this was negatived; and the usual blanks left in the Commons' report, when the concurrence of the Upper House is requested, were ordered to be filled up with the words "Lords spiritual and temporal." On the next day, the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. in front of Whitehall, one of the two joint committees of Lords and Commons waited upon the Prince of Wales at Carlton House. The day chosen was one on which parliament never met for the dispatch of business; but it was represented that the imperious necessity of restoring the executive government must supersede every other consideration. No day in the year could have been better chosen for awaking solemn reflections in the prince. The deputation consisted of Earl Camden and the Marquess of Stafford from the Peers; Pitt, Arden, now master of the rolls,* Lord Frederick Campbell, and Sir George Younge, on the part of the Commons. The reply of the prince was short and dignified. He thanked the lords and gentlemen for their communicating the resolutions agreed upon, and requested them to assure their respective Houses that his duty to the king his father, and his anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered by a longer suspension of the exercise of the royal authority, together with his respect for the united desires of the two Houses, outweighed, in his mind, every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to him. He, however, took care to record his opinion of the restrictions. "I am sensible," said he, "of the difficulties that must attend the execution of this trust in the *peculiar circumstances* in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no *former example*, my hopes of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience. But, confiding that the limitations on the exercise of the royal authority deemed necessary, for the present, have been approved by the two Houses only as a *temporary measure*, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his majesty's disorder may not be of long duration, and trusting, in the mean while, that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two Houses and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in the interval, I will entertain the pleasing hope that my faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the king, his crown, and people may be successful." On the same day two peers and four members of the Lower House waited upon her majesty at Kew; and were assured that the queen, out of her duty and gratitude to the king, and the sense of her great obligations to this country, would accept of the trust reposed in her by parliament; and that it would be a great consolation to her to receive the aid of a council. On the 31st, the answers received from the Prince of Wales and the queen being read and ordered to be printed, the House of Lords again resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation. Camden then rose, and remarked that,

* He professed to be very ignorant of etiquette; but said he had repeatedly made communications to his royal highness before in precisely the same manner, and without having incurred any reproach.

* Richard Pepper Arden, Esq., had been made master of the rolls in June, 1788, on the promotion of Sir Lloyd Kenyon (created at the same time a peer by the title of Lord Kenyon) to the chief justiceship of the King's Bench, from which Lord Mansfield had retired.

having been merely a convention since the incapacity of the third estate, they could pass no bill till they were enabled so to do by the presence or assent of the sovereign power; that, being deprived of his majesty in his *natural* capacity, they must resort to his *political* capacity, as residing in the great seal. He said he knew that this had been ridiculed as a *phantom;* but would those who were so free with their ridicule impart any other mode by which they could be extricated from their present difficulties? As the chancellor could not use the royalty that was in the great seal, the two Houses, and they alone, must direct the use of it; and consequently his lordship moved "That it is expedient and necessary that letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain, be empowered to be issued by the authority of the two Houses of Parliament, in the tenor and form following:"—then followed a transcript of the writ usually issued under the sign-manual empowering certain commissioners to open and hold the king's parliament, &c. In this present commission ministers had inserted among other names those of the Prince of Wales, his brother the Duke of York, and his uncles the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester. Lord Porchester rose to condemn this fiction of the great seal, and to maintain that parliament was now precisely in the same situation in which it stood two months ago, with this difference only, that they were now going to do by a pretended act what ought to have been done at first by a declaration of the two Houses. The Duke of York warmly protested against the whole system, and in particular against the measure now proposed. He would not, he said, sanction the proceedings with his name, as he considered them to be unconstitutional and illegal. "I desire therefore," said he, "to have nothing to do with any part of this business; I request that my name be left out of the commission; and I am authorised to make the same request on the part of my brother the Prince of Wales." Camden, who was doing all the business of the night, Thurlow being, or pretending to be, too ill to attend, said that he should not for a moment resist the royal duke's desire, but would omit his name and that of the Prince of Wales. Then the Duke of Cumberland rose and desired that his name and the name of his brother the Duke of Gloucester should also be struck out of the commission. A debate then took place as to the proper mode of withdrawing the names of the four personages so as to convey no disrespect to the House or to their royal highnesses; but at last it was settled that Lord Camden's motion, with the transcript of the writ, names and all, should stand as it did, and that when the resolution was reported to the House Lord Radnor should move an amendment to make it appear on the journal that it was at the express desire of their royal highnesses that their names were omitted. Camden's motion was then passed without a division, and the resolution was communicated at a conference to the Commons. On the 2nd of February Pitt moved the concurrence of the House therein. This brought on another most stormy debate, in which the opposition again held up to scorn the phantom, and again dwelt upon the wrongs done to the Prince of Wales, and through him to the monarchy and the constitution. Lord North, in a quiet tone, which produced more effect than violent declamation, said he thought it was singularly fortunate that the Prince of Wales had condescended to accept the regency as offered to him—that it must create an agreeable surprise throughout the kingdom, and extinguish those false alarms which had been so industriously circulated, that the prince had asserted his *right* to assume the sovereign authority independently of the two Houses of Parliament. Pitt rose to deny once more any *right* in the prince to the regency except such as parliament should give him. "I allow, indeed," said he, "that this right was not claimed by the Prince of Wales; but it was asserted by others—it was started by men who now lament their own assertions, which they are ashamed to avow and anxious to retract." Burke instantly rose and exclaimed, "I assert that the Prince of Wales's *right* to the regency is as clear as the sun, and that it is the duty of this House to appoint him regent, with the full powers of sovereignty." Continuing with equal warmth, Burke contended that ministers were about to purloin the great seal and commit an act of forgery; that the House had no right to authorise the chancellor to use the great seal in the manner proposed. He was supported by Powys; but no division took place, and the resolution of the Lords was concurred in. On the following day, the 3rd of February, the Commons, with the speaker at their head, presented themselves at the bar of the Lords to hear the commission read. Thurlow was still absent; and the Earl of Bathurst, who officiated as speaker for him, acquainted the Commons that the illness of his majesty had made it necessary that a commission in his name should pass the great seal, &c. After the clerk had read the said commission, which now merely included the names of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Bathurst, the lord privy seal, the Marquess of Carmarthen, Lord Sydney, and the lord chamberlain, Bathurst, in a short speech, opened the causes of the present mode of meeting as a parliament, and the objects for which they were more especially to provide. The Commons then, dropping their character as a convention, or part of one, returned to their own chamber a legally convoked and constituted House of Parliament; and Pitt forthwith rose to move for leave to bring in his Regency Bill, which was still required to complete the three estates. Leave was given without debate, and on the morrow the bill was brought in and read for the first time without a division, and, apparently, without any debate. But on the 6th of February, when the second reading of the Regency Bill was moved, Burke fell upon the bill as if he would have torn it to pieces and scattered it to the wind, together

with those who had framed it. He declared that the regent, put in possession of a mutilated and disjointed government, would have to bear the burthen and odium of power without any of its graces or splendour—without the power of doing good, encouraging merit, or even exercising charity—would have to contend with a council and a court faction bitter in its enmity and far more powerful than he. "The duration of his majesty's malady," said Burke, "lies hidden in the secret recesses of the dispensations of Providence. He is insane; but his disease is not intermittent, nor has it any lucid intervals. His faculties are totally eclipsed—not a partial, but a total and entire eclipse. The present bill is indefinite in its duration; because that bold promiser, Dr. Willis himself, cannot venture to fix a time when the king may be able to resume his functions. . . . . This bill is intended to degrade not only the prince, but the whole Brunswick family. This House is now scattering the seeds of future dissensions in the royal family. . . . . According to the provisions of this bill, until the queen shall think proper to assert that the king is recovered, the people possess no means of knowing the fact. If, therefore, her council shall declare it, and his majesty shall be able to sit in a chair at the head of that council, the bill provides that he shall be declared capable. What is this enactment but putting into the hands of Dr. Willis and his keepers the power of changing the government? A person who has been insane may be so subdued by coercion as to become capable of acting the farce appointed for him, and of appearing for a short period to have resumed his intellects. *I maintain the utter impossibility of adducing proof whether a person who has been insane is perfectly recovered or not.*" Burke was several times called to order, but this interruption only led to a condensed recapitulation of the arguments he had used, in order to prove that he had not been disorderly, or that his warmth was justified by the seriousness of the subject. He paid some not unmerited compliments to the domestic virtues of the queen: he did not suspect her of ever intentionally doing wrong; but certain situations and temptations might pervert the purest minds. The bill, however, was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on the morrow. It consisted of thirty-two long clauses. In committee Burke strongly objected to two parts of the oath (contained in the first clause) to be taken by the regent.* But it was on the seventh clause, providing against the non-residence of the prince, and against his marrying a papist, that the most startling debate took place. Rolle, who had been on former occasions so incredulous to the assurances of the prince's friends, and so very pertinacious, again called attention to the prince's mysterious connexion with Mrs. Fitzherbert. He said he had given his consent to the appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent only on the understanding that he was not married to a certain lady, either in law or in fact. He was called to order by Sir Francis Basset, who insisted that no member should use such language unless he was prepared to submit some specific proposition to the House. Rolle then said that, since the explicit disavowal of the marriage, he had both heard of and read a noted pamphlet,† which affirmed that the disavowal was not warranted by fact; and that no threats, no opposition should deter him from moving that the words "or who is or shall be married, in law or in fact, to a papist" should be added to the seventh clause of the bill. Lord Belgrave opposed this amendment, declaring his conviction that Fox's previous declaration that no marriage had taken place, either in law or in fact, was true and unquestionable, and that the report to the contrary ought to be treated as a false and libellous calumny. Lord North reminded the House that the writer of the pamphlet which had been alluded to had the boldness to declare that the Royal Marriage Act was not legal, and was evidently actuated by no other motive than that of making mischief by daring assertions which he never meant to prove. Welbore Ellis desired the Royal Marriage Act to be read, by which it is enacted that the marriage of any of the descendants of George II. shall be illegal without the royal assent. This, he said, was a full answer to all cavils and rumours, as that could not be valid in fact which was not good in law. Advantage had been taken of Fox's absence to spread the report that he had not gone to Bath merely for the sake of his health, but in consequence of dissensions and disagreements in the council at Carlton House, and out of a desire to avoid being forced into any fresh explanations on this delicate and embarrassing subject. It appears that many members of the House were disposed to give credit to this rumour, although they had seen with their own eyes the suffering, emaciated appearance of the Whig chief, and had been witnesses of the exhaustion which had followed his late exertions in debate. Sheridan, who was in his place, joined in the attack upon Rolle. "I tell him," said he, "I doubt his motives. What, but the wish to give suspicion wing and disseminate alarm, could induce him to propose an amendment upon which he dares not divide the House?" Courtenay followed: "The pure motives and ardent zeal of the honourable member for Devonshire for the

* By one part of the oath the regent was bound "to take care of the personal safety of the king to the utmost of his power and ability." This provision, Burke said, was a mockery and insult upon the prince, who was not in the smallest degree intrusted with the care of the royal person. Another part of the oath bound the regent "to govern according to the stipulations and restrictions contained in the bill." Burke asked why this idea of a covenant was introduced, and why the words did not run in general terms, as in the coronation oath, "according to the laws of the land," &c. which that bill, when it passed, would of course make a part?

† Horne Tooke, whose hatred to the Whigs continued in full force, who knew that they would be seriously embarrassed by the confirmation of the popular belief that the prince was really married, and who was not over scrupulous as to the means to be employed for so desirable an end, had published "A Letter to a Friend," in which he boldly asserted, not only his belief in, but knowledge of, a marriage ceremony between the prince and "the late Mrs. Fitzherbert, now his lawful wife." He also pretended to disapprove *in toto* of the Royal Marriage Act, and to approve warmly of the union which his royal highness had formed with "a most amiable and justly valued female character."

constitution in church and state are," he said, "proved beyond all doubt by the weakness and absurdity of his arguments. Disdaining the aid of logic or reason, he trusts to his conscience alone, and exposes himself in the artless, naked simplicity of his understanding." Mr. Grey spoke warmly on the same side. On the ministerial benches the law-officers of the crown observed a profound silence; but Dundas stood boldly forth to declare that the Royal Marriage Act did not do away with the Act of Settlement, which pronounced the crown to be forfeited by any prince that married a papist. He said, that, when he heard that a reference to a recent act of parliament was the only reply fit to be given to questions of the most serious importance, he could not submit to have a matter of such magnitude rest on such a point, nor would he agree that the effect of the Act of Settlement was virtually done away by a posterior act, which did not specifically repeal the clause about marriages in that statute. Nor was he more disposed to admit that the report which had given rise to the amendment now proposed (by Rolle) was a question rather to be laughed at than argued. So to state it was, he thought, to pay a bad compliment to the Prince of Wales, and to rest his cause on a weak and loose foundation. For himself, he (Dundas) regarded the solemn assurance of Mr. Fox as decisive, feeling convinced that *if, anything had occurred to make him change his opinion on the subject, he would, at all hazards, even at the risk of his life, have come down to the House to deliver his sentiments.* Rolle, in replying, said he had indeed no wish to divide the committee on the question, being perfectly satisfied with having done his duty in recommending the subject to attention. Pitt said he saw no ground for instituting a public inquiry, and was, therefore, willing to abide by the clause as it stood in the bill. Rolle's amendment was, of course, negatived without a division. The debate then went on upon other clauses of the bill, various amendments being proposed only to be negatived, and great eloquence being displayed on the side of opposition, particularly by Burke. In discussing the clauses by which the regent was restrained from creating peers, granting places, pensions, &c., some curious arguments were used on both sides. Mr. Joliffe thought that the restriction as to the peerages ought to be limited to fifteen months and no more. Burke declared that there ought to be no restriction at all; and he then endeavoured to show how moderate the Whigs had been, and would continue to be, in the granting of those high distinctions. The Duke of Portland,* he said, had been already in his majesty's service in England, and had also been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but had never made a prodigal use of that prerogative; the late Marquess of Rockingham, in whose footsteps the present Whigs proposed to tread, had been extremely sparing of grants of peerages; why, then, should it be supposed that the Whigs would now be prodigal of those honours? Up to this time only, Pitt's creations of peers, British and Irish together, had amounted to about sixty. Lord North observed that, by the granting of pensions being stopped, the prince would not really have the power of choosing his own servants; and he asked how it would be possible for him to fill the highest situation in the law, when not a puisne judge, or even a barrister in tolerable business, would accept of the always precarious office of lord chancellor, if there were no hope of the pension on dismissal. Pitt, with a sort of solemn drollery, said, it was very fit the regent should have the free choice of a chancellor if the country should be so unfortunate as to lose the learned lord who now filled that office; but still it was not in the present bill that the power of providing for him should be given. When the occasion should occur the regent might apply to parliament, and he himself (Pitt) would very readily agree to the pension.

On the 9th of February it was reported in the ministerial circles that the king was much better. The House, however, in committee, continued the debates on the Regency Bill, the opposition still speaking as if there were slight hopes of his majesty's recovery. It was generally believed that the king, though so often pleading debt and distress, had accumulated large sums of money. Anstruther remarked, that, though the bill stated that the management of the king's property should not be in the Prince of Wales, it was totally silent as to whose hands it should be vested in; that there had been various rumours as to the vast amount of that property, and that, whatever it might be, it was but right it should be properly taken care of, and not left to be embezzled by anonymous purloiners, whom nobody could call to account, because nobody knew them. He was therefore of opinion that the property should be put in trust of a commission, to consist of the queen, the princes of the blood, the great officers of state, the lord chancellor, and the two chief justices. Pitt said that, as to the amount of that property, he believed there could be nothing but guess; that he at least had no clue by which to form a notion of its amount; but that, whatever it might be, it had already been deposited in such hands as would always be obliged to account for their trust. Burke complained that all this was further proof of the illiberal treatment of the princes of the blood, who were thus declared to be unworthy of any share in the trust. The clause investing the queen with the care of the king's person and the management of the household was again vehemently opposed. Burke described the sick king as a monarch smitten by the hand of Omnipotence, hurled from his throne by the Almighty, and plunged into a condition which excited the pity of the meanest peasant in the land. He was interrupted by loud calls of order, and was very severely rebuked by the Marquess of Graham. Burke justified the language he had used by the

* In the scheme of the new Whig ministry his grace of Portland was to be first lord of the treasury.

language of the prayer for the king's recovery ordered to be read in all churches; and then, continuing in the same strain, he asked whether they ought, at such a period, to waste upon his majesty all the pomps and expenses of royalty?* "Ought they, at that hour of sickness and calamity, to clothe his bed with purple? Ought they to make a mockery of him, putting a crown of thorns on his head, a reed in his hand, and dressing him in a raiment of purple, to cry, 'Hail, King of the British!'" This was one of the most lamentable transgressions against taste, and something more serious than taste, ever committed by this great man in the passion and whirlwind of his eloquence. The House strongly marked their disapprobation. Burke condemned the clause altogether, maintaining that the queen ought to have no share in the executive government, and declaring that the division of power was unconstitutional and dangerous; and in these arguments he was joined by Lord North. Sheridan, supported by Lord George Cavendish and General Norton, proposed separating the great offices of the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the lord chancellor from the rest of the household. Pitt declared that the salaries of the household, from the greatest officers to the lowest turnspit, did not exceed 100,000*l.* per annum; out of which not more than 30,000*l.* per annum was paid in salaries to individuals that were members of the two Houses of Parliament. He said that there were seven gentlemen sitting in the House of Commons whose salaries from the household amounted altogether to about 4000*l.*; and eighteen peers, in the other House, whose joint salaries amounted to about 26,000*l.*; and that the amount of such influence could not be of much weight either on the one side or the other. The chancellor of the exchequer thus treated the question merely as one of pounds, shillings, and pence, without attributing any weight or importance to the political feelings and predilections of the lords and gentlemen forming the household, which were directly adverse to the Whigs. On the 10th of February, the House still continuing in committee on the bill, the clause relating to the council to be appointed to assist and co-operate with the queen was debated with the same warmth. Pitt proposed that the said council should consist of the four principal officers of the household—the lord chamberlain, the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole, for the time being; and in addition to these, of four other persons, in the selecting of whom, he said, he was naturally led to make choice of those whom his majesty himself had placed at the head of the church and the law; and therefore he should propose the names of John (Moore) Archbishop of Canterbury; Edward Lord Thurlow, Lord High Chancellor; William (Markham) Lord Archbishop of York; and Lloyd Lord Kenyon. Various and strong objections were raised to the constitution of this council. It was urged that it ought to include, if not the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Speaker of the Commons, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. With particular reference to the last-named functionary (Lord Loughborough) the Whigs, who, upon rather slippery grounds, counted upon him as one of their party, complained that ministers were looking exclusively to the politics of persons as the criterion of their qualifications for the trust. Lord North moved in form that the Duke of York should be one of the said council. This being negatived by 177 against 130, the several names of their royal highnesses Prince William Henry, Prince Edward, the Duke of Gloucester, and Duke of Cumberland, were then severally proposed and negatived. Mr. Dempster then moved that the Speaker of the House and the Lord Mayor should be added, but this too was negatived. The ministerial majority on all these divisions was about 50. On the following day—the 11th of February—Pitt met the objection about the difficulty started as to the manner in which the king's recovery and restoration to a sound state of mind should be ascertained and announced to the public. He proposed that some organ, known to the country, should be employed to satisfy the people of so desirable an event; that, as soon as it should appear to five out of the eight councillors appointed by the queen that his majesty's health was restored, they should certify it under their hands to the political servants of the regent and to the Lord Mayor of London, and afterwards to the public in the London Gazette; that the king should then summon nine members of the privy council, who, sitting in council with his majesty, would have an opportunity of judging whether his incapacity was really removed or not; and, should six of them be of opinion that it was removed, then a proclamation, signed by his majesty, and countersigned by the six privy councillors, certifying the king's capacity, should immediately be published, and instantly all the power of the regent should cease and determine. Against this elaborate project, which left out parliament altogether, there rose a loud dissent. Mr. Powys, who had been active in every stage of the Regency Bill, treated the proposition as the most extraordinary of all that had yet been advanced—more condemnable than any part of the bill. He said, the minister had first maintained that parliament had a right to settle everything relating to the present unprecedented exigency; but now he abandoned that principle, and would not suffer the interference of parliament in the restoration of the king to his government. As to the nine members of the privy council, Powys thought that the public could not have much confidence in their declaration, as they were to be picked and chosen out of a great number. The minister had spoken of their responsibility, but, if they should form a wrong opinion, it would be impossible to say whether they had done wrong wilfully or merely through an

* By the sixteenth clause of the bill, which had just been debated, the privy purse, amounting to 60,000*l.* a-year, was reserved to the king, and 16,000*l.* a-year out of it was given to the queen *in order to enable her to continue his majesty's charities.* C

error in judgment;—they might deceive the public both ways. Sheridan urged the necessity of having the king's restored capacity ascertained and determined, not by the queen's council, or members selected from the privy council, but by the two Houses of Parliament. He observed that if, either through error or design, the king should be incorrectly reported to be perfectly sane, and so be restored during the recess of parliament, the most fatal consequences might ensue before parliament could correct or check them. Mr. Marsham proposed a clause for remedying this objection, but it was rejected. Powys moved that the physicians should be examined by the queen's council upon oath; but this was negatived. In the last place Sheridan moved that the regent should be bound to communicate to parliament the notification of the king's recovery. This motion was pressed to a division, when it was negatived by 181 against 113. The House then resumed, the report was brought up and agreed to, and the bill ordered for the third reading on the morrow. On that day—the 12th of April—the third reading was gone through, and the bill was sent up to the Lords, with the addition of one clause, limiting the restriction on the making of peers to three years, which was moved by Mr. Pulteney and adopted.*

The report that the king was rapidly recovering was now spread in all directions. Many men hungering and thirsting for promotions or places hoped that there would be no delay in passing the bill through the Lords, and no hesitation on the part of the Whig leaders in accepting office. Among the good things actually vacant were one or two bishoprics, the office of justice in eyre, and sundry commissions of major-generals.† A day more or a day less might decide whether the Whig adherents should clutch these profitable appointments, or be left for years to sigh in vain. It was not to be expected but that men of mortal mould should be anxious and impatient under such circumstances. Still, however, it was unreasonable in them to expect that the chiefs of the party should take office one day to be turned out the next. Opposition were sadly embarrassed whether to accept or not. At the same time Pitt "doubted what to do."‡ It was not until the 17th that the Lords committed the bill; and on that very day the king was publicly declared to be convalescent. In committee their lordships made two rather important additions to the bill: one placing under the control and management of the queen all the palaces, parks, houses, gardens, &c., belonging to his majesty; and the other committing to the queen the care of all the royal offspring under the age of twenty-one. On Thursday, the 19th, Lord Chancellor Thurlow sonorously announced to their lordships that, from the official reports of the physicians, it appeared that his gracious majesty had been for some time in a state of convalescence; that the accounts just received conveyed the happy news that that improvement was still progressive—information which, he said, must prove, beyond measure, pleasing to every man in the kingdom. In this situation of affairs he conceived that their lordships could not possibly proceed with the Regency Bill before them; and he moved that their lordships should immediately adjourn to Tuesday next. The Duke of York rose and said—"I trust your lordships will do me the justice to believe that no person in the House could feel equal pleasure with myself from the favourable account which the noble lord on the woolsack has given, and the motion he has made to the House, in which I entirely concur. I should have had great satisfaction in making the same communication to the House, if I had been enabled to do it from any certain information. I thought it my duty yesterday, upon the favourable reports given to the public, to request *to be admitted to his majesty's presence*. From reasons very justifiable, no doubt, *it was not thought proper that I should have that satisfaction*. From the knowledge I have of my brother's sentiments, though I have had no immediate communication with him upon the subject of this motion, I am convinced he will feel equal if not greater pleasure than myself at the hopes of his majesty's recovery, as it must relieve him from the embarrassment of the situation in which the bill would have placed him, which nothing but a strong sense of his duty to the public would have induced him to undertake." Thurlow's motion was agreed to; the House adjourned forthwith; and, fortunately for the country and for all parties concerned, the Regency Bill stopped there. On Monday, the 23rd, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York saw the king at Kew for the first time, and his majesty, it is said, "bore it well."* On Tuesday, the 24th, the Chancellor informed the House of Lords that he had that morning attended his majesty, by his express command, and had found him perfectly recovered; but that, in order to bring the pressure of public business as gradually as possible upon his mind, he should propose an adjournment to the Monday following. To this motion no opposition was made.

On the very next day a committee from the two Houses of the Irish parliament arrived in London to present an address to the Prince of Wales, requesting his royal highness to take upon himself the regency of Ireland, as his *right*. When Burke told ministers that something like this might happen in the sister island, he probably knew perfectly well the course which would be pursued in the parliament there, as Lord Charle-

* At the same time Mr. W. Smith proposed reserving to the regent the power, in certain cases, of giving the royal assent to a bill or bills for the relief of the dissenters; but this was withdrawn after a short conversation. A clause of the bill prohibited the regent from giving his assent to any act repealing or altering the act of the 13th of Charles II., entitled An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, &c.

† It was also expected that several field-marshals would be made, none having been made since the appointment of Lord Tyrawley to that rank in 1763. In fact, the first field-marshals made after this were General Conway, the Duke of Gloucester, and Sir George Howard, in October, 1793.

‡ Wilberforce, Diary.

* Wilberforce, Diary. In the same entry he mentions having set off to Kew himself on the *same* day, and having had some talk with Tom Willis "about Pitt's going to the king betimes." He adds, "Sent to Pitt to be early."

mont, who took the lead in the Irish House of Peers, was his bosom friend and constant correspondent, and his friendship with Grattan had already begun. The business, which would have introduced a strange anomaly into the executive government, had not been managed without a hard struggle. The session at Dublin was opened on the 5th of February by the lord-lieutenant, the Marquess of Buckingham (lately Lord Temple), who had put off the meeting as long as he could do so with propriety and safety. He laid before both Houses all the documents respecting the king's health which had been received. As soon as the usual address was voted, Mr. Fitzherbert, the lord-lieutenant's secretary, moved in the House of Commons that they should resolve themselves into a committee on the Monday se'nnight, to take into consideration the state of his majesty's health. It was immediately understood that this proposed delay of ten days was intended to prevent the Irish parliament from coming to any resolutions before the determination of the British parliament could be known and presented to them for their concurrence. A terrible cry was raised about the independence of Ireland, and the dignity and credit of her parliament. Grattan, the most eloquent man in the House, proposed that they should meet again on the next Wednesday, and his amendment was carried by 128 against 74. At the same time a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer for proceeding immediately upon the business of supply was negatived, and the consideration of supply put off to the 12th of February. On the Wednesday, the 11th, when the House met again, Mr. Conolly moved that an address should be presented to the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the government of the kingdom of Ireland, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, and, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, and in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of that kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, opposed the motion with all his ability, which was very considerable; but Grattan, Curran, and Ponsonby supported it with brilliant speeches, and it was carried with wonderful enthusiasm and without a division. On Monday, the 16th, while the government party were endeavouring to carry another adjournment, Charlemont rose in the House of Lords, and moved for an address to the prince similar to that voted by the Commons; and his motion was carried by a majority of nineteen. On Thursday, the 19th, both Houses waited upon the lord-lieutenant with their addresses, and requested him to transmit the same to London. His excellency said, that, under the impressions he entertained of his official duty and of the oath he had taken, he did not consider himself warranted to lay before the prince an address, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to take upon himself the government of that realm, before he should be enabled by law so to do; and that, therefore, he must decline transmitting their address. On the following day, after his excellency's answer had been entered on the journals, Grattan moved that a competent number of members should be appointed by the House of Commons to present their address to his royal highness; and, this being agreed to without a division, he moved that Mr. Conolly should attend the Lords to request them to appoint members of their own body to join with the members of the Commons in presenting the said address. The Lords agreed, and appointed the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Charlemont. The Commons then named Conolly, O'Neil, W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stuart. This over, Grattan moved that the two Houses of Parliament had discharged an indispensable duty in providing for the third estate of the Irish constitution, by appointing the Prince of Wales Regent of Ireland; and this, too, was carried by a large majority, the numbers being 130 against 71. Grattan next moved and carried a vote of censure on the lord-lieutenant for refusing to transmit the address. Continuing to proceed as if he were pressing a siege or carrying a citadel by rapidly repeated assaults, not determining on a great state question, which certainly called for some deliberation, Grattan, on the 25th, moved that the supplies should be voted only for three months; and next, that the army should be provided for only for the same length of time; and both his motions were carried—the first by 104 against 85, the second by 102 against 77. The joint committee of Irish Lords and Commons, who had arrived on the 25th, presented their address to the prince at Carlton House on the day following. His royal highness returned his warmest thanks, but acquainted them with the fortunate change which had taken place in the king's health, and which he hoped, within a few days, would enable his majesty to resume his government, and make it only necessary for him (the prince) to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland which he felt indelibly in his heart. Personally the members of the Irish committee were treated very differently from the English deputation, in which the starch figure of Pitt had been included. A splendid entertainment was given to them at Carlton House, and the leaders of the prince's party, foremost among whom stood Sheridan and Burke, both Irishmen by birth, were invited to meet them. The grand dining-room was hung with harps and other Irish emblems; and the arms of Ireland, encircled with a glory, blazed triumphantly in the centre of the table. The wine flowed in torrents, and all was loyalty and jollity.* As a son, the prince might rejoice, for that very morning the

* It was at this famed feast that Burke made his famous pun. Some of the Irish guests (the fact seems almost incredible) objected to the "one bottle more before we part," proposed by the Prince of Wales. "Come," said Burke, "the prince on this occasion is absolute *jure de vino*."

king was pronounced perfectly free from his complaint; and a paper was posted at St. James's, stating that, by his majesty's command, the phy-

GEORGIANA DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE. From a Painting by Sir J. Reynolds.

sicians were to issue no more bulletins. But there had been feasting in that mansion when, according to the natural feelings of ordinary men, it

JANE DUCHESS OF GORDON. From a Painting by Sir J. Reynolds.

ought to have been a house of mourning. During the malady of the king and the great party struggle on the Regency Bill, dinners began to be given at Carlton House on the Saturday and Sunday of every week; to which entertainments thirty or more members of both Houses were usually invited, and at which the Prince of Wales and Duke of York presided. These dinners were given, of course, for political purposes. It is said that wine, flattering attentions, and promises were not spared; that governments, regiments, offices, and preferments were held out in prospect to retain the wavering and allure the credulous or the discontented.* Strenuous efforts were made by the two rival duchesses of the day—by her Grace of Devonshire for the regent and Charles Fox, and by her Grace of Gordon for William Pitt. These female auxiliaries were each of the greatest importance to her party: the Duchess of Devonshire, who was said to have gained Fox his Westminster election in 1784, had captivating graces not to be resisted; and the Duchess of Gordon had a bold masculine spirit, which cared for no rebuff and carried her triumphantly over most obstacles. She is said to have acted as a regular whipper-in for ministers, giving splendid parties at her house in Pall Mall, not far from Carlton Palace, inviting or summoning members of parliament, and those who had influence or command over them, and arguing, remonstrating, or bullying with them. The traditions of these things will preserve the name of Jane Duchess of Gordon in political history.† During the latter part of the parliamentary proceedings the Duchess of Gordon's house and Carlton House are said to have presented scenes of very extraordinary agitation. In the streets of London and Westminster the old trade of lampooning and caricaturing each other was revived by the two contending parties, and numerous jests were interchanged upon a very lugubrious business, and at what was, in reality, a dangerous crisis. A caricaturist, in the Tory interest, represented the Prince of Wales in the act of stealing the crown from his sick father: an ingenious artist, on the other side, represented Pitt, Dundas, and Thurlow as the three weird sisters dancing on a barren heath, with their eyes fixed on the moon, out of which shone resplendently the approving countenance of Queen Charlotte, while the king's profile was clouded over so as to be scarcely visible. The soberer part of the nation, the majority of the people, were decidedly inclined to the side of Pitt and the king. The personal popularity of the sovereign had increased wonderfully: it was already a habit to call him "the good old king," to point to his moral, domestic modes of life, and to

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs. Wraxall was a decided Pittite, and somewhat given to detail more than he knew or than was actually true; but his word may be taken implicitly on this occasion, being supported by abundant testimony.

† Id.—In spite of his political predilections, the baronet, like nearly every one else that knew anything of the rival duchesses, admired the feminine graces, the amiability, and elegance of the Duchess of Devonshire much more than he did the manly qualities of the Scottish Duchess. He moreover hints that her Grace of Gordon's exertions were far from being disinterested—that she had a plan to secure the unloving and not very loveable premier as a husband for one of her five unmarried daughters—that it was through her active services on former occasions that her easy husband received the great seal of Scotland, and that his brother, Lord William Gordon, obtained the enviable sinecure of ranger of St. James's and Hyde Parks.

contrast them, perhaps uncharitably and unwisely, with those of the young and gay prince: the dreadful malady of his majesty only endeared him the more by exciting compassion and sympathy; and in their generous feelings for the individual, and in their anxiety that he should be restored to his kingly state, people were but too apt to overlook the inconveniences and dangers that might possibly have attended his restoration to the throne. The city of London, which had once been the great centre of opposition, was now enthusiastically loyal; and, though Fox, the charming duchess, and the Whigs maintained their superiority in Westminster, the capital and its thickly peopled neighbourhood gave very strong proofs of their preferring the restored government of the king with Pitt's ministry, to the untried government of the prince with a Whig cabinet. The Whigs, in fact, were still labouring under that heavy burden of unpopularity which they had imposed upon themselves by the coalition; several of their leaders were suspected of a want not merely of political principle, but of common honesty: in the heat of debate on the Regency Bill they had delivered sentiments highly offensive to all loyal subjects, or to all the admirers of "the good old king;" and their disrespect, their heat, and vehemence were attributed entirely to their selfish impatience to obtain the emoluments and honours of office. We shall not here attempt either to condemn or justify these feelings: we merely state what appears to have been the fact in 1789—that the Whig party in the nation was decidedly in the minority, and its eloquent leaders distrusted even by many of those who admired their abilities and genius. The principal merits and demerits of the bill will appear from the clauses themselves, and from the debates upon them which have been given. As the bill never came into operation we may reserve further reflections on the regency question in general till the year 1811, when a bill was passed which was acted upon, and when several eminent constitutional lawyers and writers treated the subject in all its possible bearings.* We need merely say here that the Whigs in their first move committed a blunder in claiming a regency for the prince as a matter of *right* without previous consent of parliament; that, though they hastily retraced their steps, they could not soon efface the unfavourable impressions they had made on that delicate, critical ground; that parliament and the framers of the bill were really placed in a most difficult dilemma, for, if they gave too much power to the regent, the restoration of authority to the king must have been rendered difficult and in various ways embarrassing; and if, on the other hand, they gave too little power to the regent, they must have destroyed or injured his efficiency as representative of the third estate, and thus impaired the monarchic part of the constitution. The whole tendency of Pitt's scheme was in the latter direction, and nothing but his inward conviction that the king must soon recover can be pleaded in excuse of many portions of his Regency Bill. It was no time for trying experiments; the flames of revolution kindled in France were spreading rapidly through the European continent, and thrones and dynasties were swept away, consumed, and obliterated as if they had never been. Voltaire's Epiphany, or Day of Kings, was more than realized.

As the bill had not been actually passed—as the royalty in the great seal had not been impressed upon it, it was not considered necessary to adhere to the complicated method prescribed by it for announcing the king's recovery and restoration to his royal capacity. The declaration of the lord chancellor and the chancellor of the exchequer, the bulletins of the physicians, and the royal order by which those bulletins were suspended as being no longer necessary, were considered ample announcement and ground sufficient to enable the king to resume the government and exercise all the functions of his office. It is true, as urged by one of Pitt's biographers, that a formal inquiry into the fact of his majesty's restoration to health might have been painful and indelicate; but, on the other hand, the interests of the nation imperatively demanded that his recovery should be authenticated, and publicly and formally confirmed, before the sovereign was reinstated. There were other arguments used at the time which would have gone to establish the theory that a king once mad must be considered as always mad, inasmuch as it was not possible to determine the precise points where insanity began and ended, or to intrust any authority to a king who might be sane to-day, and mad again to-morrow. On Tuesday the 3rd of March the Lords met, but only to adjourn again till the 5th. On that day they were informed by the chancellor that his majesty would signify his further pleasure to both Houses on the Tuesday following. Both Houses accordingly adjourned till Tuesday the 10th of March. Then, the Commons being summoned as usual at the opening of parliaments, whether by the king in person or by commission, repaired to the House of Lords with their speaker at their head, and were informed by the chancellor that his majesty, not thinking fit to be there present in his royal person, had caused a commission to be issued, authorising the commissioners who had been appointed by former letters patent to hold that parliament to open and declare certain further causes for holding the same. The commission was then read, and the chancellor, in the name of the commissioners, informed the two Houses that his majesty, being, by the blessing of Providence, happily recovered from his severe indisposition, and being able to attend to the public affairs of his kingdom, had commanded the com-

* No inconsiderable number of essays and pamphlets were published now in 1788-9. The very first publication of the late Sir James Mackintosh was a pamphlet supporting the analogy which, Fox endeavoured to establish between the state of the sovereign and the natural demise of the crown. This *coup d'essai* of the young metaphysician did not attract much public notice; but it secured to its author, in later years, the kindly recollections of the Prince of Wales.—*Memoirs of Mackintosh, by his Son.*

missioners to convey to them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs which they had given of their attachment to his person, &c.; and that they were ordered by his majesty to acquaint them, that, since the close of the last session, he had concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with the King of Prussia; and that his majesty's endeavours had been employed during the last summer in order to prevent the extension of hostilities in Europe. Addresses were then moved in both Houses as at the beginning of a session. In the Lords Earl Stanhope expressed some doubts as to the regularity of their proceedings, and their not having his majesty's recovery ascertained in the method laid down in the Regency Bill; but his objections were asserted by Thurlow to be of no force, and the House went along with the Chancellor. In the Commons Mr. Yorke, who seconded the address, observed that the House might congratulate themselves on having proceeded with more caution than expedition with the late bill; and that it must be to them a source of exultation to perceive that his majesty was able, on resuming the duties of his office, not only to approve, but likewise to applaud their proceedings. Fox said they were merely getting up an eulogium on ministers—that he did not believe the king intended to express any such opinion of the late parliamentary proceedings—that he entertained too high an opinion of his majesty's regard for justice to suppose him capable of deciding between two parties without previously hearing both.* The addresses being carried in both Houses, a congratulatory address to her majesty was moved in the Upper House by the Earl of Morton, seconded by Lord Hawkesbury; and in the Lower by the Marquess of Graham, seconded by Mr. Hamilton. Fox made some objection to this address, and thought that, if all Europe had admired the queen's conduct, there was likewise another person whose conduct had equally excited universal admiration, and whose character had acquired additional splendour; and that, if her majesty should be addressed, there was no reason why an address should not be presented to the *Prince of Wales*. Pitt said that he did not believe any difference of opinion existed relative to the virtues of the heir-apparent; that he had not the slightest objection to address that illustrious person, if any precedent for it could be found. On that night the popular feeling was shown by such an illumination of the capital and suburbs as had never been witnessed before. To eyes that were as yet strangers to the brilliancy of gas, London seemed one blaze of light. The illumination was literally general—from the richest down to the poorest houses. The popular enthusiasm seemed to be boundless. On the following day the Spanish and Prussian ambassadors were admitted to a private audience of the king. All the business which had been so long delayed began now to be dispatched with all possible speed. On the 18th of March 218,000*l.* was granted for the extraordinaries of the ordnance. The money was meant to be applied to the erecting of more fortifications in our West India islands—a scheme which was again condemned by General Burgoyne, Sheridan, and other members of opposition. On the 24th Mr. Beaufoy moved for leave to bring in a bill, "To establish a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving to Almighty God for having, by the glorious Revolution, delivered this nation from arbitrary power, and to commemorate annually the confirmation of the people's rights." Beaufoy proposed that the bill should contain that brief but comprehensive abstract of the rights of the people which is exhibited in the Bill of Rights, and should be annually read in our churches as a part of the service of the day. He was seconded by Lord Muncaster, and opposed by Sir Richard Hill, who thought the event sufficiently commemorated in the form of prayer appointed for the 5th of November. The bill, however, was not only brought in, but carried through all its stages in the House of Commons. The Lords seemed less disposed to pay any additional honour to the Revolution of 1688, which had brought the reigning family to the throne. On the motion for the first reading the Bishop of Bangor (Doctor Warren) pointed out the several parts of the service of the 5th of November which had been added and altered for the purpose of commemorating the Revolution; and the bill was thrown out, on his motion, by a vote of 13 of their lordships against 6, without the ceremony of having been even once read, to which a bill proposed by a peer is considered to be entitled of right, and which is usually accorded in courtesy to any measure sent up from the other House. On the 2nd of April Fox renewed the attempts he had made in several successive years for the repeal of the shop-tax, and at length succeeded in carrying that measure. In consequence of this repeal Mr. Dempster proposed and carried the abolition of the additional tax and restrictions which had been laid upon hawkers and pedlars. On the 8th of April Pitt rose to acquaint the House that he was commanded to inform them that his majesty had appointed Thursday, the 23rd of April, to be observed as a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God for that signal interposition of his good providence which had removed from his majesty the late illness under which he had suffered; and that, for the greater solemnity of that day, his majesty would go to St. Paul's church to return thanks to Almighty God; and that his majesty had given the necessary orders for providing places in the cathedral for the members of that House. It was forthwith resolved that the thanks of the House should be returned to his majesty; that the House would attend, as a House, in St. Paul's; and that a committee should be appointed to consider of the manner of the House going to the church, and of such regulations as might be

* It is said that one of the first uses the king made of his recovered senses was to peruse the reports of the debates on the regency question, and to take especial note of those who had been warmest on the side of the Prince of Wales, and of those also who had deserted the minister on that trying occasion.

necessary for preserving order upon that occasion. On the appointed day London was thronged to excess. The procession began at eight o'clock in the morning, the Commons in their coaches, and with their Speaker in his state coach, going first. Then came the masters in chancery, the judges, and after them the Peers, with the Lord Chancellor in his state coach in their rear. The next in order were the princes and princesses; and they were followed by their majesties, who were hailed with the loudest and most hearty acclamations. At Temple Bar their majesties were met by the Lord Mayor in his gown of crimson velvet, and by the sheriffs and aldermen in their formalities. At the west door of the cathedral they were received by the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the canons. After a flourish of martial music from the regimental bands stationed outside, they entered the cathedral amidst the peal of organs and the voices of five thousand children of the city charity schools, who were placed between the pillars on both sides, and singing the hundredth psalm. The king was much affected, and, as he was walking across the area under the great dome between the bishop and the dean,* he said to the dean, with great emotion, "*I now feel that I have been ill!*" but, recovering himself, he proceeded to the choir. When *Te Deum* was sung the Tower and Park guns were fired. The procession returned towards St. James's in the same order and amidst the same acclamations, and at night all London was again illuminated. There might be selfishness, insincerity, hollowness, and hypocrisy in some of the high places, but we see no reason to doubt what we are told by the eye-witnesses of this prolonged jubilee, that the rejoicing of the people bore every appearance of being genuine, heart-felt, and spontaneous.†

On the 12th of May, an elaborate report from the privy council on the slave trade being laid upon the table of the House of Commons, together with petitions for and against the abolition of that traffic, it was voted, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the report, with other papers, should be immediately taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House. In committee, Wilberforce, who in private had received promises and encouragement from his friend the premier, made a long and excellent speech, and concluded with moving twelve resolutions condemnatory of the traffic and the barbarous treatment of African slaves. Pitt said he was willing that the resolutions should be entered on the journals. Burke and Fox supported Wilberforce with their usual animation. Burke "thought the House, the nation, and all Europe under very great and serious obligations to the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) for having brought the subject forward in a manner the most masterly, impressive, and eloquent. A trade begun with savage war, prosecuted with unheard-of cruelty, continued during the mid-passage with the most loathsome imprisonment, and ending in perpetual exile and unremitted slavery, was a trade so horrid in all its circumstances, that it was impossible a single satisfactory argument could be adduced in its favour." Fox applauded Wilberforce for proposing to do what he thought it their duty to do—completely to abolish the traffic in slaves. He was glad that the propositions were to be put upon the journals, for if, unfortunately, the attempt should fail, it might succeed another year. He felt certain that sooner or later it *must* succeed, and that our example would be followed by other nations. He reminded the House of the salutary changes which were now taking place in France, and which he seemed to consider as sufficient to remove former prejudices and antipathies, and to justify the most sanguine hopes. He said, "he had sometimes been thought to use too harsh expressions of France in treating her as the rival of this country. Politically speaking, France certainly was our rival; but he well knew the distinction between political enmity and illiberal prejudice. If there was any great and enlightened nation *now* existing in Europe it was France, which was as likely as any nation on the face of the globe to act on the present subject with warmth and with enthusiasm; to catch a spark from the light of our fire, and to run a race with us in promoting the ends of humanity. France had been often improperly stimulated by her ambition; he had no doubt but that she would, in the present instance, readily follow its honourable dictates." The House sat in committee for some days, hearing the evidence offered by the petitioners, and then adjourned the further consideration of the matter to the next session.

At the beginning of June Lord Sydney resigned, and was succeeded both as secretary of state for the home department and as president of the board of control by Mr. Grenville, who had so recently been nominated speaker of the House of Commons. Sir Gilbert Elliot was again proposed as speaker, but the ministerial nominee, Addington, son of the physician of that name, was elected by a majority of 73, the numbers being 215 against 142. On the 10th of June Pitt opened the budget, reviewing his financial career ever since he had been chancellor of the exchequer, and congratulating the country on the fact that his hopes of the efficacy of a sinking-fund, &c., had been proved to have been well founded. As, however, there had been several extraordinary expenses, such as paying the Prince of Wales's debts and the debts on the civil list, fitting out the armament in the summer of 1787, &c., it was now necessary to raise one million by loan, and to increase lightly some taxes or duties. Sheridan denied that the minister's hopes had been well founded, or his financial career a wise and prosperous one; and he asserted that there was in reality an annual deficit of two millions, and that

* Doctor George Pretyman Tomline, who had been Pitt's tutor, who obtained the See of Lincoln in 1787, and who was translated to Winchester in 1820.

† Ann. Regist.—Gent.'s Mag.—Tomline, Life of Pitt.

the minister's darling project, the sinking-fund, would never pay off the national debt. Exactly a month later, on the 10th of July, Sheridan moved "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the public income and expenditure, into the progress actually made in the reduction of the national debt since the year 1786, and into the grounds on which a reduction of the same may be expected in future, and to report the same, with their observations thereon, to the House; and that the said committee do consist of Henry Bankes, Esq., Daniel Parker Coke, Esq., George Dempster, Esq., William Drake, jun., Esq., William Hussey, Esq., Sir William Lemon, Bart., James Lowther, Esq., James Martin, Esq., Mr. Alderman Newnham, Edward Philips, Esq., Charles Anderson Pelham, Esq., Thomas Stanley, Esq., Sir George Augustus William Shuckburgh, Bart., Mr. Alderman Watson, and the Earl of Wycombe." Sheridan insisted that the report of the committee of 1786 was neither founded on fact nor verified by experience; that the minister, aided by that report, had deceived the nation; and that no rational expectation could be entertained that any progress could be made in the reduction of the national debt except by a considerable increase of the national revenue or a considerable reduction in our expenses. There was a long debate, but Sheridan's motion was negatived without a division, as was a motion to the same effect in the Upper House, made by Lord Rawdon and seconded by the Duke of Richmond. In the month of June Pitt had submitted to the House a plan for transferring the duties on tobacco from the customs to the excise, with the view of putting a stop to the contraband trade in that commodity. He had urged that one-half of the tobacco consumed in the kingdom was smuggled, and that the revenue was defrauded, by this means only, to the amount of nearly 300,000*l.* per annum. This tobacco bill was reported on the 15th of July, when the old jealousy as to any extension of the excise laws was revived in full force. Sir Watkin Lewes proposed a clause for checking abuses of authority on the part of the excise officers; and the debates were prolonged through several days. On the 16th Fox spoke at some length on the subject. He said he could not see without concern that many persons, blinded by a species of political frenzy, were thrown into so superstitious a reverence for the revenue that they would sacrifice everything for that object. He thought it dangerous and unconstitutional to send bevies of excisemen to interfere on all occasions with manufactures, and invade the privacy of the houses of the people. When they talked in that House, day after day, of the birthrights of Englishmen, for which they had shed their blood, and were ready to shed it again, did they mean nothing but empty sounds? He could not but consider any extension of the excise laws as a very important matter; and that the bringing such a measure forward at that advanced part of the year, when it could not be properly discussed, as the House was so thinned, was a proof of inexcusable indifference to the rights and liberties of their countrymen. On another day Fox compared Pitt's new excise bills to the excise upon cider, so unfortunately brought forward by the Earl of Bute. He said there had been a distinction taken—that excising cider was bringing the officers of excise into a private gentleman's house, and that an excise on a trade was very different. Fox declared that he saw no force in the distinction, and that the shop of the trader was as much his castle as the dwelling of the private gentleman. He admitted that, unless the expenses of government could be reduced, the revenue must be kept up; but he thought that this might be done in a manner less offensive to industry and the manners and feelings of the people. In the end several clauses were struck out or altered, and the bill was passed in a very thin House. It met with considerable opposition in the Lords, particularly from Loughborough and Stormont. Even Chancellor Thurlow, who found that his colleagues were not disposed to pardon his late tergiversations, treated the enacting part of the bill with great bitterness and contempt. He maintained that it was unnecessary thus to extend the vexatious precautions and preventive severities of the excise laws; that proper attention had not been paid to the interests and property of the tobacco-manufacturers; that the greater part of the clauses were absurd, contradictory, ungrammatical, and unintelligible. He hoped that the House of Commons, if they meant to preserve their right of having their money-bills untouched in that House, would not insult their lordships by sending up laws to them that would disgrace a set of schoolboys. [To the initiated all this was little less than declaring, "I have quarrelled with Pitt, and either he must cease to be prime minister or I must cease to be lord chancellor."] Although he by so doing exposed the minister's bill to the hazard of being upset for that session, the prorogation being now close at hand, Thurlow moved an amendment. He was, however, defeated by a majority of three, the numbers being 10 against 7. The Duke of Richmond then moved another amendment, which was carried, in the belief that the Commons would not object to it: but upon the third reading of the bill, which was on the very morning of the prorogation, the amendment was withdrawn and the bill was passed as sent up from the other House.

The occupation and excitement produced by the Regency Bill, and then by the recovery of the king, had proved very disadvantageous to the progress of Hastings's impeachment. Moreover, the grand spectacle in Westminster Hall had lost its attraction and novelty. On the 3rd of February Hastings had presented a petition to the Lords complaining of the great hardships to which the extraordinary duration of the trial had subjected him. He mentioned the death of several of his judges, the long detention of witnesses necessary for his defence, the probability of his being deprived of many of them by various accidents; and he spoke

of his health as broken and of his fortune as already wasted by the enormous expenses to which he had been subjected. He reminded their lordships that only two articles of charge out of twenty had as yet been gone through by his accusers; that his expenses had already exceeded 30,000*l.*; and consequently, should his life be continued to the close of the trial, he might find himself destitute of the means of defence and even of subsistence, and run the dreadful chance of having his character blasted by unrefuted criminations, there being no possibility of defending himself effectually without money. He implored their lordships to do what in them lay to expedite the trial. It was the 20th of April before the Lords could resume their court in the Hall; and during the prolonged and busy session of parliament they could not sit more than seventeen days. The charge opened to them on the 21st by Burke related to the corrupt receipt of money. In the course of his speech Burke alluded to Nuncomar, and, very indiscreetly, said, "*that Mr. Hastings had murdered Nuncomar by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey.*" After Impey's triumphant defence, and the conduct of the House of Commons in regard to him, this was not only irregular, but unpardonable. On the 27th of April Major Scott presented to the Commons a petition from Hastings, who complained of the words used, and charged Burke with introducing a variety of accusations extraneous to the charges which had been found by the House, and by them inserted in the articles of impeachment.* Scott accused Burke of being guilty of *cool*, deliberate, systematic, and *intentional* misrepresentation, imputing to Hastings horrible crimes of which he well knew him to be innocent. Burke called the Major the systematic libeller of the House of Commons, said that no credit was due to his assertions, and that he ought to have been expelled the House long ago. The managers endeavoured to prevent the petition being received, contending that it was irregular and unprecedented; that, if every expression not agreeable to the feelings of the party accused were not fit to be used in a criminal prosecution, there must be an end to such prosecutions; that a practice of petitioning against the accuser would convert him into a species of defendant, and, by creating a diversion, defeat the prosecution of crimes. Fox asked whether the House would suffer the culprit to come forward and object to the mode of proceeding against him? the accused to arraign the conduct of his accusers? Burke said, the power of prosecuting and enforcing the charges against Hastings under the strict injunction not to use one extraneous word, must be compared to the power given to Shylock to take a pound of flesh upon condition of his not spilling one drop of blood, a task which neither Jew nor Christian could perform. Pitt, on the other side, urged that Hastings, though the object of their accusation, did not cease to be the object of their justice, and therefore ought not to be deprived of the right belonging to every subject, of preferring a petition and stating a grievance to that House. The petition was received without a division, and the subject of it was ordered to be taken into consideration on the 30th. In the meantime the Lords were requested to suspend proceedings on the trial. On the 30th several doubts and difficulties were started on the ministerial side, and had the usual effect of creating delay. Burke offered to withdraw and to cast himself on the honour and justice of the House; but in so doing he, in substance, repeated the accusation against Impey, and revived the whole story of Nuncomar's having been destroyed in order to screen Hastings. The debate was renewed on the morrow, the 1st of May. Mr. Montague produced and read, as part of his speech, a letter written by Burke to explain and defend his conduct in the Hall. Burke described himself as being, in his capacity of accuser, merely the servant of the House, who had put into his hands a sacred trust. Hastings's petition against the words he had used he described as a stratagem familiar to the politics of Calcutta, for turning the accuser into a defendant, and for diverting inquiry. His letter said, "The House, having, upon an opinion of my diligence and fidelity, (for they could have no other motive,) put a great trust into my hands, *ought to give me an entire credit for the veracity of every fact I affirm or deny;* but, if they fail with regard to me, it is at least in my power to be true to myself. I will not commit myself in an unbecoming contention with the agents of a criminal whom it is my duty to bring to justice. I am a member of a committee of secrecy, and I will not violate my trust by turning myself into a defendant and bringing forward in my own exculpation the evidence which I have prepared for his conviction. I will not let him know on what documents I rely. I will not let him know who the witnesses for the prosecution are, nor what they have to depose against him: though I have no sort of doubt of the constancy and integrity of those witnesses, yet because they are men, and men to whom, from my own situation, I owe protection, I ought not to expose them either to temptation or danger. I will not hold them out to be importuned, or menaced, or discredited, or run down, or possibly to be ruined in their fortunes, by the power and influence of this delinquent, except where the national service supersedes all other considerations. If I must suffer, I will suffer alone. No man shall fall a sacrifice to a feeble sensibility on my part, that at this time of day might make me impatient of those libels, which by despising through so many years I have at length obtained the honour of being joined in commission with this committee, and becoming a humble instrument in the hands of public justice." In favour of Hastings it was proposed that evidence should be taken to prove the words of which

* Besides the death of Nuncomar, Hastings said that Burke had charged him with being concerned in a plot to assassinate the son of the Mogul, with being equally concerned in another plot to murder the son of Meer Jaffier Khan, and with being accessory to the horrible cruelties imputed to Debi Sing.

he complained in his petition; and after some contention it was agreed that evidence should be heard, and it was moved that the short-hand writer who had taken notes of the trial should be called in. Fox and Sir Grey Cooper objected that this last proposal was contrary to the uniform practice of parliament, and a very improper method of proving words spoken by a member of that House; that it was contrary to rule to permit words spoken by a member to be noticed in that House except by a member; and that such words must also be taken down at the moment, and the objection to them stated, in order to allow the person uttering them an opportunity of explaining his meaning. They said, the House was now for the first time going to call in a third party as witness of words spoken in their own presence, a precedent that might lead to the most serious consequences. These objections had so much weight that a motion was made and carried for appointing a committee to search for precedents. On the 4th of May the said committee reported that there were no precedents of any complaints of words spoken by managers for the Commons in Westminster Hall. The managers then objected as strongly as before to the examination of any short-hand writer; but they were defeated upon a division by 115 against 66, and the short-hand writer who had taken down Burke's words charging Impey again with the murder of Nuncomar, and other foul deeds, was called to the bar and gave evidence to that effect. There was then another debate as to whether all the particulars complained of in Hastings's petition should be inquired into, or whether the House might select any particular part. Pitt thought that no attention ought to be paid to any words spoken by Burke in Westminster Hall the preceding year, as the complaint had been so long deferred; and that they ought rather to confine themselves to the words recently spoken about Nuncomar. The managers complained that this would be unfair and arbitrary; but the House adopted the course recommended by the minister. Then a fresh difference arose as to the extent of the examination upon the particular point of complaint which had been selected by the House. Fox and the other managers insisted that the whole of that part of Burke's speech which related to Nuncomar ought to be produced, as necessary to elucidate the nature of the words complained of. The ministerialists, on the contrary, professed to be of opinion that it was only necessary to ask the witness whether Burke had made use of those express words. Fox, who seemed to put his whole soul into the cause of his friend, condemned in the most passionate manner the indignity and injustice with which the House were treating Burke. At length it was agreed that some part of the speech preceding the injurious words should be read. When this was done the Marquess of Graham, one of the lords of the treasury, moved "That the said words were not authorised by any proceedings of that House." Fox said that he could not object to this motion, as it conveyed no censure, and as after it should pass it would be fully competent for him, Mr. Burke, or any other manager, to repeat the words complained of. Sheridan and Wyndham spoke to the same effect. On the other side it was represented by Pitt that, though the motion meant no direct censure, yet it implied that the managers had exceeded the powers the House had intrusted them with. This again called up Fox, who intreated the House to deal with openness and candour. If they meant to censure the managers of the impeachment, the House, he said, ought to change them and appoint others. The House, he insisted, could not, consistently with its own honour, continue them in the management, nor would they consent to remain in that elevated situation under an imputed censure of their conduct. But, if the motion meant no more than the words conveyed, they should feel no hesitation to pursue, upon any similar occasion, precisely the same line of conduct. In consequence of these declarations the Marquess of Graham rose to make the censure of the House direct and explicit, moving an addition to his former motion, to the effect that the words used by Burke as to the murder of Nuncomar ought not to have been spoken. This roused all the passion of Fox, who, in a long and eloquent speech, denounced the conduct of the minister and his adherents as an iniquitous interference with the ends of justice, and an atrocious wrong done to one of the best, wisest, and greatest of men; and he moved as an amendment to the amendment the addition of the following words—"Although in the charge exhibited by the Commons of Great Britain, upon which the House voted the impeachment, there are the following words, namely, 'That the evidence of this man (meaning Nuncomar) not having been entered into at the time when it might and ought to have been done by the said Warren Hastings, remains justly in force against him, and is not abated by the capital punishment of the said Nuncomar, but rather confirmed by the time and circumstances in which the accuser of the said Warren Hastings suffered death,' and to which charge the said Warren Hastings, at the bar of this House, made the following answer, namely, 'To the malicious part of this charge, which is the condemnation of Nuncomar for a forgery, I do declare in the most solemn and unreserved manner that I had no concern, either directly or indirectly, in the apprehending, prosecuting, or execution of Nuncomar;' and although the managers who have been appointed by the House to arrange the evidence and enforce the charges against the said Warren Hastings are of opinion that the aforesaid declarations used by the said Right Hon. Edmund Burke were essentially necessary to the support of one of the principal charges voted by this House." Fox was answered by Pitt; and, after his amendment had been negatived without a division, Graham's motion was carried by a majority of a little more than

two to one.* Mr. Bouverie immediately moved "That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, and the rest of the managers, for their exertions and assiduity in the prosecution of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esquire, and that they be desired to persevere in the same." This was objected to by the master of the rolls, and the motion of course was lost.† That night the managers held a meeting, at which it was seriously discussed whether they should not throw up their charge altogether; and on the following morning they held another meeting, at which Burke, though not without difficulty, induced them to agree to proceed. Burke, it is said, represented to his colleagues that Hastings's petition, with all that had followed it, was nothing but a stratagem intended to drive them from their duty as accusers, and so to screen the accused. On the next day he opened his speech in Westminster Hall with a comparison of the relative situations of himself and the prisoner at the bar; and related all that had passed in the Commons. He said that he did not mean to question the justice of the late votes and decisions of that House, although he must complain that those decisions went to narrow the line of their proceedings on the impeachment. He confessed that he had charged Mr. Hastings with the destruction of a witness (Nuncomar) whose evidence was necessary to the present charge; but he declared that in stating this he had said no more than he really believed, and no more than he hoped to be able to prove. He said he had used the word *murder*, perhaps not in the strictly legal, but only in the moral and popular sense, to denote a crime as enormous as any murder. He declared that this conviction could only be torn from him with his life. Several reports had got abroad, as that Fox was decidedly averse to proceeding with the impeachment; that sundry disagreements had broken out among the managers; and that the greatest personages in the country were very desirous the trial should stop. A few days after Mr. Marsham complained in the House of Commons of a paragraph in a newspaper, which said that "the trial of Mr. Hastings was to be put off to another session, unless the House of Lords had spirit enough to put an end to so shameful a business." A warm debate followed, in which great complaints were made of the scandalous licentiousness of the public press. Burke read from one of the newspapers a curious paper, purporting to be a bill of charges made by the editor to Hastings's champion, Major Scott. The items charged consisted chiefly of attacks and lampoons upon the managers. One was "for attacking the veracity of Mr. Burke, 3*s.* 6*d.*," which Burke said was but small pay for such service. A motion was made and unanimously carried for prosecuting the printer of the paper of which Mr. Marsham complained.

Meanwhile the trial went on languidly. The great hall was no longer crowded—the seemingly interminable accounts of Hastings's corruption wearied and thinned the audience day after day. Legal doubts and difficulties occurred rather frequently, or were ingeniously suggested by the counsel for the prisoner; and, on nearly every one of these occasions, the Lords withdrew to their chamber of parliament to deliberate and consult by themselves. All these retreats and returns made Lord Stanhope say that the judges walked and the trial stood still. After one of these marches and counter-marches it was announced as the decision of their lordships, "that it was not competent for the managers to produce the examination of Nuncomar in evidence, the said managers not having proved or even stated anything as a ground for admitting such evidence." It seems difficult to conceive how the managers could have expected any other decision: the character of Nuncomar as a witness and maker of evidence had been fully ascertained; and the examination in question was what had been taken in the council at Calcutta by Clavering, Monson, and Francis when they were more powerful than the governor, and when their hatred of him was at its greatest height. The managers, however, in their turn, now desired leave to withdraw, that they, too, might consult apart. Upon their return into court Burke declared that it was with equal surprise and concern the managers had heard the determination of their lordships, which would exceedingly increase the difficulty of convicting the criminal; but that to this, as to other hardships, they must submit. A day or two after their lordships, under the guidance of the chancellor, resolved, after another walk to their own chamber, that certain evidence taken out of the minutes at Calcutta should not be admitted. Here Burke exclaimed that he gave joy to all Indian delinquents. "Plunder on," said he; "the laws intended to restrain you are mere scarecrows. Accumulate wealth by any means, however illegal, profligate, infamous. You are sure of impunity; for the natives of India are, by their religion, debarred from appearing against you out of their own country, and circumstantial evidence will not be received." Fox proposed reading some long consultations of the council at Calcutta as evidence. Upon this their lordships again repaired to their own chamber of parliament, and nothing more was done that day. On the morrow the managers were informed that the consultations could not now be read. Burke said that he felt consoled by the use of the word *now*, as it led him to hope that the evidence might be read at some other time. Before many more words had been spoken fresh doubts arose, and the managers begged leave to withdraw. When the managers returned and gave in their answer, the Lords adjourned to submit a question about the reception of evidence to the twelve judges. The opinion of the judges was unfavourable to the managers, who had wished to produce evidence which had not been given upon oath. The managers now bitterly complained that

* 135 against 66.

† The dispute in the House had occupied *four days*.

the opinions and decisions of their lordships were delivered imperatively, without any accompanying reasons or explanations; and that they were thwarted by forms of law in their search after justice. Burke again declared that the criminal was improperly screened. He said the decision "held out to future governors of Bengal the most certain and unbounded impunity. Peculation in India would be no longer practised, as it used to be, with caution and with secrecy: it would in future stalk abroad in noon-day, and act without disguise; because, after such a decision as had been made by their lordships, there was no possibility of bringing into a court the proofs of peculation." To prove the corruption of Hastings in his transactions with the Munny Begum, the managers desired that Philip Francis, Esq., should be called in. To this the Lords objected. There then followed warm disputes between the managers and the counsel for the defendant as to the production in evidence of some letters and papers said to have been written by the Munny Begum, and several days were spent in these discussions. The Lords then adjourned to their own chamber to consult and deliberate; and when the Court next met, it was announced that the said papers could not be read. Burke argued that they were ruining his case by naked technicalities; and he claimed to know the opinions upon which their lordships' decision was grounded. His temper had already been repeatedly tried by Law, the best or the boldest of Hastings's counsel; and now another violent altercation took place between them. Law affirmed that to produce accusations against any man not capable of proof was to be guilty of a slander and a calumny. Burke replied, that, though some of his accusations might not be susceptible of strictly legal proof, they were supported by evidence that would convince men's consciences. Law was taxed with using insolent and indecent language; on which he excused himself by saying that he did not mean to apply the words slander and calumny to the House of Commons, but he had the authority of that House for declaring that the honourable manager had used slanderous and calumnious expressions not authorised by them. Here Fox rose with great indignation and exclaimed "that it was indecent and highly irregular, in an advocate, to allude to what had taken place within the walls of the House of Commons; that the learned counsel had done worse, he had misrepresented that to which he had presumed to allude; he had charged the whole body of the Commons with having sent up slanders in the shape of charges, and he had pronounced the deputies of the Commons calumniators, merely because they offered in evidence those very documents on the authority of which the Commons had pronounced the charges to be well founded, and sent them, as articles of impeachment, to the Lords." Law defended himself by saying that he alluded only to what the honourable manager himself had told them there of the proceedings in the Commons. Fox said that this was a fresh misrepresentation, as his honourable friend, in describing what had passed in the Commons, had not made use of the terms slander and calumny, nor had stated that any words bearing such interpretation had been used in that House; and he refused to proceed until their lordships should give an opinion on Law's language. The words were taken down and read to Law, who acknowledged them as his. It was then proposed that their lordships should adjourn to their own chamber; but, after some discussion, it was agreed, without adjourning, that the Chancellor should reprimand Law for the improper language which he had used; and accordingly Thurlow made up his severe face, raised his sonorous voice, and told Law that it was contrary to order to advert to anything that had passed in the House of Commons; that it was indecent to apply the terms slander or calumny to anything that was said by their authority; and that such expressions must not be used. This was scarcely over when other difficulties arose about the reception of evidence. Their lordships again withdrew to their own chamber to consult the judges, and the judges demanded a little time for consideration. The trial was thus interrupted for seven days; and when the Court met again, in consequence of some new doubts, their lordships adjourned for six days longer. In the interval they had a long debate in their own House, in which it was voted, by the usual majority, that all their proceedings had been strictly according to precedent. On their again meeting the chancellor requested to know from the managers to what *length of time* it appeared to them their proceedings on this branch of the subject would extend. The managers replied that, even if no delay were got up by the lawyers, the proceedings must occupy several days. As the prorogation was at hand, this seemed to point to another session for the settling of this single charge. Hastings hereupon said that if the trial went on at this pace, his remaining life would not be long enough to see the end of it. He declared that if he had foreseen such an interminable process he would rather have pleaded Guilty at the beginning; and if he had done so he would certainly have been a gainer, at least on the side of the purse. He said he could not expect their lordships to spend many more days on the subject during this session; but, if any specific time could be mentioned in which this charge, which he had been informed was to be the last, would be finished, he would rather waive all defence than postpone the decision to another year. Their lordships adjourned to their chamber of parliament, and there decided that they would proceed on the trial on the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament. It is not surprising that the purse of Hastings and the patience of the public should by this time have been completely worn out, or that the whole subject should have been set aside as a specific for *ever*.*

On the 11th of August parliament was pro-

* Hastings's Trial—Mill, Hist. of Ind.—Ann. Regist.

rogued by commission, the king having gone to Weymouth for the benefit of his health. The closing speech was delivered by the lord chancellor, who, in his majesty's name, declared that the situation of affairs abroad continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace. We shall, however, presently see that the state of Europe, in reality, promised nothing but war.

The king, it is said, resented the conduct of the Prince of Wales and the Whig party, during his malady, in a very decided manner. Three months after his convalescence he wrote a bitter letter to the Duke of Clarence, complaining more particularly of the heir-apparent. This letter was communicated to the Prince of Wales, who thereupon employed the pen of Sheridan to write a letter to his father, who had gone to Weymouth without seeing him. We believe that many other strong intimations of displeasure had been given; but the prince, in the letter which Sheridan wrote for him, said—"Your majesty's letter to my brother the Duke of Clarence, in May last, was the first direct intimation I had ever received that my conduct, and that of my brother the Duke of York, during your majesty's late lamented illness, had brought on us the heavy misfortune of your majesty's displeasure. I should be wholly unworthy the return of your majesty's confidence and good opinion, which will ever be the first objects of my life, if I could have read the passage I refer to in that letter without the deepest sorrow and regret for the effect produced on your majesty's mind; though, at the same time, I felt the firmest persuasion that your majesty's generosity and goodness would never permit that effect to *remain* without affording us an opportunity of knowing what had been urged against us, of replying to our accusers, and of justifying ourselves, if the means of justification were in our power. Great, however, as my impatience and anxiety were on this subject, I felt it a superior consideration not to intrude any unpleasing or agitating discussions upon your majesty's attention during an excursion devoted to the ease and amusement necessary for the re-establishment of your majesty's health. I determined to sacrifice my own feelings, and to wait with resignation till the fortunate opportunity should arrive when your majesty's own paternal goodness would, I was convinced, lead you even to invite your sons to that fair hearing which your justice would not deny to the meanest individual of your subjects. In this painful interval I have employed myself in drawing up a full statement of my conduct during the period alluded to, and of the motives and circumstances which influenced me. When these shall be humbly submitted to your majesty's consideration, I may be possibly found to have erred in judgment, and to have acted on mistaken principles, but I have the most assured conviction that I shall not be found to have been deficient in that duteous affection to your majesty which nothing shall ever diminish. Anxious for everything that may contribute to the comfort and satisfaction of your majesty's mind, I cannot omit this opportunity of lamenting those appearances of a less gracious disposition in the queen towards my brothers and myself than we were accustomed to experience; and to assure your majesty, that, if, by your affectionate interposition, these most unpleasant sensations should be happily removed, it would be an event not less grateful to our minds than satisfactory to your majesty's own benign disposition."* Some months after this letter was written a reconciliation took place between the prince and his father, but on the part of the king it did not appear to be very cordial.

A few months before the dreadful malady of George III., Charles Stuart, the pretender, who had lived for many years in a state of insignificance, died at Rome. His death, hastened by excess in drinking, took place on the 31st of January, 1788. He was buried most royally, had the style and title of King of England engraved on his tomb, was regretted by few, and was soon forgotten. In every place in Italy where he resided tradition is unfavourable to his memory; and there are many more positive records of his vices, irregularities, and follies. He was married in the year 1773 to Louisa Stolberg, a young German lady of a very noble though not royal house. She was beautiful, graceful, accomplished, gentle, amiable, and about nineteen years of age: the *young* pretender was fifty-two years of age, bloated, carbuncled, coarse, capricious, brutal, and tyrannical. The fair German, who took the title of Countess of Albany, had not lived with him long before he endangered her health and even her life by his violence and brutality. When in her twenty-fifth year the lady became acquainted with Count Victor Alfieri, the distinguished Italian poet and dramatist, who conceived an attachment for her which ended only with his life. Some time after this the countess, who had no children, obtained a legal separation from her odious lord and retired into a Roman convent. But in a very short time the pope was graciously pleased to grant her permission to reside in the palace of Cardinal York, the pretender's younger brother, and a very joyous, good-natured, inoffensive prince of the church. Alfieri was so grateful that he offered to dedicate his tragedy of "Saul" to Pius VI., but the holy father excused himself from accepting this honour. To avoid being expelled from Rome, the noble poet took a voluntary but painful departure, and paid a second or a third visit to England. The Countess of Albany, having obtained the pope's permission to go to Baden for the benefit of her health, went to Paris, where she met Alfieri, never more to separate from him until he died in 1803. After the death of the pretender it is understood, though the fact is not mentioned anywhere by the poet, that the ceremony of a private marriage was performed. The union had the happiest effect on Alfieri's character, his genius, and his morals, which had been

* Moore's Life of Sheridan.

unsettled, desultory, and somewhat loose before.* The *divine* hereditary right which was supposed to be in Charles Edward Louis Casimer Stuart descended to his brother Henry Benedict, the Cardinal.

The war which the ambition of the Czarina Catherine had kindled in the East had spread from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and had been far from obtaining the grand results and the speedy termination which the empress had hoped for in first commencing hostilities against the Sultan. The Turkish empire in Europe, which had appeared in her eyes so weak and crazy as merely to require a shake to bring it to the ground, had withstood three campaigns, and resisted for two years the united efforts of two great powers, and that, too, without an efficient ally of any kind. It must, however, be admitted that the Turks were greatly indebted to the stupidity of the Russians and Austrians. Nothing else could have saved Constantinople even at this period. The Janissaries, who formed the great mass of the Turkish infantry, were little better than an undisciplined rabble, who not only refused to submit themselves to any change, but also prevented the introduction of any improvement in all the other corps of the army. They were more terrible to their own government and to the unarmed population than they were to the enemy. In the sixteenth century these Janissaries had been among the very best troops in the world, but they were now the worst. The very numerous cavalry was equally undisciplined and only fit to act as light cavalry. The artillery, in spite of all the efforts made by that ingenious and loquacious Frenchman the Baron de Toff, was in a pitiable condition. As to the commissariat, properly speaking, the Turks had none; their medical and surgical staff consisted of ignorant barbers from Constantinople and a few Italian quacks. The officers of the army, from the commanders-in-chief down to the subalterns, were alike ignorant and obstinate. In the first campaign, in the year 1787, when they had to contend only with the Russians, commanded by Prince Potemkin, prime minister, commander-in-chief, and lover to Catherine, the Turks had been defeated in almost every encounter by the very imperfect science and tactics of the enemy. Still, however, the Russians had done little more than keep their ground in the Crimea; they had made no important advance in the direction of the Danube and Constantinople; and after every defeat the Mussulmans, who were not deficient in animal courage, seemed ready to fight again. It was in the course of the year 1787 that the old adversary of the English, Tippoo Sultaun, sent a splendid embassy to Constantinople to establish a league between him and the head of the house of Osman, which was to lead to a general union among all princes and potentates professing the true Mohammedan faith. On this mission 1100 of the faithful had started from the table-land of Mysore and the city of Seringapatam; 600 of them perished on their journey of the plague, and of the whole number, it is said, only 68 returned to India; and all that came of Tippoo's visionary scheme was a splendid show in the streets of the Turkish capital, when the embassy went in procession to have audience of the sultan and the grand vizier. In the spring of 1787, when the Emperor Joseph met Catherine at Cherson, he had pledged himself to co-operate; but it was not until the close of that year that the Austrians really entered upon the war by making an inglorious attempt to surprise Belgrade previously to any declaration of hostilities. The Austrians failed completely in this their dishonourable beginning; nor were they more successful in an essay which they soon after made to surprise the fortress of Turkish Gradiska. In fact, at Gradiska they were not only repulsed, but repulsed with great loss. After several humiliating failures of the like kind, the Emperor Joseph, on the 10th of February, 1788, issued at Vienna a formal declaration of war against the Ottoman Porte, assigning as the sole cause of his hostility the strict bonds of amity and alliance which united the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and the conduct of the Porte towards Russia. Having gradually collected a great army on the Danube and the frontiers of Servia, the emperor took the field in person in the month of April. On the 24th of April he took the insignificant fortress of Schubatz, on the Danube; but nearly at the same time another part of the Austrian army sustained a defeat at Dobitza. In the war of posts and detachments which followed, the Austrians could boast of few advantages, and were several times defeated. The grand vizier was even enabled to make an irruption into the emperor's own territories, and to keep possession of the Bannat of Temeswar for several months. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg, who commanded one of the grand divisions of Joseph's army, having crossed the Dniester with the intention of establishing himself in Moldavia, and cutting off all supplies from the important fortress of Choczim, found himself obliged to contend during three successive days with a Turkish army; and if he was not defeated he could scarcely boast of more than a drawn battle. The Pasha of Bosnia defeated a large Austrian detachment on the river Saave. The siege of Choczim, an ill-constructed place, which ought to have been taken by a skilful enemy in less than three weeks, occupied the Austrians for more than three months, and it was not taken at last without great sacrifices. Belgrade could not be taken at all this campaign. Marshal Laudohn, who had proved himself worthy of con-

* Life of Alfieri, written by himself.—In a visit to England in his wild days, Alfieri had obtained an unfortunate notoriety by an amour with a very fair but very frail cousin of William Pitt—Lady Ligonier—which ended in a duel (in which the poet was wounded), a crim. con. trial, and a divorce. The trial, which is one of the most scandalous of the kind, and the Memoirs of Alfieri, convey but a very indifferent notion of our morals in the earlier part of the reign of George III.

The Countess of Albany survived the peace of 1815, and was a great object of curiosity with English travellers at Florence, her usual place of residence. Even in her old age she was uncommonly graceful and fascinating.

tending with Frederick the Great, gained some successes on the side of Croatia, but they were not very important; and even this able veteran was foiled more than once by the natural difficulties of the country. The miasmata of the Danube, its confluent stream, and the bogs and marshes, had proved more destructive to the Austrians than balls and scimitars; and the emperor had swelled the frightful list of disease and death by one of his philosophical innovations. Some physicians at Vienna had persuaded him that vinegar was not merely a specific for malaria fevers, but an absolute panacea; and Joseph had ordered as an experiment that in a part of his army the rations of wine should be stopped and the troops made to drink nothing but vinegar and water. The men died faster than before —they perished like rotten sheep. On the other side, the Russians, who were to descend from the Crimea to co-operate on the Danube, scarcely got beyond the Dnieper. They had deluded Joseph with other assurances, but their plan was—and it is a plan which Russia has steadily pursued for some generations—to make sure of every step of ground by which they were advancing, to enlarge and secure their possessions at the head of the Black Sea, and so gradually to extend and push forward the frontier of their empire. The means placed at their disposal were immense. By the month of June, from 120,000 to 150,000 men of all arms, with 130 pieces of artillery, besides a vast park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, appeared on the river Bog; and, while a portion of this force under General Romanzoff watched the frontiers of Poland and Lithuania, the rest, with the exception of some detachments, marched down to the mouth of the Dnieper under the command of Potemkin. The greater part of the country through which they passed was already laid waste by a barbarous and prolonged warfare, and was now feeling the double curses of plague and famine. Except the green forage for their horses, the Russians were obliged to bring every article of consumption from a great distance; and their convoys were not unfrequently intercepted and cut to pieces by the Tartars of the Crimea, who were generally well mounted, and rapid and expert as light cavalry. The grand object of the campaign—and none other was effected—was the siege of Oczakoff, near the mouth of the Dnieper. The Russians had been for some time labouring to create a navy in those parts; but the Turks had still the superiority on the Black Sea, and the capitan-pasha hastened to the Dnieper. But the mouth of that river, which spreads into a *liman*, or broad swampy lake, with mud-banks and sand-banks, is exceedingly difficult to pass, and in very few places affords water enough for ships of the line. The Russians, too, had supplied their deficiency in shipping by constructing a great number of immense flat-bottomed boats and enormous floating batteries, which could cross the liman in all directions, and, when necessary, retire to the shallows, where the fire of the Turkish ships could not reach them, for the liman is from six to seven miles broad. It was upon these floating batteries, which were put under the direction of the Prince of Nassau, who had served with the French and Spaniards at the siege of Gibraltar, and there witnessed the effect of English red-hot balls on much more stupendous constructions, that the success of the Russians in the siege of Oczakoff mainly depended. They were mounted with the heaviest of the battering cannon and with bombs, and were manned with artillerymen and the choicest part of the Russian line. There was a paucity of sailors, but little seamanship was required in such craft and in such waters. The combats which took place were not sea-fights, were not even river-fights, but fights among fens, bogs, and marshes. The Russians had, however, some sloops, frigates, and at least three large ships,* which were manned by sailors of all nations and by Greeks, who were well acquainted with all the difficulties and intricacies of the navigation. After a sanguinary affair outside, for which the Russians sang *Te Deum*, the capitan-pasha resolved to enter the Liman. To this end he collected all the small vessels that were within his reach, constructed some rafts and floating batteries, armed all the boats and barges of his fleet; and then with these, some galleys, and some light frigates, he entered that dangerous water, leaving his ships of the line in the Black Sea. The Russian flotilla retired into shallow water, under the walls of Kinburn, which lies nearly opposite to Oczakoff, and which they had converted into a place of great strength, with tremendous batteries, *à fleur de l'eau*, to sweep the broad expanse of the liman. Nothing daunted—for, though he wanted every other requisite for the command, the old man had an heroic courage—the capitan-pacha advanced across the treacherous lake; but the Turks were ignorant of the depths and currents, and were, very probably, misguided by the Greeks, who were serving by force as pilots and sailors on board the Ottoman fleet, but whose hearts and sympathies were wholly on the side of their co-religionists, the Muscovites. The galleys and frigates got on the sand-banks, and lay there exposed to the fire of the Russian flotilla and of the land-batteries at Kinburn. The frigate in which the capitan-pasha had hoisted his flag stuck fast at a most dangerous point and could not be got off. The stupid, brave old man, whose white beard was seen by the Russians from the shore, would not abandon his ship until she was on fire and burning rapidly towards the water's edge and the powder-magazine. Five other Turkish vessels were lost in the same manner, two were taken, an immense number of lives were sacrificed, and the capitan-pacha withdrew with the survivors to the ships of the line, which fell down the Black Sea to Varna to refit and take in supplies. The Russians then remained masters

* These three ships had been launched at the time of the czarina's visit to the Black Sea the year before, and the Prince de Ligne had been launched in one of them. This gave the prince the opportunity of making a pun. He called the ship in which he was launched "un vaisseau de *Ligne*."

of the water; and on the land-side Oczakoff was girt round by troops and works, and cut off from all supplies and succours. But the Turkish garrison was numerous, the walls were strong, and the Russians had experienced to their cost, before now, with what dogged obstinacy Turks would defend themselves behind even ruined and crumbling walls. Potemkin complained, in very coarse but expressive language, that the place embarrassed him.* This embarrassment was made evident by the absurd orders and counter-orders he gave. Potemkin was no general, and a very little more science or a little less bad luck on their part would have enabled the Turks, even in the month of August, to have sent him back from Oczakoff covered with disgrace, and with an army demoralized and ruined. The capitan-pasha soon returned from Varna and again attempted to destroy the flotilla, and, though he failed in that object, he threw supplies and reinforcements into Oczakoff, and stationed some of his galleys, zebecks, gun-boats, and floating batteries in front of the town. The Turkish garrison, counted by the Russians at 20,000 men, and which probably amounted to half that number, made frequent sallies, and at times committed great slaughter on part of the enemy's line drawn up behind works of the most slovenly construction, or huddled into redoubts which were only redoubts in name. At the same time the capitan-pasha landed bodies of Turks from his ships of the line on the coast, and these daring fellows, marching by night along the shore and across bogs and marshes, penetrated more than once into the heart of the Russian camp. In short, to use the words of a denizen of that camp, the Russians appeared rather besieged than besiegers.† A number of their officers of the highest rank were wounded before the least impression was made on the old Turkish town: among them was the Prince of Anhalt, the Prince of Nassau, the Count de Damas, and the famed Suvaroff, who, since his successes in the last Turkish war, had taken to himself the name of "The Invincible." At last, when months had passed, five or six great batteries were erected to cannonade and bombard the place. In the month of October the season of snow-storms and tempests set in and obliged the capitan-pasha to quit that dangerous sea and take refuge in the Bosphorus. Potemkin then determined that he would make a general assault on the great festival of St. Gregory, as the Russian soldiers prefer fighting on the anniversaries of saints, martyrs, and apostles. But the day of St. Gregory came and went without any storming, except in the elements, which poured down sleet and snow, and blew a cold gale from the north which made even Russians shiver. Altogether the camp was in a wretched plight: there was no moving anywhere without sinking knee-deep in mud and still deeper in snow; there were no provisions but of the worst kind, and even these were insufficient in quantity; the very water was brackish. Horses and men perished daily in great numbers, and every day the weather grew worse and provisions scarcer. Nassau had destroyed the Turkish flotilla on the Liman, and Potemkin's land-batteries had made some breaches in the walls; but the soldiers, famishing, sick, and weak, had little heart for a storm, and their general could not contemplate without horror or without tears the carnage which must attend any attempt to storm.* This was perhaps an ill-timed humanity, as it was better to perish in the deadly breach than to rot and die piecemeal in that infernal swamp, as his men were doing, and had been doing ever since the middle of the month of July: but there is something so unusual in a Russian general shedding tears for his miserable soldiery, that the precious drops ought to be preserved in history; and the feeling Potemkin betrayed should be set off against the vices and monstrous follies of a corrupt, extravagant, and vain-glorious mortal, who had attained his greatness by making love to an old woman. The dispatches which Potemkin now received from St. Petersburgh were distressing in various ways: for they told him that, if he failed to take Oczakoff, the empress would consider herself disgraced, if not ruined; and the more private ones hinted that Catherine seemed to be selecting a new favourite to succeed him, as he, some years before, had succeeded Count Orloff. Potemkin must have felt, too, that to retreat in such a season —it was one of the severest winters ever known— through such a country, and with an army in so sad a state, would be as fatal as to remain where he was. Fortunately another saint's day arrived to put some heart into his army. The 17th of December was the festival of St. Nicholas, who is with them a much greater saint than Gregory, being the patron of the Russian empire; and on this great day a tremendous cannonade and bombardment was opened from all the batteries, in the hope that the protecting saint might take some of the balls and shells under his special protection, and so slaughter and scatter the infidels as to allow good christians to enter the place. And in the course of the day some shot or shell produced the desired effect: the chief powder-magazine blew up, killed a vast number of Turks, astounded the remainder, and made so broad a gap in the walls that a hundred men might have marched in abreast. As soon as the smoke cleared away, and before the first confusion was over, the Russians hurrahed for St. Nicholas, and rushed to the breach. Yet even now the Turks made a desperate resistance, fighting behind the breach and in the streets of the town until they were borne down by numbers and their powder was exhausted. According to accounts published at Vienna, 7400 Turks were slaughtered in the assault, besides those that were afterwards sabred in the houses; and about 3000 remained prisoners of war after the

* Lettres et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne. This man of wit and pleasantry, who was at the siege of Oczakoff, says, "Le prince (Potemkin) me dit un jour, 'Cette *chienne* de place m'embarrasse.' Je lui repondis, 'Elle vous embarrassera long temps, si vous ne vous y prenez pas plus vigoureusement.'"

† Le Prince de Ligne.

* Le Prince de Ligne.

carnage had ceased. The Russians gave all the honour to St. Nicholas; and as soon as the news arrived at St. Petersburgh an unusually grand Te Deum was ordered to be sung. A few more such sieges would have ruined the Russian army. Though Oczakoff remained to her, Catherine was discontented and irritated. She had been thwarted in her campaign by powers she could not reach, and by one in particular, which, if it had thought proper to put forth its strength and enter into the war as the ally of Turkey, might not only have saved Oczakoff, and caused the utter annihilation of Potemkin and his army, but might also have destroyed the whole navy of Russia in the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland. The domineering insolence of many years might have been chastised by one memorable blow; and in the course of a few weeks of no uncommon exertion the aggressive spirit of Russia might have been put back and curbed for many a year to come. It did not suit the temper of George III. and his present ministers to take such a decisive step; but, nevertheless, England, without entering on the war, thought to render some very important services to the Turks, as did also the court of Spain, who received an ambassador from the sultan, and promised to man their fleet in order to prevent the Baltic fleet of the empress from passing the Straits of Gibraltar if they should attempt it. It was the empress's design to send the whole of her naval force, with an army embarked in transports, into the Mediterranean and Archipelago, to revolutionize Egypt or Greece, or both, to seize upon Candia and the fairest of the Greek islands, to ravage the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, and to blockade, if it should be found impossible to force, the passage of the Dardanelles. Her emissaries had excited the Montenegrins to a fresh insurrection; the Greeks, forgetting how shamefully they had been betrayed by the Russians in the preceding war, were ready to rise upon the Turks; and in Egypt the Mameluke beys, who had only recently been subdued by the capitan-pasha, were supposed to be ready to join the empress, or Satan himself, in order to recover what they had lost, and gratify their revenge. Eighteen sail-of-the-line and a swarm of frigates and small ships of war were got ready at the head of the Baltic early in the spring of 1788, before Potemkin collected his army on the Bog. The command was confided to Admiral Greig, a Scotsman, who had served under Elphinstone and Orloff in the famous battle of Chesmé. Contracts were entered into with English merchants for the furnishing eighteen large British ships of 400 tons and upwards, which were to be armed and to serve for the transport of the troops, artillery, ammunition, and stores. At the same time crimps were employed in engaging English seamen to serve on board this grand fleet. But Pitt could not forget the damage done to trade, and the frightful state into which the Mediterranean was thrown, by the Russian fleet in 1772-3; nor could he overlook the fact that Lord North's impolitic acquiescence on that occasion had been followed by the armed neutrality and by several insults and attempted injuries on the part of Russia, both during the American war and since that period of disaster. Indeed, Catherine, considering the greatness of our naval power and the littleness and rawness of her own, had been unwisely haughty and flippant towards the British government: she had declared herself hostile on many occasions to our trade and flag, and, even at the moment when a signal communicated from the admiralty to Portsmouth and Plymouth was enough to defeat her great project, she had arrogantly refused to renew the old commercial treaties between the two countries. She afterwards said that, if she had gratified us in our mercantile pursuits, she would have been allowed to send round her fleet and make wars and revolutions in the Mediterranean at her pleasure; but we believe, without attributing too much greatness and spirit to Pitt, that he would not, upon any paltry conditions, have permitted a repetition of the disgraceful scenes of 1772-3, nor have made England stand by a quiet spectatress while Russia established a maritime influence in the Archipelago, and thereby dismembered the Ottoman empire. If there were any predilections in favour of the autocratess they were nourished rather by Fox than by Pitt. From France she had nothing to expect but enmity; for nothing but the deplorable state of her finances and the precipitate steps of the revolution prevented the French court from succouring their ancient ally the sultan: but Catherine applied to all the other maritime powers of Europe for assistance, or at least for a tacit acquiescence in her scheme. In Holland, as the stadtholder had been reinstated, the will and voice of England prevailed over her diplomacies, and she was refused any Dutch ships or Dutch seamen. Sweden would promise no more than to remain neutral—a promise not intended to be kept—and strict orders were issued that no Swedish ships or seamen should join the Russian expedition. Denmark was more favourably disposed towards the czarina, but she wished to avoid committing herself until it should be known in what light Great Britain would regard the armament collecting in the Baltic. The London Gazette soon gave the fiat by prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service; and this proclamation was accompanied by a notice to the contractors for English shipping that they must renounce their engagements; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality. About the same time that noted privateer or pirate, Paul Jones, arrived at St. Petersburgh. He had fought under the flag of the Americans against his own country, pretending a wonderful love of liberty and republicanism; but after that struggle was over he considered that the government and citizens of the United States were not sufficiently sensible of their obligations to him, and he now came to offer his services to Catherine,

to fight under the flag of the greatest despot in Europe against the Turks or any other enemy whatsoever—provided only he got rank and good pay. Catherine, who had been led to entertain the most extravagant notions of his nautical skill and bravery, promoted him at once to the rank of an admiral, and sent him down to Cronstadt to take the command of the fleet. At the end of the American war a considerable number of young English officers, destitute of patronage, and seeing no hope of employment or promotion at home, had been induced to enter the Russian service. Some of these had soon retired in disgust; but from sixty to seventy remained, and, after rendering most important assistance in training the Russian crews, were still serving on board the fleet. As soon as they heard of the appointment of Paul Jones these Englishmen quitted their ships, repaired in a body to St. Petersburgh, and laid down their commissions, declaring that they would never serve either under or with a pirate, traitor, and renegade. Catherine, accustomed to slavish obedience from her own subjects, was startled and exasperated; but she scarcely dared to knout these Englishmen or to send them to Siberia; and if she should lose their essential services her ships of the line and frigates would be little worth. She therefore subdued her pride and her resentment, sent the Englishmen back to Cronstadt, with assurances that Greig should still command them, and hurried off Paul Jones to the shores of the Black Sea to serve under Nassau at the siege of Oczakoff, where the low-bred ruffian saw by far the strangest service and the strangest vessels it was ever his fate to see. But after the appearance of the London Gazette all serious thoughts of sending the Baltic fleet to the Mediterranean were given up. Many evils were thus undoubtedly spared the Turks; but, through events which happened very soon after, the detention of her fleet at home proved the greatest piece of good fortune that could have happened to the czarina.

Though the court of Stockholm had promised neutrality, they resented a long series of humiliations, calamities, and spoliations, and were eagerly looking for an opportunity of vengeance and reprisal. Catherine had done her best in bribing a portion of the beggarly and corrupt aristocracy of Sweden, who acted towards her as so many of the Scotch nobility had done towards Queen Elizabeth; but since the revolution of 1772 these Swedish nobles had lost their power and their influence, and had scarcely a voice in the state. The Russian minister at Stockholm contrived, however, to make a great party, and to set on foot a cabal or plot among the nobles, who only wished to re-establish the aristocratic constitution, which the reigning king had pulled down about their ears. These Swedes, who 'called themselves patriots, were ready to expose their country to its most powerful and worst enemy—to lay it prostrate before the ukases of Catherine, provided only they should be enabled to humble their king, and re-erect their old oligarchy, which had been selfish, low-spirited, disgraceful alike to nobility, king, and people, to every one that bore the name of Swede. The almost absolute government which had been raised on their fall was in every way preferable to their old constitution. While the king was incensed by the discovery of the Russian intrigues in his own capital he received overtures from Constantinople, promising numerous advantages if he would make a diversion on the side of the Baltic. As the constant enemy of Russia, the sultan was regarded as the natural friend of Sweden; there were ancient alliances between the two powers, and ever since the day when Charles XII., flying before the Czar Peter, sought refuge among the Turks at Bender, the popular traditions and feelings of the Swedish people had been highly favourable to the Ottomans. Moreover, a brave and most martial people could not see the most fertile territories of the old Swedish monarchy occupied by the Russians without an ardent desire of recovering them by force of arms, or through the chances of war, by which the czars and czarinas had obtained possession of them. The flower of the Russian army was engaged far away on the frontiers of Turkey. One victory over the Russian fleet in the Baltic might possibly enable the Swedes to regain Finland, or to dictate their own terms in St. Petersburgh; while anything like a demonstration, made in time and with spirit, might induce the empress to recall part of her troops from the Turkish war. The Swedish government was hampered and checked by its poverty; but a Spanish ship passed the Sound, ascended the Baltic, and landed at Stockholm some chests well filled with gold and silver which the sultan had sent round from the Levant. The total amount was estimated at about 400,000*l.* sterling—a large sum for a country so poor as Sweden. The Swedish fleet was got ready for sea with all possible speed, and the army was recruited. To quiet the jealousies of his neighbour the King of Denmark, his Swedish majesty gave out that he was merely putting himself in a state of defence, which was rendered necessary by the formidable appearance of the Russian fleet, and by the vast preparations making by the czarina. "Could one have believed," said the witty Prince de Ligne, "that this crazy old Ottoman empire would have been so near placing the empire of Russia in the saddest state? The plan of the Turks was a very fine one, for if the King of Sweden had commenced his attack three weeks sooner or three weeks later, and if the capitan-pasha had succeeded in destroying the wretched flotilla in the Liman, the king might have gone to Petersburgh and the pasha to Cherson." And, if England and Spain had not stayed the fleet at Cronstadt, the first of these journeys might have been made, as there was little or nothing except that fleet between his Swedish majesty and the Russian capital. It was otherwise meant, but Pitt's cautious half-measures did, in reality, more good to Russia, and more harm to

those who were struggling with her, than almost anything else that could have been done. In the month of June Gustavus, with the van of his army, marched into Finland. He took several towns, the people declared for him, and the Russians were driven from the field. At the same time his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, took the command of the Swedish fleet; and, with fifteen sail of the line and ten frigates, appeared off Cronstadt. Petersburgh was thrown into extreme alarm and confusion; but, instead of venturing into the Neva, the Swedes bore away in quest of the Russian fleet, which was cruising in the Gulf of Finland. On the 17th of July, whilst cruising in the Narrows of Kalkbaden, in very foggy weather, the duke heard several guns fired to windward; and, soon after, the Russian fleet, commanded by Greig, was seen advancing through the fog with both wind and current in their favour. The Swedes failed in an attempt to get the weather-gage, and were obliged to form their line of battle to leeward. They had with them all their fifteen sail of the line, but only five of their frigates were at hand. The Russians had seventeen sail of the line, six or seven frigates, and two bomb-ketches: their ships of the line were much larger than the Swedes, and their number of guns and weight of metal greater by nearly a third. The largest ship under the Duke of Sudermania was a 74: he had three 68-gun ships, but all the rest were of 60 guns. Greig had one ship carrying 108 guns, eight ships carrying 74 guns, and all the rest were of 66 guns. The action began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and was maintained with the greatest fury until night, when the hostile fleets fell asunder, about equally crippled and damaged, and with a terrible loss in killed and wounded. Admiral Greig declared that he had never seen a fight better maintained than this was on both sides. Both Swedes and Russians claimed the victory; but the obstinate and sanguinary affair certainly ended in a drawn battle, or, if there were any slight advantage, it was on the side of the Swedes, whose force was so inferior. A Russian 74 struck to the Duke of Sudermania, and was taken; and a Swedish 68, with 300 killed and wounded on board, was captured by the Russians.* The engagement proved that the lessons of Greig and the other British officers had not been thrown away, and that the Russians were rapidly improving as sailors. Catherine wrote a letter of thanks to Greig with her own hand, and gave him a round sum of money and a good estate in Livonia; and Petersburgh, from a state of alarm and depression, rose to triumph and exultation.

There were very soon other apparent causes for all this joy, for Gustavus, who was advancing as a conqueror through Finland, was obliged to halt and turn back by treachery and disaffection in his own camp. He had prepared his brave, well-disciplined, and well-appointed troops for an attack on the city of Fredericksham, the capture of which might have opened to him the road to the capital of Russia, when several of his principal officers—men of the noblest families, whose nobility had been worse than plebeianized by Russian gold—refused to lead on the troops to the attack or to march beyond Finland, alleging as an excuse for this most unexpected conduct that the war had been undertaken without the consent of the Swedish states, and was being conducted in a manner contrary to the spirit of the constitution.* In vain the king remonstrated, and in vain he sent the most conspicuous of the malcontents under an arrest to Stockholm; he found that the disaffection was universal among his officers, and that nothing remained to be done but to march back to his capital. Apparently before he reached Stockholm, he received intelligence that his loving cousin, the King of Denmark, urged on by Catherine's subsidies and very prevailing diplomacy, had fitted out a great armament, which was invading the southern and most fertile provinces of Sweden, from the side of Norway. He had no army with him: the greater part of the 35,000 men, at whose head he had recently marched in the direction of Petersburgh, had laid down their arms, and the rest remained on the borders of Finland, under the command of his second brother, the Duke of Ostrogothia. He issued a spirited proclamation to his people, and flew to the bold miners and mountaineers of Dalecarlia, whose valour had first placed his family on the throne, and whose loyalty and attachment to the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa was unabated. These brave men armed as best they could, and followed their king. In the mean time the Danes, commanded by the Prince of Hesse, had found little or no resistance. They had gained possession of Stronstad and Uddewalla, had crossed the river Gotha, and were within sight of Gothenburg, the principal commercial town of Sweden. That important and almost defenceless place was on the point of capitulating when Gustavus and his Dalecarlians, on the 3rd of October, threw themselves into the town. There was no longer any talk of capitulation; but the means of defence were still so defective as to render the situation of the king very precarious. But at this moment the peremptory voice of Great Britain, which was well delivered by our ambassador at the Danish court, put an end to the danger of his Swedish majesty and his good city of Gothenburg. Mr. Elliot told

* Dispatches of the Duke of Sudermania and Admiral Greig, compared.

* Catherine, who had so delicate a regard for constitutional rights and national liberties, had introduced these questions into her correspondence and manifestoes. When Gustavus was preparing his armament her ambassador presented a note, not to the king, but to the Swedish ministry, and which scarcely noticed his majesty at all, except to accuse him of treacherous and unfair dealing. In the note the greatest good-will was expressed towards the states and the people of Sweden. Gustavus ordered the ambassador to quit his dominions, and presented a circular note to the ministers of other powers at his court, in which he indignantly complained of the attempt made to distinguish between him and his nation, and of the system so long pursued by Russia to undermine his throne by sowing dissensions in his country. When he entered Finland with his army the czarina, in her declaration of war against him, inserted a clause to remind the Swedes *that their king was bound by a solemn constitutional compact not to engage in any war without the consent of the Swedish Diet;* and that he, and he alone, would be responsible to God, to the world, and to his own subjects, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injustice might give rise.

the crown prince, the son of the unfortunate Princess Matilda of England, who was ruling in the name of his insane or imbecile father, that Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland had united in a treaty of mutual alliance, and were determined to act as mediators; that a Prussian army was ready to enter Holstein, and that an English fleet would sail for the Baltic, unless the Danes immediately ceased their hostilities, and quitted the territories of the King of Sweden; and, under the dictation of the British ambassador, an armistice was concluded, and the Prince of Hesse retired with his Danes into Norway. The war between Sweden and Russia was left to itself. The Duke of Sudermania had found himself compelled to retire to the fortified harbour of Sueaborg; and the Russian fleet rode masters of all the seas within the Sound, until the annual freezing of the Baltic obliged them to go into port. All hostilities were interrupted by the dreadful winter; but there was no truce or intermission to Catherine's intrigues with the disaffected and corrupt Swedish nobles.

Late in the autumn the Emperor Joseph returned to Vienna in a wretched state of health. The fatigue and excitement of the Turkish campaign, his bitter disappointment, and a malaria, or marsh fever, had completely undermined his weak constitution, and he never again enjoyed a day's health. He was, however, induced by Catherine to reject pacific overtures which were made to him by the sultan, and to continue the joint war against Turkey. Before the winter was well over, new levies of troops were marched towards the Turkish frontiers, to supply the places of the veterans who had perished in the preceding summer and autumn. Fortunately for those whose lives and military character were concerned, the emperor's health did not permit him to take the field in person, and the army was thus freed from his perpetual and injudicious interference in all its movements, and in every one of its departments. The chief command was given to old Marshal Haddick, with the witty Prince de Ligne for his second. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg was intrusted with the corps on the frontiers of Moldavia and Wallachia, and was to act in concert with the invincible Suvaroff, whom Catherine had detached in that direction with a strong division of Russians. The Prince of Hohenlohe took the command of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Transylvania; and old Marshal Laudohn commanded on the side of Croatia. Collectively, all these *corps d'armée* exceeded 150,000 men. The most famed of the generals (Haddick and Laudohn) were so very aged and infirm that they could scarcely sit on horseback. The campaign was, however, on the whole, successful, if not brilliant. The Turks were discouraged and distracted by a great variety of causes. The loss of Oczakaff, after so long and gallant a defence, at the very moment when the Russian army was on the verge of despair and destruction, by the explosion of the powder magazine, filled their minds with superstitious forebodings. The hard service they had undergone, and the inclement winter which had followed, had proved fatal to a vast number of their troops, who had been brought over from the warm plains of Asia Minor, and had killed or rendered useless many thousands of their horses. There was a scarcity of money and provisions even in the capital; but in the provinces which had been the seat of the war, there was desolation and absolute famine. The turbulent janissaries and mob of Constantinople attributed most of these misfortunes to their ministers and generals. They made dreadful riots, committed many murders, and would have torn the grand vizier to pieces, but for his opportune absence from the capital, and the firmness and prudence of the sultan, Abdul Hamet, who, for a Turk, was both a wise and a good prince. But on the 7th of April (1789), before the campaign had well begun, poor Abdul Hamet fell down in a fit in the streets of Constantinople, and died that night or the following morning. His nephew and successor, Selim, was young, rash, and wholly inexperienced, with an unfortunate turn for precipitating changes and reforms, and an impolitic disregard of the feelings and superstitions of the Turks. The Ottoman empire seemed doomed; and about this time an old and most mischievous prophecy that the empire of the faithful was to be broken up by a yellow-haired, unclean race of Ghiaurs from beyond the Dnieper and the Bog, was revived and industriously propagated among the Turks. Selim, who began his reign by altering the whole scheme of government, and undoing nearly everything his uncle had done, lent a ready ear to the enemies of the grand vizier, whose greatest crime was his reputed wealth; for Yussuf Pasha's treasure was said to amount to several millions of Turkish piastres. He was seized at the head of his army at Rutschuk, on the Danube, and hastily conveyed to Constantinople. There he was deprived of his treasure and all his property, and sentenced to perpetual banishment in the interior of Asia Minor; but he had not gone far on his sad journey ere he was overtaken by a Bostanji-bachi, who took off his head, and carried it back to the seraglio gate in Constantinople. Other pashas, emirs, and effendis were disgraced, plundered, beheaded, or exiled; and a new set of men, and an entirely new faction, were placed at the head of affairs, and in command of the armies in the field. The late sultan and grand vizier had acted on the offensive against the Austrians, and on the defensive against the Russians; but now Selim and his new vizier changed the plan of the war, and determined to act offensively against the Russians, and defensively against the Austrians. Old Marshal Haddick did very little on the frontier of Transylvania; but Laudohn, advancing from the side of Croatia, drove the garrison, by a heavy cannonade and bombardment, out of Turkish Gradiska, and took possession of that town and fortress. Laudohn then prepared for the siege of Belgrade, to which Gradiska was a kind of outwork. He gained, without opposition, the heights of Dedina,

near Belgrade, and there encamped, having the full command of the old lines of circumvallation constructed by Prince Eugene in the far-famed siege of 1717. These lines were of the greatest use, the Turks, with their wonted indolence, having neglected to level and destroy them. In fact, half the work of the besiegers was done ready to their hands. In the mean while the Prince of Saxe Cobourg penetrated into Wallachia, and gained a complete victory over the seraskier pasha, who lost an immense number of men, and all his artillery, baggage, and magazines. Favoured by the Greeks of those provinces, and by nearly the whole of the population, who were Christians of the Greek church, the Austrians easily overran the greater part of Wallachia and Moldavia. Being joined by Suvaroff and his Russians, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg attacked the grand army under the new grand vizier at Martinitzi, in Wallachia, on the 22nd of September, and gained, with very little loss, a most signal and complete victory. The janissaries and the other undisciplined infantry could not stand against the serried ranks and solid columns of Austrian and Russian foot; their cavalry could make no impression; their artillery was so unskilfully served as to be little better than useless; some were cut down and slaughtered in heaps on the field, many more cruelly butchered in their flight. The vizier paid for his folly in risking a general battle with the loss of his head, which was sent to fill the same niche, by the side of the seraglio gate, which had been so recently occupied by the head of his wiser and more skilful predecessor. The grand army of the Turks was annihilated or scattered without artillery or any of the materials of war by this one terrible battle; but another army was collected on the slope of the Balkan Mountains, at the redoubted pass of Schumla, and between that place and the right bank of the Danube. Shortly after the defeat of the grand vizier, Osman Pasha, left without succour, was reduced to extremities in Belgrade. A terrible cannonade and bombardment on the 29th of September was followed early in the morning of the 30th by a general assault on the suburbs and outworks, which were all carried sword in hand. The body of the place was then battered by heavy artillery brought within 150 yards of the works; shells and red-hot balls were thrown with extraordinary profusion; all the best houses and mosques were reduced to ruins; the Turkish guns were dismounted on nearly all the works, and two mines had been carried under the two principal bastions. On the 8th of October Osman capitulated upon honourable terms; and Marshal Laudohn and the Prince de Ligne took possession of Belgrade for the Emperor Joseph. On the northern frontier the capitan pasha, who had taken the command of the army destined to oppose the Russians under Potemkin, grew weary of a war of posts, and boldly marched through Bessarabia to fight a battle for the relief of Bender. Potemkin, with whom was Repenin, had been greatly reinforced since the capture of Oczakoff, and, though very different accounts were published at Petersburgh, it appears doubtful whether, even numerically, the Russians were not superior to the Turks. The two armies met not far from the town of Bender—the old asylum of Charles XII. of Sweden—at a place called Tabac, early in the month of October. The capitan pasha, though nearly fourscore, was as brave as he had ever been; and as he had been a very fortunate commander, and could boast of numerous brilliant victories and successes, his followers had great confidence in his lucky star, and were animated by his high spirit. The despondence which had been common everywhere else during this fatal campaign was not visible among the troops of the white-bearded Hassan. They began the battle as if confident of victory, and their onset was so impetuous and terrible as really to have given them a chance of it. Even when repulsed by the solid formation of the Russian infantry, and mowed down by their tremendous artillery, they fought on and scarcely yielded a foot of ground for several hours. But, towards evening, they were driven back pell-mell; horse and foot were broken and dispersed; and then there followed the ordinary consequences of defeat to an unskilful, undisciplined army: their artillery, ammunition, and stores were lost, and the scattered fugitives were cut to pieces in small, helpless parties. Old Hassan tore his beard, but preserved his life and his liberty by the speed of his horse. On the following morning, excepting the heaps of the dead, and of the wounded that were left to die on the field without any surgical aid, or without any merciful assistance of any kind, there was scarcely a trace to be seen of the capitan pasha's army. Potemkin then sat down before Bender. With all their deplorable stupidity, with all their barbarism and their vices—though in truth they were scarcely more barbarous, and in many points less so than their enemies, who possessed only that part of civilisation which enables men to destroy their fellow-creatures with most effect—it is impossible not to admire the indomitable courage and constant fortitude of the Turks. The garrison of Bender was a small one; the fortifications of the place were contemptible; after the destruction of Hassan's army there was no hope of succour or relief of any kind; and yet the place was defended almost as long as a stone stood upon another; and when the Russians, about the middle of November, got possession of the ruins, it was not without a very serious loss of life. Before winter set in the Russians gained possession of Bialogrod, or Ackerman, at the mouth of the Dniester, of Kylia Nova, on the northern mouth of the Danube, and of several other places on the shores of the Black Sea. They had been gradually extending their frontier to the left bank of the Danube; and they had actually reduced every important place between that river and the Bog and Dnieper. Some trifling combats had taken place on

the Black Sea between the ships of the capitan pasha and the czarina's flotilla or flotillas: the Russians here felt their inferiority, and only escaped destruction by running into mouths of rivers, or to other shallows, whither the Turkish ships of the line could not follow them. If Catherine had possessed in the Black Sea a fleet equal to that which she had in the Baltic, the passage of the Bosphorus, with its then contemptible batteries and fortifications, might have been forced with little difficulty or danger, and the proud mosques and serais that stand on the seven hills of Constantinople, and the arsenal and dock-yard on the Golden Horn, with all the shipping in that port, might have been bombarded, battered, burned, and destroyed.

The Austrians undertook the siege of Orsova soon after the reduction of Belgrade; but the Turks covered and maintained their works with such desperate valour that the besiegers were checked until the setting in of winter obliged them to suspend operations altogether. After a mighty consumption of shells and red-hot balls, the Austrians raised the siege, and thus caused as much disappointment and pain as the capture of Belgrade had given joy and satisfaction to their susceptible and fast-declining emperor. On the side of Servia they retook the town of Cladova, which had been taken from them by the Turks in the preceding campaign. These were the chief events of the Turkish war in 1789.

Ever since the close of the preceding year a certain Baron de Thorus, formerly Russian consul at Alexandria, had been labouring in secret to excite the Mameluke beys to a fresh insurrection against the Porte. He had been a principal promoter of the former Mameluke rebellion which the old capitan pasha had quelled; and he was now provided with money and with ample powers from the czarina to conclude a permanent treaty with the beys, who were to enjoy the sovereignty of Egypt in perpetuity, upon condition of their throwing off their allegiance to the sultan, and placing themselves under the protection of the empress, whose fleets and armies were to be ready to support them. But the Russian fleet was still kept in the Baltic by the hostility of the King of Sweden. On his return to his capital at the close of 1788, Gustavus, although relieved from the Danish invasion, found himself surrounded by cabals, intrigues, and difficulties of almost every kind. The nobility seemed set against him as one man; the army left in Finland had despised his authority, and had concluded a truce with the Russians without his consent and even without his knowledge. Confident, however, in the steady attachment of the Swedish people, Gustavus summoned a diet to meet in Stockholm. The northern liberty had taken various forms. In Sweden it exhibited itself in four separate orders, sitting in distinct houses or chambers. Before these four orders assembled, the king had consulted with the magistrates and principal citizens of his capital: he had explained to them how his bright hopes had been blighted by the intrigues of his inveterate enemy, and by the mutinous spirit of his officers, and he had succeeded in convincing them that neither he nor any other sovereign would ever be able to govern the kingdom with honour, and recover all it had lost, unless some material alterations were made in that part of the constitution which hampered the royal prerogative in the declaration and conduct of war. The diet of the states assembled on the 26th of January (1789), when the king delivered a very long speech to the four orders. The order of nobles, and all who had formerly belonged to, or been connected with, the senate, displayed a decided hostility to the king. They began by accusing him of designs against the constitution, in bringing into the capital, without their consent, some of the brave Dalecarlians, who had flown to arms at his call, who had followed him to Gothenburg to face the Danish invaders, and who had attended him to Stockholm. The nobles pretended that the presence of these free companies overawed their deliberations: the friends of the king affirmed that, through the cabals of the nobles and the Russian-bought disaffection of the army, his majesty's life would scarcely be secure without the faithful Dalecarlians. Several of the nobles absented themselves from the diet for many days; they affected to be moved only by a delicate regard to the old constitution—which was eminently a bad one, and required repairs—but the other orders of Swedes accused them of being solely influenced by Russian gold. Another great subject of quarrel arose out of the appointment of Count Lowenhaupt, a personal friend of the king, to be president or marshal of the diet. The nobles treated Lowenhaupt with the greatest indignity, and with a vulgarity of demeanour and language not very becoming to their high caste. Every proposition that came from him was rejected with contempt, and without any discussion. A crowning insult of the grossest kind drove the count altogether from the diet, and his absence rendered the order incomplete and incapable of acting. The three other orders, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants—for even the peasantry formed a state and were represented like the rest—were apparently as much devoted to the king as the nobles were opposed to him, and their loyalty was notably increased by his proposing a law, which was afterwards carried, for extending certain privileges, hitherto possessed exclusively by the nobility, to all the other orders, to all classes and conditions of Swedes, and even to foreigners who became permanent inhabitants of the country. But this was, of course, considered as a fresh injury by the aristocrats, who understood by Swedish liberty merely that part of it which secured them in the enjoyment of their old privileges and immunities and who were determined to make or allow no sacrifices if they could possibly avoid it. On the 17th of February Gustavus went in person to the diet to complain of the insults which had been

offered to Count Lowenhaupt, and to demand satisfaction. A fierce and most unmannerly altercation followed his majesty's speech; the nobles, who had repeatedly done the same thing when he was not present, reproaching and reviling the king to his face, and treating his character and his abilities most contemptuously. Gustavus, irritable, and, if not proud, excessively *vain*, was stung almost to madness, and, rising, he declared, with a loud and threatening voice, that there were men among them who in their hearts would rather wish to see a Russian army at Stockholm, and the Russian ambassador dictating laws to Sweden, than sacrifice their own selfish and ambitious views, their jealousies, animosities, and revenge. The nobles all rose and immediately quitted the diet *in* a body, leaving the king and the other three states together. To this friendly audience Gustavus continued his discourse. He disclaimed in the most solemn manner all intention of aiming at, or wishing for, absolute sovereignty; and declared that, if the continuation of the present disorders and difficulties should compel him to assume, for a time, a dictatorial power, it should certainly be but for a very short time, and should cease with the necessity: but he concluded by declaring, that, out of the duty which he owed to his country as well as to himself, he would not permit those who would have wrested the sceptre from his hands to pass unpunished; and that he would not suffer a faction to favour the views of the enemy, by the constant interruption they had been endeavouring to give to the public business, and to the means and supplies by which alone the nation could hope to defend herself. For three days Stockholm was greatly agitated, and so incensed were the people against the nobles, that it required great care to prevent their falling upon them with arms in their hands. This feeling was by no means confined to the mob or to the inferior grades of society; the clergy, the most respectable of the burghers, were quite as favourable to the king, and almost as much incensed against the aristocrats, as were the common people. On the 20th of February Gustavus received a deputation from the three remaining states of the diet, and, while he was imparting to them the bold measures he intended to take against the refractory and unpatriotic nobles, those measures were actually in process of execution; for the armed burghers of the city and detachments of light cavalry from the king's guard were surrounding the houses of the principal nobles, seizing their persons, and sending them off prisoners of state to the castle of Frederickshoff. These violent proceedings were applauded by the populace, and warmly approved by the three remaining states. Twenty-five individuals, the heads of ancient families, and including Counts Brahe, Fersen, Horn, and others of equal name, were thus shut up in the castle. Even before taking this decisive step the king had succeeded in winning over the lately disaffected army of Finland, and in arresting and securing those commanders and officers who had been most active in exciting the mutiny and stopping his march to the Russian frontier. These military prisoners were brought into Stockholm a few days after the twenty-five nobles had been carried out of it; they were committed to close and strict imprisonment, and ordered to prepare for their trials before a court-martial, upon the general charges of disobedience, disaffection, mutiny, and treachery, and the particular charges of treason and a treasonable correspondence with the Russians, which applied more directly to some of the superior officers. Some of these traitors had saved themselves by a timely flight, and were now living at St. Petersburg under the special favour and protection of the empress; but one lieutenant-general, one major-general, a brigadier-general, six or seven colonels, and a vast number of majors, captains, and subalterns, were secured for trial. As the army was officered almost exclusively by members of the aristocracy, these arrests were followed by an almost universal resignation of commissions; and at the same time nearly all the noblemen serving on board the fleet or in the civil departments of government threw up their appointments and quitted the service. This was intended to perplex and alarm the king; but Gustavus thought it very possible to re-officer the army and the navy, and to fill up the civil offices of the state without the aristocrats; and he persevered in his bold scheme, being heartily seconded at every step by the rest of the nation. The three states of clergy, burghers, and peasants readily assented to his proposition—that, as the fourth state, the nobles, had factiously withdrawn from the diet, the constitutional power centered in themselves, so that the public business might be carried on in the diet by the three states without the concurrence of the fourth. After this decision, it followed almost as a consequence, that the aristocratic senate, which had been abridged of its powers in the revolution of 1772, should now be entirely suppressed. To supply its place Gustavus instituted a new commission or council modelled after the *Cour Plénière*, which had recently been devised by the royalists in France as a mode of preventing the march of the revolution, but which had there been rejected as an impracticability. The powers granted to this new court in Sweden were in some respects extensive; but, the most powerful of the aristocracy being rigidly excluded from it, and the whole being subjected to the immediate control of the king, it became in its operation little more than a mere council of state, after the fashion of those which existed in absolute monarchies. It was doubtful whether, without the weight of the aristocracy, the Swedes would be able to balance the royal power and preserve a constitutional form of government; but such was the hatred against the nobles, that every measure adopted with the view of reducing them to a political nullity was highly popular. The clergy, the burghers, and the peasants hailed with delight a very compre-

hensive act called the Act of Safety, which, among other things, conferred on the king the prerogative of declaring war and making peace—a prerogative which had always been attached to the constitutional crown of England. These three states also voted supplies for carrying on the war against Russia with the utmost alacrity. The nobles showed their ill-humour by deserting the capital and the court and shutting themselves up in their own houses in the country. All places of public amusement were deserted by them; and scarcely a gentleman or a lady belonging to the high nobility would appear in the king's drawing-room. In the month of March the trials of the officers of the army of Finland were commenced. They lasted many months, and the sentences were so severe that they were said to have been written in blood. But Gustavus was not a cruel prince; the Swedes as a people were averse to cruelty and bloodshed on the scaffold, and only a few of the sentences were carried into execution. The twenty-five nobles arrested in Stockholm at war to have been liberated after a short confinement. A fresh army of 50,000 men was raised with all possible speed, and some supplies and reinforcements were sent to the fleet. But Gustavus still apprehended that as soon as he should take the field in Finland the Russians would again bring the Danes upon his back; and, as he was playing the part which the three allied courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague would have prescribed for him—as he was keeping up a very important diversion, highly favourable to the sultan—he considered that those three courts ought not merely to guarantee his safety on the side of Denmark and Norway, but also to furnish him with subsidies and other assistance. But Pitt, who was the main director of the triple alliance, had only made up his mind to half measures: he wished to preserve the Turkish empire without breaking with Russia; and so timid and cautious was he in the latter respect, that he had not even issued an order of council to recall the British officers serving on board Catherine's fleet in the Baltic; and thus, though ostensibly favoured by the English government, Gustavus had the mortification to know that brave and skilful English officers were fighting against him under the flag of Catherine, and teaching and training her boors and land-lubbers in all the arts of navigation and naval warfare. This was anomalous and unjustifiable; and it was disgraceful in the minister to stand in so much awe of the termagant of the North, who had become arrogant and overbearing in proportion to the timidity and condescension she had met with from other powers. Besides, Catherine was not a person to be satisfied with compromises and half measures; she knew that England, at the close of the preceding year, had sent back the Danes and preserved Sweden from a devastating invasion; she knew that it was through England that Gustavus had been again enabled to make head against her both by land and sea with a certainty, if not of naval victories, at least of keeping her fleet fully occupied where it was; and accordingly her hatred and malice against England must have been extreme. A bolder and nobler course, or even some indirect assistance lent to Gustavus at this crisis, might have checked and humiliated Russia, and have restored to Sweden that balancing power, extent of dominion, and high consideration in the north which she ought to possess, and to which, in most respects, the manly, martial character of her subjects entitles her. But all that Pitt would do was to procure and guarantee a strict neutrality from Denmark. Prussia and Holland were of course parties in this guarantee, and the Crown Prince of Denmark was again assured that if he touched the Swedish frontier, or joined his forces either by land or sea to those of Russia, they would give to the King of Sweden their speedy and efficacious assistance. It was not, however, without much difficulty and long hesitation on the part of the court of Denmark, then wholly subservient to Russia, that this agreement was concluded, and in its conclusion there was one of the strangest modifications ever introduced into a diplomatic paper of the kind. In the preceding summer a Russian squadron of six sail of the line and some frigates under the command of Admiral Dessein, a Frenchman, had come round from Archangel to the Sound, and had ever since enjoyed the free use of the port of Copenhagen. This squadron had occasionally blockaded Gothenburg and other Swedish ports, and had committed terrible depredations on the mercantile shipping. If it should be enabled to ascend the Baltic and form a junction with the grand fleet at Cronstadt, it would give a decided superiority to the navy of Catherine over that of Gustavus—a superiority which might prove destructive to the Swedish fleet. Yet, according to the modification introduced into the diplomatic arrangements, the Danes were to be allowed to take the Archangel squadron under the protection of their own very respectable fleet, to cover it from the attack of a Swedish squadron which was cruising to prevent its junction with the Cronstadt fleet, to convoy it to a certain defined distance — which, however defined upon paper, was not likely to be adhered to by the Danish ships at sea—and then to leave it to pursue its course. This was, in fact, licensing Denmark to do one of the greatest mischiefs which could possibly have been done to Sweden. Hostilities recommenced in Finland as soon as the severity of the climate would permit. Towards the end of May several severe and bloody actions took place, the Russians being commanded by Mouschkin Pouschkin, and the Swedes by General Meyersfeldt. In most of these affairs the Russians were defeated by the brilliant valour of the Swedes; but the empress whipped in fresh recruits and powerful reinforcements. The nature of the country, full of forests, rocks, mountains, bogs, and lakes, and cut into ribands by numerous deep inlets of the sea, was peculiarly favourable to a defensive war.

Early in June Gustavus arrived and assumed the command of his own army. Only a few days after his arrival in Finland a desperate battle was fought, and the Russians, though far the more numerous, were thoroughly beaten. Gustavus displayed as much bravery as Charles XII. could have done. At one moment, when a part of his line seemed yielding a few paces to a terrible bayonet-charge made by the Russians, he sprung from his horse, threw himself into the line, and so revived the spirits of his men that they drove back their assailants with terrible carnage. His brother, the Duke of Sudermania, continued in the command of the fleet, and endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Russian forces. For some time the Cronstadt fleet lay inactive at Revel. Admiral Greig, who had fought the duke in the last summer, was no more; he had died a few months after receiving his high honours and rewards, and had thus escaped the perilous chances of Russian intrigue and jealousy, and of womanly caprice; but the English officers remained and managed the ships with very admirable dexterity. On the 26th of July, the Cronstadt fleet having ventured to sea in order to meet the Archangel squadron, which was protected by nearly the whole navy of Denmark, a running fight took place, and was continued at long-shots for several hours. The Duke of Sudermania could not bring the Russians to close action; the combatants separated during the night, and, favoured by the winds and by the other accidents of tides and currents, the Russians succeeded in effecting their junction with the Archangel squadron, which had come up from Copenhagen. The Danish fleet then saluted the flag of the empress and retired. The Swedes, with indignation and rage, which did not spare the name of the English minister, retreated before the far superior force to their own shores. Meanwhile Gustavus continued to be victorious by land; but every battle cost him many of his best men, and as he advanced into Russian Finland his difficulties increased greatly. In this part of his progress he was attended by a fleet of galleys which moved along shore and co-operated with the army. But Catherine had collected in the Gulf of Finland a far more numerous galley-fleet, and a tremendous engagement, in waters where no large ships could approach, took place on the 25th of August, and lasted from noon to midnight. Though the Russians were in the number of their galleys as nearly two to one, and though their proportion in men was still greater, it was not without extreme difficulty nor without several chances of defeat that they gained a victory. The result of this day of carnage was, that the King of Sweden was obliged to evacuate the Russian territories and retreat across his own frontier. His fine army had suffered most severely, his treasury was exhausted, and on the part of the nobility of his kingdom he saw nothing but gloom and discontent. The Russians, however, were not in a condition to follow him; and, earlier than usual, both armies went into winter quarters.

Ever since the accession of the Emperor Joseph, the Hungarians, who had shown such an heroic devotion to his mother, Maria Theresa, who had given that empress an asylum when all her other states seemed disposed to submit to her conquerors, and who had restored her cause, and built up the fortunes of the house of Austria when they seemed desperate and in ruin, had been irritated, dissatisfied, disaffected, and at times in a state of open insurrection or rebellion. All this arose out of the same intermeddling, rash, innovating spirit which had raised such a storm in the Austrian Netherlands. Joseph had paid no more respect to the Golden Bull of Hungary than he had paid to the Joyous Entry of the Low Countries; and the one was far more important, more a matter of national right, and far better supported by arms and men than the other. The Joyous Entry was a thing octroyed by the sovereign; the Golden Bull, which the Hungarians compare to our Magna Charta, was a constitution—a charter proceeding from and enforced by a great and warlike nation, which, though it made no allowance for the improvement of ages, and the progress of the common people from the condition of serfs to the condition of freemen and a great component part of a third estate, was still an object of reverence with the Hungarians, whose national pride, moreover, is both an ardent and steady passion. The first innovation Joseph made, with regard to these susceptible and high-spirited men, was to lay his hands on the ancient crown and regalia of the kingdom, and to carry them off from Buda, the ancient capital of Hungary, to Vienna, instead of going to be crowned at Buda by the archbishops and magnates of the realm, as his powerful progenitors had been wont to do. The abstraction of the dark old stone and of the insignia of royalty from Scotland, made by our great Edward, scarcely excited more bitter feelings than did this most injudicious act of the weak and wavering Joseph. Being fully aware of the prevailing disaffection, the grand vizier, in the course of the campaign of 1788, when he was sweeping, as a conqueror, some of the frontiers of the Austrian empire, and occupying the Bannat of Temeswar, which had once formed a part of the separate and independent kingdom of Hungary, issued a manifesto and sent emissaries among the Hungarians, inviting them to rise in arms against the emperor, and assuring them of present aid and assistance, and constant protection from the sultan, who would, it was said, guarantee all their rights, liberties, and privileges whatsoever. Fortunately the Hungarians were wise enough to decline this dangerous connexion; and their most powerful magnates, and not the least patriotic, were inclined to moderation and conciliation. And now, in the course of a few months, when the Emperor Joseph was lying upon his death-bed, he not only repented of what he had done, but made reparation for it. Immediately after the sultan's manifesto, he had

hastily issued a proclamation, binding himself to restore to the Hungarians the full enjoyment of their ancient constitution, liberties, and laws; and a few days before his decease he ordered the ancient crown and regalia to be sent back from Vienna to Buda. These reparations gave entire satisfaction, and the Hungarian people grieved at the premature death of the son of Maria Theresa. But in the same interval the troubles in the Netherlands had broken out afresh, and were not destined to come to the same peaceful and satisfactory termination. Joseph's pride was hurt by the accommodation of 1787; and, as soon as he imagined he had means sufficient so to do, he rashly resolved to annul all the concessions which he had made to the Flemings and Brabanters, and to carry into execution every part of his original scheme of reform. Above all things, he determined that the Capuchins should not be allowed to triumph over him, nor the doctors of Louvain be permitted to teach philosophy and theology in their own old way. With too credulous a reliance on the emperor's good faith, the Netherlanders had disbanded their young and spirited militia, and set aside their badges and their bands of military distinction and union: they had even resigned their arms to the officers and representatives of the sovereign. The first intimation of Joseph's design was seen in the recall of Count Murray, and the substitution of General Dalton. Murray was a man of a lenient, conciliating temper: Dalton, an Irishman by birth, but who had grown grey in foreign service, was exactly the reverse in character and disposition. He was thoroughly a man of the sword, and one that thought the sword, in all cases, the best instrument of government. He had been employed before by the emperor in quelling a rebellion or insurrection which had broken out on the eastern frontiers of the Austrian empire, among the mountaineers of Transylvania; and in the performance of that office he had committed atrocious cruelties. He was now named commander-in-chief of the imperial forces in the Austrian Netherlands, where his nomination sounded like a sentence of proscription and death. At the same time, Count Trautmansdorff was appointed to the civil government of those dominions. They arrived at Brussels at the end of 1787, or early in 1788. The first renewal of discord was on the subject of the University of Louvain. Count Trautmansdorff sent peremptory orders, in the emperor's name, to the rector, heads, and doctors of the university, to submit without deliberation, delay, or remonstrance, and to enregister in their archives every item of their sovereign's system of reform. The old theologians as peremptorily declared that they would do nothing of the sort; and they pleaded their long-established rights, confirmed by the solemn sanction of many successive sovereigns, insisting also that their university was an integral part of the constitution of Brabant, which could not subsist if deprived of so important a member; and in the end they boldly appealed to that constitution, to the laws, and to the people of the country, for protection against injustice and oppression. This appeal went to the hearts of the orthodox and devout Brabanters. Trautmansdorff, relying more on the sword of Dalton than on his own arguments, replied to the doctors that the university was neither part nor member of the constitution, that the sovereign had the supreme right to modify the university as he pleased, and that it was disloyal and absurd to suppose that the ordinary courts of law could control or interfere with the will of the sovereign. He then commanded them thoroughly to cancel and annul their late resolution, so that no trace of it should remain on their records; to submit and conform, one and all of them, to the emperor's wise decision; and never more maintain, either by word of mouth or in writing, the pretended right of their university, which the emperor had fully and irrevocably cancelled and annulled. He told them that whosoever should dare, in the slightest degree, to disobey these orders should be prosecuted and punished as refractory and disobedient subjects. He further warned them to send no more representations, deputations, or protests, as, if they should presume to send any such, ministers were bound, by his imperial majesty's orders, to consider and treat them as formal acts of undutifulness and disobedience. As a climax, the count enjoined the rector to cause this declaration to be read in full convocation of the university, to have it entered in the registers, and to certify the execution of all the orders contained in it within twenty-four hours. In order to obtain the appearance of some legal sanction to these high and arbitrary proceedings, Trautmansdorff applied to the grand council of Brabant, the supreme judicature of the country, which possessed many privileges, prerogatives, and powers, and which was the final resort in all cases of appeal. But the grand council were not to be moved either by menaces or flattering promises: they refused to sanction the war upon the university; and they complained, in spirited language, of the violence offered to their honour, and to the free constitution of Brabant, by the count's letter to themselves—a letter which, they said, was founded on an ignorance of their laws and liberties, which had a tendency to despotism, and which therefore ought to be instantly revoked by the minister who had sent it. Trautmansdorff, in an unstatesmanlike fury, threatened to banish the grand council, as his predecessor, Belgioiso, had banished the Capuchin friars, if they presumed to print and publish their inflammatory letter. Doubting whether this threat would have any effect on the members of the council, he took measures to secure all the types and presses in Brussels; but these precautions proved as useless as his threats: the letter of remonstrance was printed and widely distributed by the very next day. Count Trautmansdorff's next step was to send a still more arbitrary letter to the grand council, reminding them of his former orders, and telling them that they must now be executed without further loss of time:—the rest of the letter was

nothing but threats of pains and penalties—a complete anathema-maranatha. This letter was enclosed in a long dispatch to the chancellor, which was stuffed still fuller with the menaces and terrors of despotism. The count told the chancellor that he was irrevocably determined to execute the whole of the scheme, even though he should be compelled to proceed to dire extremities; that, it being his imperial majesty's absolute determination, his dignity required that nothing upon which he had signified his will should be made a subject of doubt by his subjects, or altered in consequence of any representation or remonstrance on their part. He referred the chancellor to the last dispatches received from the emperor, for proofs that matters admitted of no longer delay; and he told him that he had, the day before, given the grand council twenty-four hours to determine, but that now, if what he required from them was not done within *two hours*, he would compel them by *force*, even though he should be obliged to invest the council-house with troops, and have recourse to cannons and bayonets, as his imperial majesty had most expressly prescribed. The grand council, who received these dispatches while sitting, displayed a spirit worthy of their ancestors in the old free times: they betrayed no timidity or emotion of any kind; they took no further notice of them than to order the precise moment of their delivery to be entered on their journals, and they continued sitting in their places to wait the event. In the mean while, General Dalton had drawn out a regiment of infantry and a strong squadron of cavalry, with several pieces of artillery, in a square not far from the council-house; and had sent the junior ensign of the regiment of Prince de Ligne with a company of soldiers to patrol the streets of Brussels, to intimidate the citizens, and watch their countenance and movements. This ensign, a forward, presumptuous youth, found the streets and squares crowded with an anxious and greatly excited people. He alleged (and the fact is neither improbable nor unpardonable) that some stones were thrown, and that one of them grazed his own cocked hat: he formed his men in platoon, and poured a murderous fire into the thickest of the crowd. Six persons were killed outright, and a great many more were badly wounded. The soldiers were terrified at their own deed, and the yells and shrieks of the multitude; and, instead of reloading their pieces, and keeping their ground, they fled confusedly to seek protection from the main body. Horror, resentment, and the cry for vengeance rose to such a height that Trautmansdorff and Dalton, who had intended to terrify the grand council, became terrified themselves; and the troops and artillery were either withdrawn from the square near the council-house, or had orders not to act. In the evening, Trautmansdorff wrote another letter to the chancellor to express his astonishment at the obstinacy of the council, and to impute to them "the death of some wretches" in the affair with the troops. The young ensign who had taken upon himself the responsibility of commanding the troops to fire on the people was forthwith promoted. The emperor extolled him for the exploit; and in an autograph letter desired Dalton to inform him that he was very well pleased with his presence of mind, and the manner in which he had conducted himself. His imperial majesty hoped that the moderate execution which had been had on the people of Brussels would produce a proper effect; but he repeatedly urged Dalton, who wanted no such spurring, to persevere in the same course. Joseph was not naturally cruel—he was far indeed from being fond of blood—but his passionate fondness for reforms and innovations, and an exalted sense of what was due to his sovereign rank and will, certainly made him indifferent to the loss of a few lives more or less, and drove him into courses by which many thousands of lives, and the well-being of many thousands of families, were put in jeopardy. With his usual inconsistency, the emperor was at this very moment endeavouring to negotiate a large loan among his rich subjects in the Low Countries, in order to enable him to carry on his unprovoked, rash, and ruinous war against the sultan. The Flemings and Brabanters taxed him with treachery and perfidy, and now not a man among them would have anything to do with the loan, or lend him a shilling upon any terms. Dalton let loose all the troops he had upon the towns, and several encounters took place, in which blood was drawn on both sides. If the militia and volunteers had retained their organisation and their arms, the emperor's army, not very considerable in number, might have been destroyed in detail or driven out of the country, and Dalton might have decorated a gibbet. Trautmansdorff declared at his levees, that, if the forces now in the country should not prove sufficient to accomplish the emperor's purposes, he was empowered by his majesty to draw 40,000 more men thither on the shortest notice; and the brutal Irishman threatened to erect in the great square of Brussels a gallows as high as one he had previously set up in Transylvania for hanging the insurgents there. The archduchess and her husband, the nominal governors-general, arrived at Brussels in the spring of 1788, and endeavoured to recommend more gentle measures. But the prince and princess, though amiable and well disposed, and rather favourites than otherwise with the Netherlanders, were destined to feel the ill effects of their brother the emperor's unwise proceedings. The states refused to vote the subsidy for their maintenance and the support of the dignity of the court. The archduchess and her husband thereupon quitted Brussels in great disgust. But the refusal of the money became exceedingly unpopular; the states repented and relented, and, having first unanimously voted the subsidy which they had so lately refused, they sent a deputation to the prince and princess at their country seat to apologise for what had happened, and to entreat them to return to Brussels. Their imperial highnesses received the deputation.

in a very flattering manner, and soon afterwards returned to the city. The emperor seemed to be equally gratified; and in a letter, dated the 27th of May (1788), he made his brother and sister, as governors-general, his organs through whom he declared that, from the emotions of his heart, and from the sentiments of the affection in which he held his faithful subjects, he joyfully seized on the first expression of their goodwill, and that in order to promote their happiness he would give a full and perfect restoration of his favour, benevolence, confidence, &c. Yet, almost at the same moment, Joseph censured a major in command at Mons for not firing upon the people; and in the course of a few weeks several sanguinary orders were not only issued but also executed in different parts of the country. Early in the year (1788) Dalton had put a strong garrison into the town of Louvain to overawe the inhabitants and terrify the university into submission. But doctors, professors, and students adhered as obstinately as ever to their old institutions, tenets, and rights, and declared that they would not yield except to military compulsion, which they had no means to resist. In the month of June the Irish general drove them all out at the point of the bayonet, and put the keys of the university in his pocket. By the emperor's express orders the rector was banished from the Netherlands and from all and every part of the Austrian dominions for ten years, and several of the refractory doctors and students in theology were put under arrest or a strict surveillance. The city, which had owed its existence and its ancient prosperity to the university, showed its strong sympathies in street riots and in other demonstrations; but Dalton, for the present, broke the spirit of the citizens by platoon fires and a considerable slaughter. Joseph's German doctors and professors from beyond the Rhine, who had been expelled with all their theology in 1787, were now recalled and replaced in their chairs: but it was beyond the power of Austrian bayonets and cannon-balls to make the students of divinity attend the lectures of these German doctissimi, who were left to occupy vast unpeopled halls and empty schools, while out of doors they were regarded as foul heretical intruders, whose mission was to destroy alike the liberty and the religion of the country. They were continually insulted, and their lives would scarcely have been safe without the protection of Dalton's grenadiers and hussars. The divinity students called the doctors grenadiers, and the grenadiers doctors; and the fusilades in the streets they styled Dalton's lectures in theology. Next to Louvain, the most considerable school of divinity was that of Antwerp. Here, too, nothing was professed or tolerated but the philosophy of the schools, the theology of Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, and both professors and students were as impatient of innovation and as sturdy in their orthodoxy as those of the sister university. In many respects the college of Antwerp was even more odious to the emperor than the theological schools at Louvain, for many of its alumni had wielded the pen and employed the printing-press very actively, and in their various productions they had not only accused the emperor of tyranny and oppression, but had also held up to contempt the many foibles, whims, and vacillations of his life and character. It was, therefore, resolved to change the philosophy and theology of the place by the same sort of logic and demonstration which had been employed at Louvain; and a day being fixed—the 4th of August, 1788—for clearing the college of all its members, students as well as professors, and for shutting it up entirely, the necessary preparations were made early in the morning: several pieces of cannon were drawn out in the public square and loaded with uncanonical balls in the sight of the people, and 400 infantry were drawn up, with muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, to cover the artillery. The people of Antwerp, men, women, and children, gathered in crowds in the streets, on the quays, and in the public places or squares; they were warned to retire to their houses, but they replied that they were unarmed, and had neither the means nor the intention of offering any resistance; that being thus peaceably inclined they had an undoubted right to walk in their own town, and that they would walk and stand as they thought fit. A captain of grenadiers felt, or pretended to feel, a stone grazing his cap, and, like the young ensign in the streets of Brussels, who had been honoured and promoted for the deed, he gave the word of command to fire, and the grenadiers fired into the midst of a dense and promiscuous crowd. From thirty to forty men and women were shot dead on the spot, and a still greater number were wounded. A cry of horror and indignation was raised all over the Netherlands; many of the nobility and gentry fled from the country to seek a temporary refuge in Holland or in France; the massacre of Antwerp was represented in the darkest colours in every part of civilised Europe, and men who most disliked their bigotry and their obsolete doctrines sympathised with the doctors, professors, and students, who, in addition to their own privations and misfortunes, had to bear the conviction of being the cause of the slaughter which had taken place. The college was shut up, but so also were the hearts of all the emperor's subjects in the Netherlands to any return of good feeling or reconciliation with him. While blundering through his campaign on the Danube, and allowing his fine army to be repeatedly defeated by the undisciplined, unskilful Turks, Joseph found time to write letters to the Netherlands, expressing his perfect approbation of Dalton's vigorous proceedings at Louvain, and still more at Antwerp. He indulged in the confident hope that these acts of vigour and the flight of the principal mal-contents would re-establish order and a perfect submission to his will. He could not, or he would not, perceive that these exiles might soon return with

foreign armies at their backs, and that the Flemings, Brabanters, and the rest might rise to a man and join any standard rather than submit again to his rule. For the present the whole of that fine country wore the aspect of sullen gloom and discontent; the prisons were crowded, the manufactories were left empty, the emigration continued, and a stop was put to nearly all trade and industry. Many of the emigrants threw themselves into the political clubs and all the revolutionary commotions at Paris, imbibing new, extreme, and violent notions of politics, and of the rights of man; and from this time clubs and secret societies began to be formed in Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liege, and most of the principal cities of the Austrian Netherlands, and ideas and aspirations received birth and encouragement, which were not merely incompatible with the sovereign rule of the emperor, but with any monarchical government or any known and settled constitution. Frenchmen of ready wit and still readier tongues went from place to place as political missionaries and prophets, and these visitations were extended into Holland and the other united provinces, where the democratic party, who had been put down by Prussian bayonets and cannon, were quite ready to rise again if they could only see a good prospect of support and success. These French propagandists carefully veiled one important part of their grand theory for regenerating the whole political and moral world, for the Flemings and Brabanters, though eager for liberty in this world, were strongly attached to a belief in the next,—were devout and bigoted Catholics;—and the Dutch were, as a people, believing and hoping Protestants. If the Frenchmen had preached the whole of their doctrine in either country they would have lost their converts, and would have disgusted men with a liberty which was to be based not merely on the overthrow of thrones, but on the overthrow of all altars, the extinction alike of Popery and Protestantism, the rejection of a God of any kind, and the denial of the soul's immortality. It was only to a few *esprits forts* that these arcana were revealed north of the Meuse, or Maes; and the French publications, the printed oracles of the new philosophy, were little known to the mass of the people. In the emperor's dominions the Catholic clergy continued at the head of the liberal or patriotic party, and their political feelings were sharpened by a continuation of hostility and sequestration, which threatened to reduce them from the condition of the richest to that of the poorest churchmen in Europe. By one edict Joseph sequestrated all the remaining abbeys of Brabant. The states of Brabant now refused to vote any subsidies whatsoever; and at the beginning of the year 1789 Joseph recalled his oath to observe the terms of the Joyous Entry, ordered fresh arrests and banishments, and intimated in the most unequivocal manner that he intended to establish by military force an absolute government in the Netherlands, to correspond with the despotism of all his other states and possessions, excepting Hungary and the Tyrol. His agents became the objects of so much odium that a plot was formed for blowing up the houses of Count Trautmansdorff and the still more detested Dalton at Brussels. As additional objects, the conspirators proposed getting possession of the arsenal and opening the gates of the city to a body of the emigrants, who were to return from the French frontier with a good number of French patriots to cooperate with them. These designs were discovered just in time to prevent their execution, and they were represented as the desperate machinations of a set of lawless ruffians who had neither character nor property in the country. But, in a brief space of time, nearly all the nobility, gentry, and clergy, nearly all the manufacturers, merchants, burghers, and substantial farmers, openly declared against the emperor, who was so occupied by the war on the Danube, and so impoverished by it, that, instead of 40,000 men which Trautmansdorff had spoken of, he could scarcely spare 1000 to send into the Netherlands. He had goaded his subjects there into universal insurrection at the very moment when his means of coercing them were at the lowest, and their hopes and encouragements at the highest pitch; for the French revolutionists were now advancing *à pas de charge*. The Duke d'Aremberg and other great nobles, the Archbishop of Mechlin, the head of the clergy, with numerous bishops and lord abbots, the members of the states of Brabant, and the members of the now suppressed grand council, assembled at Breda in the course of the months of August and September, 1789, and on the 14th of September they constituted and declared themselves to be the legal assembly of the states. In that capacity, and supported by the almost unanimous voice of the country, they issued a strong remonstrance, and told the emperor that nothing but the immediate revocation of his illegal edicts, and the reinstatement of the provinces in their ancient rights, could possibly relieve them from the cruel necessity of appealing to God and the sword. A few weeks after the militia and volunteers assembled in many towns under their old officers, and bands of insurgents, well armed and not unprovided with artillery, took the field and drove the emperor's garrisons out of forts Lillo and Liefenshoeck. Dalton sent against them a strong division under General Schröder, who retook the two forts. But a few days after, when Schröder ventured to follow the insurgents into Turnhout, he was defeated in a street fight and driven out of that town with great loss. After this success the insurgents took the name of the patriotic army, and were joined every day by great numbers of returning emigrants, who, if they came from the south, brought with them French democrats, and if they came from the north, Dutch democrats. In addition to other incentives, many of the French were impelled by want and hunger, for in their own country there was a suspension of peaceful occupation, and a

scarcity of provisions amounting almost to a famine, and the granaries of Flanders and Brabant were comparatively well filled, and the fat beeves on those rich pastures still temptingly abundant. If Dalton had ever been fond of fighting, he certainly showed no such propensity on the present occasion: he kept away from the field and intrusted the command of the troops to others. Being informed that the patriots were making head at Tirlemont, he sent General Bender against them, and Bender, imprudently engaging in the streets of the town as Schröder had done before him, was thoroughly defeated and driven out of the place with great loss and shame. This was at the beginning of November. Within a very few days after General Arberg was routed and compelled to retreat behind the Scheldt; and the banner of independence was raised in Louvain, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other important cities. The emperor now fell into an agony of alarm and suspicion. The letters from his sister Maria Antoinette conveyed dismal accounts of what was passing and plotting in France. He began to suspect almost every man that was anywise connected with the Netherlands, and he even doubted for a moment the fidelity of the brave and witty Prince de Ligne, who had hitherto been an especial favourite with him, but who, as a native of the Low Countries, and as one having great estates there and high consideration among his countrymen, now became an object of suspicion. And in fact the chiefs of the insurrection had applied to de Ligne, who was then commanding a part of the emperor's troops at the siege of Belgrade, to take the command of the patriot army in the Netherlands. The prince was not the sort of man that could break through the ties of allegiance, the obligations of a soldier, or the habitudes of a whole life; he was moreover personally attached to the emperor, who had many qualities proper to conciliate friendship and esteem; and de Ligne, who was quick-sighted and sagacious beyond most of his contemporaries, clearly foresaw the anarchy to which the French revolution must lead, and the identification which must take place between that revolution and the insurrection in his own country if not checked in time. He removed the emperor's doubts and suspicions by some of his familiar and witty letters; but under his pleasantry and badinage appeared in sober sadness his forebodings and apprehensions. He earnestly recommended the emperor to put an end to the ruinous war on the Danube, to content himself with the towns and the fortresses he had taken, to make peace with the Turks, and to apply himself with all his power, and with the least possible delay, to extinguish the flames in the Low Countries and to prevent the spreading of the great fire kindled in France;* and if Joseph had followed his advice some of the earlier stages of the French revolution might have been less ruinous and disgraceful to the old monarchies and despotisms of Europe. If nothing more had been done, the quieting of the Low Countries and the return of the people to their former tranquillity and attachment to the House of Austria, which might have been brought about without armies and without any bloody contention, might have closed the gates to the neighbouring French, instead of leaving them wide open, and the minds of the Flemings and Brabanters in a state to receive the republicans as friends and deliverers. The first outpouring of the French was sure to be towards Flanders and Brabant, the old battle-fields of Europe—every motive, nearly every possible consideration, ought to have urged the emperor to make himself strong on this side; but he, on the contrary, had been throwing down every rampart and barrier, had been labouring, as if purposely, to facilitate the first movements of the French, and possibly even at the first moment on which the Prince de Ligne offered his good advice it was too late to follow it with effect. De Ligne says that he was himself oppressed with summonses and propositions to go and place himself at the head of the Flemish insurgents; that he was called upon to defend the rights and privileges of his country, and menaced with confiscation in case of his delaying any further to take that decisive patriotic step. To Vandernoot, who conducted this correspondence for the patriots, the prince returned no answer; but he wrote to others of his countrymen to assure them that there was more to be gained from a reconciliation with the emperor than from a perseverance in revolution and war, which could only be maintained by a union or alliance with the French, whose present temper and views he considered as perilous in the extreme, not merely to all crowns and sceptres, but to all nobles, to all men possessing property, to the entire aristocracy of Europe.*

In the month of November the emperor addressed a conciliatory declaration to all his subjects in the Low Countries: he expressed a deep sorrow for the troubles which had broken out, but he still clung to his high imperial dignity, and offered a redress of grievances only upon condition of their first laying down their arms. Having already been deceived in this way, and having been exasperated and maddened by Dalton's military executions, the people would not trust Joseph again, nor rely in any degree on the paternal affection which he boasted. The states of Flanders, on the 20th of November (1789), assumed the style of High and Mighty States; and they asserted their independence by passing and issuing various resolutions and manifestos declaring the emperor to have forfeited, by tyranny and injustice, and the invasion of their privileges, all right or title to the sovereignty, and ordering the levy of an army of 20,000 men, and a close union with the states of Brabant. In Brabant, and particularly in Brussels, the patriots proceeded with increasing vigour and vehemence, for every day brought the most encouraging news

* Lettres et Pensées.

* Lettres et Pensées du Prince de Ligne.

of the emperor's illness and political weakness, of the irresistible might of the mother revolution at Paris—and many of the aristocracy of the Low Countries were not so quick-sighted as de Ligne in discovering the tendency of French democracy, and its inevitable consequences if once allowed to get the ascendancy. Dalton, after all his bravados, had been compelled to shut himself up in Brussels. The patriots soon rose upon him there and attacked him unexpectedly at a moment when conciliatory negotiations were carrying on. All the unscrupulous conduct was not on one side, and in the Low Countries, as elsewhere, patriots could be guilty of treachery and deception as well as kings, ministers, and courtiers. The Irish soldier of fortune was so completely taken by surprise, that he was obliged, on the 9th December (1789), to sue for a capitulation. The patriots granted him leave to withdraw his troops into Luxembourg; and they then remained in undisputed possession of all Brabant as well as Flanders.

The applications of the Belgic patriots to France had commenced in the earliest stages of the French revolution, and before the character of that phenomenon could be ascertained. They gave birth to a strange variety of schemes and intrigues at Paris. One party thought of getting the Duke of Orleans appointed ruler of the emancipated states, which were to be formed into a separate kingdom with something like the same limits which belong to the present kingdom of Belgium. Emissaries had been dispatched to Brussels, to Ghent, and to other cities, in order to work out, or prepare for, this project; and it is even said that the Duke of Orleans opened the scheme to the British government, and endeavoured to obtain their concurrence or acquiescence on the ground that the Netherlanders would never again submit to the emperor.* This intrigue failed, as might have been expected. As a last resource, the emperor Joseph dispatched Count Cobentzel, a practised and able diplomatist, to Brussels, with full powers to treat with the insurgents. Cobentzel offered to restore all their privileges and rights; but the states now haughtily demanded many new privileges and an extension of their rights, together with a better security, properly guaranteed, for the enjoyment of them. And on the last day of the year 1789 the states of Brabant bound themselves, in presence of the citizens of Brussels, by a solemn oath, to preserve the rights, privileges, and constitution of their country; and they administered the same oath to the members of the restored grand council, also in presence of the citizens and populace of Brussels, who rent the air with their acclamations, swearing in their turn to support the states and the council, and to live free or die. Shortly afterwards they formed an offensive and defensive league with the states of Flanders. By this time the King and Queen of France were little better than state prisoners in the Tuileries. The National Assembly was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the scene of famine and almost daily insurrection. The arena was now full of combatants, the combat was considerably advanced, the stakes or prizes for which men and parties were contending were pretty openly laid down; and at this point a sketch of the events of the last few years in France becomes necessary, together with a summary of the constitutional or political history of that ill-governed country from early times—ill-governed, as we believe, quite as much from the incapacity of the people for a rational liberty as from any superiority of their sovereigns in the arts of despotism and oppression.

Even when England and France were both occupied by a Celtic population, some few and essential forms of liberty were cherished in the one country and neglected in the other, without any very visible external cause for the difference. After the overthrow of the dominion of the Romans in the two countries there were causes to account for a greater fondness and aptitude for liberty in England than in France, and, perhaps, for the production of a physically superior race in our island. The Saxons and the Danes, and all the tribes from the north included under those two general denominations, were the most free people in Europe, and wherever they fully established their dominion they introduced the spirit and the habit of freedom. Their conquest of Britain was so entire, that, except in the mountains of Wales and in the highlands of Scotland, the Celtic race entirely disappeared, being either exterminated or absorbed into the conquering race. In spite of the dreadful stories of massacres, and accounts of wholesale emigrations, it should appear that the absorption of the old inhabitants was very considerable; and, though the unmixed Celtic blood is not of the best kind, some infusion of it may have modified and improved the Anglo-Saxon stock. From their first settlement in the island, down to the Norman conquest, the Saxons, whose blood even now may be said to form nine-tenths of the blood that flows in English veins, preserved the spirit of a free people, carefully guarding a rude representative form of government and their municipal rights, which they possessed in a far more perfect degree than any other people. The Franks, who conquered the Gauls and gave their own name to France, were as free and as fond of liberty as the Anglo-Saxons, being only a branch of the same great northern family; but their conquest was far from being so complete: they left the Celtic race unmixed, and almost untouched, in vast tracts of the country; and, when an intermixture took place in the course of ages, the superior blood of the Franks did not absorb, but was absorbed by, that of the incomparably more numerous Celtic race, whose most marked features and characteristics are to be traced in the Frenchmen of our own day. The Franks long continued to represent an armed and alien aristocracy settled among a race of slaves: the Anglo-Saxons, on the contrary, formed one

* Memoirs of Dumouriez.

nation, one people, without any helots or inferior race; and such liberty as they had—making deduction for the domestic slavery—was common to the whole stock. The conquest of our island by the Normans bore a closer resemblance to the conquest of Gaul by the Franks: like the Franks, the Normans were comparatively few in number, and for a time—but for a much shorter time—they kept themselves separate and distinct; but their blood soon mingled and was lost in the great Anglo-Saxon stream: they could not materially change the character of the vast majority, or uproot customs and usages which had lasted five hundred years; and the Normans themselves had preserved some of the free institutions and customs of the north, though they afterwards let them perish and go out in Normandy. Under the feudal system there was tyranny in England as well as in France; but, bad as it was, as soon as the two races became mixed and identified, the tyranny on this side of the Channel was of a far milder nature than that on the Continent. The English or Anglo-Norman baron could be cruel and oppressive enough, but the municipal spirit elevated and gave strength to the burghers, and even the serfs could hardly be regarded as belonging to a separate race from that of their lords; but the Frank or French baron and the serfs of the old Celtic blood really were distinct and antagonist races, and continued to regard themselves as such down to a comparatively recent date. Thus in France the spirit and habit of freedom resided in the incomparably smaller number, while in England it extended in a manner through the entire nation:—in the one country the complexion and constitution, both moral and physical, continued to be Celtic in the masses, and in the other Saxon. In England there gradually grew up a kindliness of feeling between the barons and the commons, between the lords and their vassals; but in France this feeling was of very slow and very imperfect growth, and pride and oppression on one side was often revenged by horrible cruelty on the other. Even the forms of civil liberty, which the Franks had introduced for their own use and exclusive enjoyment, began to be abandoned at a very early period. An assembly of the nation was called from time to time, but no regular period seems ever to have been fixed for its meeting, nor were its powers and attributes properly defined. In general it was summoned by the king on some great emergency; but many kings ascended the throne and descended into the grave without once convening any such assembly. During six centuries, or from the year 613 to 1230, there were only about thirty-five assemblies of the kind, and they were composed solely of the great barons and clergy. Louis le Gros enfranchised the commons about the same time that our Henry I. granted his charter, which became the groundwork of our constitution. A third order was thus added in France to the nobles and clergy; and the assembly, which, on the rare occasions when it met, sat all in one house, took the form and name of STATES GENERAL. But there was neither unanimity nor equilibrium between the commons and the other two orders; and the commons of France, though nominally enfranchised by the sovereign, continued to be browbeaten and oppressed by the aristocracy; and, what was worse, and far more hopeless, was, that, in wanting the habit of any free institutions, they lacked that passionate and universal love for them which alone can give them efficacy and durability. The commons of France, who were far more oppressed at the time of their enfranchisement than were the commons in England, continued in the same condition of inferiority, whereas the English commons no sooner found their way into the national parliament than they began notably to improve their liberties and their well-being in all respects. There was a wonderful difference between the food, clothing, and lodging of the English burghers and yeomanry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the townspeople and peasantry of France of the same periods; and this difference was a principal, though certainly not the sole, cause of the almost constant superiority of the English in the field. The battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt were won by the high hearts and muscular arms of our yeomanry, a class of men which the French monarchy could scarcely be said to possess at all. There was another difference arising out of the original national character of the two people: the English commons plodded slowly but steadily on in the intricate and thorny path of constitutional freedom; if they stumbled or fell, or were driven back one year, they renewed their efforts in the next, rarely desponding and never despairing; they were neither discomfited by bad fortune nor over elated by good, and they kept themselves in a wonderful degree, considering their imperfect civilization and the provocations to which they were occasionally exposed, free from violence, vindictiveness, and blood-shedding: the French commons, on the contrary, had very little of the patience or moderation which are essential to achieve, and equally so to preserve, liberty; they were disgusted and irritated at every failure or check they received; any continuance of failure or disappointment made them indolent and indifferent; and whenever, by some sudden snatch, or some strange combination of events, they were enabled to get power into their hands, they abused it through the impatience and violence of their passions, and disgraced their cause and estate by revenge and cruelty. The States General, although they sometimes deliberated in separate chambers (the nobles in one, the clergy in another, and the commons in a third), formed in fact but one body or chamber, or, as we call it, *House*, and presented the results of their deliberation as one; thus acting as a council of state, but not composing anything like a real political power, or a sufficient legal balance in the constitution. Their attributes could not be called legislative; and they formed no steady counterpoise to the power of the crown, for there was no amalgamation, or any balance of power,

or proper division of power, among themselves. It was a one in three, and a three that did not make a one. The notion that the commons, who paid all the taxes and imposts (both nobles and clergy being exempt), should exercise an exclusive control over the public purse, seems never to have been entertained for a moment by the States General, although the commons of England had at an early date secured that vital privilege. They never had any right of redressing abuses except by petition; they never had any share, indeed; in that sovereignty which belongs to the legislative power. Even in their proper department—the imposing of taxes and subsidies—they were not considered capable of binding their constituents without the specific assent of those constituents. If either of the orders considered that their representatives had been over liberal at their expense, they refused to pay or acknowledge the tax imposed. And it happened frequently that the necessary subsidies, after being provisionally granted by the States General, were rejected by their electors in many parts of the kingdom, and at times in every part of it. It was the binding nature of a money-vote on their constituents and the whole kingdom that endeared the English House of Commons to our early sovereigns, who certainly had no greater abstract love of liberty than the kings of France, but who perceived that the readiest and surest way of procuring money, and that too in the largest quantities, was by and through their parliaments. Whenever they attempted to impose a tax, or raise money in any other way, the amount received fell far short of their expectations, and at times the money was nearly all absorbed by the expense and enormous trouble of the collection. But it was far otherwise in France, where the contributions levied directly by the sovereign were generally more productive than the subsidies granted by the States; and this gave their kings a reasonable pretence for dispensing with the States altogether. Many of the deeds sanctioned by the States General were of a most sanguinary and atrocious kind. The acts would probably have been done if no such an assembly had been convened, but then it might have been possible to throw the odium from the nation upon the sovereign and the government, although, in fact, no tyrant or no government whatever can persevere in such deeds, unless the mass of the nation approves of them. In 1312, just ten years after the formation of the States General, they were convened in order to abolish the order of the Knights Templars; and they proceeded against those unhappy men in the most inhuman manner, making a greater use of racks and torture, of stakes and penal fires, than was ever known to the inquisitors of the worst times. Some cruelties were exercised wherever the Templars existed; but when torture was prescribed for them in England no racks nor any instruments of the kind could be found—so different were the tempers, laws, and practices of the two peoples. In 1355, under the reign of the unfortunate John, the States General were assembled for the fifth time, to provide or to assist in advising some remedies for the deplorable state of the kingdom. They made some attempts towards the establishment of a regular and fixed constitution; they procured a declaration of rights, which has been compared to our Magna Charta: but they adopted no means for carrying it into execution and preserving and improving the advantages it contained; and thus the declaration remained little more than a dead letter, and the great body of the people not only did not understand it, but never heard of, or cared for, its existence. After the battle of Poitiers, which left King John a prisoner in the hands of the English, the Dauphin (afterwards Charles V.) convoked another assembly of the States General, in order to enable him to ransom his father and make some provision for the very distressed state of the monarchy. Before offering any assistance they demanded a redress of grievances, and before doing anything to obtain a redress of grievances they quarrelled among themselves, and fell upon one another as wild beasts might be supposed to do if abandoned by their keeper and let loose in a menagerie. It cannot be said that the commons exclusively were fierce and bloodthirsty, for princes, lords, bishops, and abbots were partakers in the fury and in the cruelty; but it must be nevertheless admitted that the commons had their full share in the guilt, and that the world has not often seen two greater monsters than Robert le Coq (a man of plebeian birth, who had been made by King John Bishop and Duke of Laon) and Stephen Marcel (Prevôt des Marchands, and the great favourite and champion of the commons). For this time the dauphin succeeded in dissolving them, but he was compelled by his necessities and the discontents of the people to summon them again at the beginning of the year 1357. Then Marcel and Le Coq succeeded in obtaining the publication of an ordinance binding the dauphin to a reform of abuses. These abuses were frightful in their extent; but, not satisfied with providing against them, the States General introduced clauses and restrictions which tended to reduce the royal prerogative to a mere shadow, and to place the whole power in the hands of the States. So immoderate were they, that they would not so much as leave to the crown the prerogative of mercy, the choice of its own ministers, or the free enjoyment of its own landed estates. Modernise the language, change a little the phraseology, and some of the propositions of the States General of the fourteenth century might be mistaken for arrêts of the States General of the eighteenth century, or decrees of the National Assembly. The commons or bourgeois faction, led on by the Prevôt des Marchands, were the most forward in these attacks on the crown; and when the States General rose they succeeded in forming a standing committee of thirty-six deputies, with Stephen Marcel for their real head, for the prevôt had an absolute control over the bourgeoisie and the mob of Paris. "The nobility became jealous and

alarmed at this truly fierce democracy, and devised several measures for checking Marcel and his faction. But the prevôt formed a close league with the king of Navarre, a most turbulent prince, who was brother-in-law to the dauphin, and who had been one of the chief sources from which the calamities of the country had flowed; and in the month of February, 1358, when the States General were reassembled in Paris to the number of some 800 or 900 deputies, Marcel, with a troop of ruffians, burst into the royal palace and massacred Robert de Clermont (Marshal of Normandy) and the Sire de Conflans (Marshal of Champaigne) in the dauphin's presence, and so near to him that his clothes were stained with the blood of those two friends. At the same time the Paris rabble murdered in the streets another great officer of state, and Marcel carried the dauphin to the Hôtel de Ville and exhibited him there to the people, with his head covered, not with a *bonnet rouge*, or red night-cap (for that was a symbol reserved for more modern and more civilized days), but with a *capuchin*, or hood, which was half red and half blue, and worn by all true patriots. Many of the nobles and clergy now fled from the States General and the good city of Paris, and the provost filled up the vacancies they had left with deputies of his own choosing. This man disgraced what had been originally a good cause—a laudable attempt to elevate the people and restrain the crown—by his ferocity and mad impatience; and the people of Paris, who were his instruments and more ignorant than he, thought that liberty was only to be obtained by massacres. The dauphin withdrew from the capital, which was running with blood, to the provincial states, who were far more loyal or more moderate, and who furnished him with money and other means for putting an end to the excesses of the Parisians. Marcel occupied the royal château of the Louvre, provisioned Paris, erected barricades and bulwarks, and resolved to stand a siege; but he was duped and betrayed by his ally the King of Navarre, and then butchered in the streets, together with many of his friends and adherents, by the mob who had so long obeyed him. The dauphin then re-entered Paris and made bloody reprisals, the aristocracy being just as savage, when excited, and as ferocious as the mob, and holding, as a fundamental article of faith, that a hundred plebeian lives were not sufficient to atone for that of one great noble. All these horrors in the capital were accompanied or followed by still worse in the provinces, where the peasants rose against their lords, burning and destroying their houses and their property, and murdering them wherever they could catch them, together with their wives and children. Other crimes were perpetrated more horrible than murder—perpetrated, too, with a ghastly *gaieté de cœur*. This *Jacquerie*,* as it was called, almost facetiously, was a very different affair from the insurrections of the English peasantry, which took place a few years later, and the difference arose entirely from the different characters of the two peoples. Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and their poor ignorant followers, were angels of mercy compared with these French insurgents, who shed more blood in one day in one little corner of France than was shed by the English peasants and rabble in the whole course of those two great risings. And when the Jacquerie was put down, it was only by butchery and a war of extermination. The aristocracy hunted the insurgents and struck them down like beasts, and the slaughter was only stayed by the consideration that if they killed all their *villeins* their lands must remain untilled. Other features of the national character were displayed in strong relief: atrocity was mixed with a levity which made it the more horrid; there was piping and dancing, and fiddling and buffooning, in Paris and all the great towns in the midst of all these bloody doings. Their old historian, Mezeray, represents them as dancing over the dead bodies of their relations, and as seeming to rejoice at the burning of their houses and castles and the deaths of their friends. "While some," says he, "were getting their throats cut in the country, others amused themselves in the towns; the sound of the violin was not interrupted by the blast of the trumpet; and the voices of those who sang and rejoiced at balls and festivals, and the piteous cries of those who perished in the flames, or by the edge of the sword, were heard at one and the same time." It is true that at this crisis, as at later periods, France was overrun by invading armies. But we must not transpose cause and effect. The anarchy and the frenzy did not happen *because* the English were conquering the provinces of France; but the English happened to be there in the character of conquerors and destroyers *because* the anarchy and the madness existed before their coming, and had, in fact, invited them thither. This was equally the case with our two great French conquerors—with Henry V. as well as with Edward III. An invading and conquering army always carries fresh horrors in its train; yet, where a nation is not thoroughly disorganized, and its factions of the most savage kind, the advance of such an army generally has the effect of producing a reconciliation and a union for common defence or the preservation of the national independence. The surprising and almost incredible histories of our wars in France will show how backward the French were in this ordinary, instinctive wisdom, and how slowly they settled their own savage feuds and factions in order to make head against the invaders. Nothing seems to us more true than that the depravity of the nobility fully equalled that of the people. Some glimmering of wisdom and moderation broke upon the States General that assembled after all these horrors in 1359; but all kinds of inconveniences arose from their sitting as one anomalous body, and no attempt was made to remedy

* The superior orders had been accustomed to call the peasant or serf Jacques Bonhomme—James Goodman or Goodfellow—and from Jacque came Jacquerie.

that capital constitutional blunder. Many years passed before the States were convoked again. In 1380, when the uncles of Charles VI., a sickly minor, were disputing and cutting throats for the regency, the States made a faint attempt to assert the rights, and liberties, and privileges of the nation; but they could not act or move steadily and soberly together to one great end, and scarcely a man among them had any definite notion what the end ought to be. They, indeed, compelled the government to revoke all taxes, aids, subsidies, and impositions whatsoever that had been imposed since the reign of Philip the Fair, and to decree that the privileges and liberties of the people should be re-established in as full a manner as they had enjoyed them in the reign of that king, or at any time since; but the overbearing, coercive spirit of the court and aristocracy, and the rash turbulence of the Parisians, destroyed all the rational hopes which might have been derived from this famous ordinance. A fresh civil war and a servile insurrection more terrible and bloody than the Jacquerie broke out and drove the whole nation back into an utterly hopeless anarchy. The Tuchins, as the revolted peasants were called after their leader, ravaged the southern provinces, massacring their lords and superiors. The Maillotins, so called from the weapon they used, which was a great club loaded at the head with lead or iron, beat out men's brains in Paris and all the surrounding country as far as Rouen, breaking open the prisons and releasing all classes of prisoners, murdering all the tax-gatherers and collectors of duties, and threatening every citizen that was in any way connected with government or possessed of property. These frightful excesses were put down by excesses equally atrocious on the part of the government. A terrible carnage without any legal procedure was committed in Rouen; and in Paris the detestable practice of secret *noyades* (drownings) was unscrupulously resorted to. Men, and women too, were tied in sacks and thrown by night into the Seine, and the practice was continued until the bed of the river was encumbered by the bodies of the victims. Persons who have not reflected on the old history of the French seem to have imagined that the *noyade* was an invention of the great revolution; but, like almost every other atrocity then practised, it had its precedent, the savages of former times having left little that was new to be discovered or invented by the savages of later days. In the noyades at Paris, which were executed under the immediate direction of the Duke of Anjou (the king's uncle) and other royal or most noble heads of the government, there was no more form of law or trial than there had been at Rouen. In the year 1413, when Charles VI. was labouring under a confirmed insanity, the States General met again; but they merely harangued upon the necessity of doing something to lighten the public burthens that were grinding the commons to the dust, without proposing any distinct, practical scheme; and they separated without doing anything, leaving the business of reform to be taken up by a butcher and the mob. The Cabochiens, so called from Caboche, the butcher, after hanging some ministers and committing numerous other murders, compelled the court to enregister what were called the Cabochien ordinances. Favoured by the mad dissensions which raged among the nobility and the different princes of the blood, by the helplessness of the sovereign, and by the deep and universal feeling that an extensive change in the form of government was indispensable, the French people at this time seemed to be in possession of the best chance they had ever had for obtaining their proper degree of weight and ascendancy in the state. They were, *de facto*, a power in the state, for the contending factions had been compelled to seek their aid and to make terms with them; they had arms in their hands, and both skill and courage to use them, and what little money was left in the distracted, impoverished country was mostly in the possession of the bourgeoisie; but, unhappily, they still lacked not only the habit of liberty, but the true knowledge of what liberty really was. Their political philosophy scarcely extended farther than the substitution of an unlimited democracy for the fitful despotism and crushing aristocracy which had hitherto prevailed in the land; and, instead of advancing to a moderate but permanent freedom, they fell again into a horrible anarchy, which could only be ended by a return to the old despotism. It is a significant and lamentable fact, that this the period of the greatest power of the French people is also the period of their greatest cruelty. It was at this time that the Armagnacs and the Bourguignons deluged the kingdom with blood and converted the whole of Paris into one great slaughter-houses committing horrors and abominations which make those of the Marats and Robespierres appear mere trifles. It was this state of things that made the English conqueror, Henry V., exclaim as he was advancing to the siege of Rouen, "God has led me hither by the hand to punish the sins of this land, and to reign in it like a king. There is now no king, no government, no law in France!" The Bourguignons, the Cabochiens, and all the populace of butcherly minds, declared, at one time, that there could be no peace or safety so long as a single Armagnac remained alive in Paris; and, breaking open the prisons where the members of that faction were confined, they slaughtered of them, in one Sunday, no fewer than 1600, not sparing even the babe at the breast. The Count of Armagnac was slaughtered with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and his naked and disfigured body was dragged about the city by women and children for three days, during all which time the murders were continued more in detail. The total number of victims was estimated at from four to five thousand. The mob of Paris and the canaille of the neighbourhood were the acting exterminators; but they were guided and directed by men, and by women too, of much higher rank, so that there is no shifting the whole atrocity on the people. "The Sep-

tembrizers of the fifteenth century" were applauded by the chiefs of the nobility of the Bourguignon faction, some of whom are said to have gained more than 300,000 crowns by their exploits; and, while the streets were literally wet with blood, the heads of the Bourguignon party, with the Duke of Burgundy and the Queen of France, rode into the good city of Paris, where the people made a great festival and rejoicing, and strewed the streets with flowers. The feast of the day, and the dancing and singing at night, were followed by fresh executions on the morrow, for the queen and the duke had victims of their own choosing to be sacrificed; and when all this work of blood was done they contrived to restore something like tranquillity by *murdering the murderers*. By a craft and perfidy that was very successful, but truly infernal, they rid France and the world of the leaders of the butchers. Famine and pestilence ensued; and wherever the Armagnacs had power so to do, they retaliated on the Bourguignons with equal atrocity. With intervals between, these butcheries continued for more than thirty years, and the main actors in them were not a soldiery, but a people—were not organized armies, but the commons of France. In 1439 and 1440 the States General met again, but did little besides establishing or confirming a perpetual tallage. Charles VII. and Louis XI. levied money and taxes by their own authority, and treated the States as an improper and indecent restriction on the power of the crown. Louis XI., the most astucious of tyrants and the real founder of the monarchic absolutism in France, only assembled the States General twice during his long reign; and on neither of those occasions did he consult them about the granting of money, or permit them to interfere with his levying taxes, tallages, and all kinds of contributions, by royal ordinance. As his tyranny and diabolical craft were exercised chiefly against the aristocracy—about the most factious and turbulent and least patriotic of any then in Europe—as there was a system and a regularity in his administration and in his exactions, it does not appear that the people had much reason to complain of the disuse of the States. Indeed it rather appears, on the contrary, that the old fox was a favourite with the herd, and that the common people of France loved him all the better for his proceedings against the nobles. In 1483, when Charles VIII. succeeded his father Louis, the States General were convoked at Tours, and from a variety of concurrent circumstances, one of which was the minority of the new king, great things were expected from this convocation. The deputies from all the three orders—nobility, clergy, and commons—were so numerous that they could not debate in one body; they therefore resolved themselves into separate bodies to meet in different halls; but a very strange and unwise rule was adopted to regulate the separation or division: they resolved themselves, not into *three chambers*, representing the whole of the kingdom, according to the three established orders, but into *six nations*—a fanciful division of old France. The way to commit a greater blunder would have been to resolve themselves into tribes, as the country was divided in the time of the Celtic rule. These six nations, as they were called, debated in separate chambers, in each of which nobility, clergy, and commons were heterogeneously mixed; and the nations only consulted each other upon the result of their respective deliberations. The component parts of each nation could not, without difficulty, agree among themselves, and the nations could not all agree with one another on some important and constitutional topics. Two of them, the Norman and Burgundian, reflecting that the greatest calamities had befallen the kingdom under minorities and regencies (which latter had hitherto been appointed by court-factions or decided by an appeal to arms), boldly asserted that the right of appointing a regent resided in the States General; and in virtue of this right they proposed to form a council, not only of the princes of the blood, but of certain deputies to be elected by the several divisions of the States. But the other four nations—Paris, Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Languedoil—rejected this regency scheme altogether. With more unanimity, however, the States at Tours discussed the necessity of some redress of grievances and of some limitation of the power of the crown in taking the people's money. The princes of the blood and the great nobles, who had lived in almost constant fear and trembling under the astute old tyrant who had lately gone to his account, were not only desirous but impatient to undo much that he had done, to retrieve the fame and the property of many of his noble victims, and to wreak their vengeance on the instruments and agents of his tyranny; but few or none of them were disposed to go much farther than this, and they all shrunk instinctively from propositions made by the commons to relieve the distressed and overtaxed people by reducing the expenses of the court, the amount of pensions paid to courtiers and others, and the number of the standing army, which was exclusively and solely officered by men of noble birth. The princes and the aristocracy, which may be said to have included the clergy—for the rich and high posts in the church were, with very few exceptions, reserved to the nobility—had weight enough to crush these propositions; but they, nevertheless, concurred with the commons in several wise, spirited, patriotic, and constitutional resolutions which would have been of inestimable benefit to the country, if, through a want of steadiness and perseverance on the part of the deputies and the people, and a want of good faith on the part of the government, they had not been left to remain as mere declarations upon paper. The States General, for example, resolved that the tallage and all other arbitrary imposts should be abolished; and that from thenceforward, "according to the natural liberty of France," no tax whatever should be

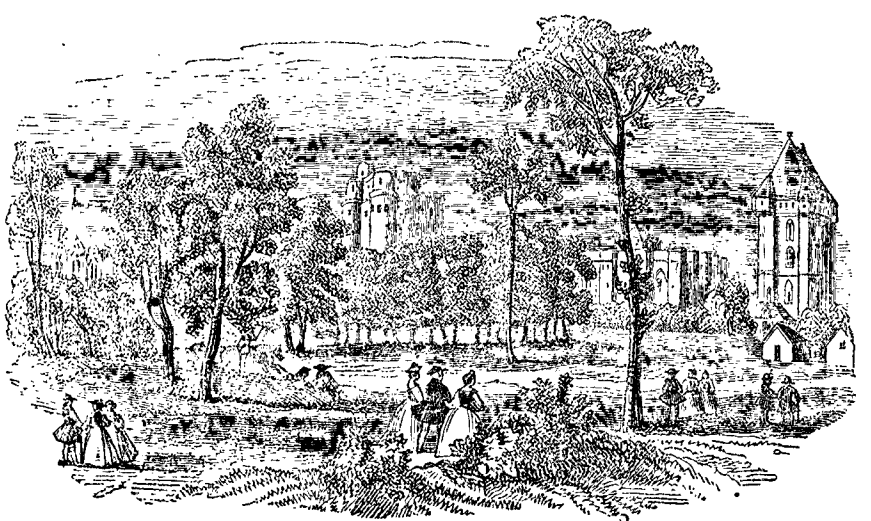
levied in the kingdom without the consent of the states. The court was so alarmed that it resolved never again to call the States General together if it could possibly be avoided; and the nation had not spirit, wisdom, and unanimity sufficient to support the declarations which had been made and enforce the regular convocation of their representatives at fixed or close periods of time. Another most favourable opportunity—perhaps the last—for obtaining a constitutional liberty was thus thrown away, and the gradual increase of standing armies made by Charles VIII. and his successors seemed destined to establish and prolong an absolute monarchy, until, by means which then could scarcely have been dreamed of, the popular feeling should be infused into those armies and the soldiers won over from the king and the aristocracy, who had the command of them, to the democracy, from which they themselves sprung, and to which they were condemned for ever to belong, seeing that no service, no valour, no genius could efface their plebeianism or raise them to the rank of gentlemen and officers. Under Louis XII. the States General were summoned only once, and that was solely to perform a not very honourable office:—they helped him to break his royal word and a treaty of marriage which he had entered into for his daughter; they gave him the title of "Father of his people," and were then dismissed to obscurity and contempt. In 1558 Henry II. introduced a fourth estate, which bore the name of the Estate of Justice (L'Etat de la Justice), and which consisted of the chiefs of the magistracy of the kingdom. The four estates all sat together, or at least deliberated as one body, just as the three estates had done before. But they were not more frequently convened, and by degrees they all sank into a mere meeting of Notables, who were not so much deputed by the orders they represented, as summoned and selected by the sovereign for the sole purpose of giving him advice or countenance, and without the shadow of a legislative or even a restrictive power. In this mutilated form, though they made one or two efforts against the prerogative, they sanctioned some of the worst acts of the crown. Thus under Henry III., when they met at Blois, they chimed in with the mad factions of the court, connived at the assassination of the Duke and the Cardinal de Guise, and countenanced the king in proscribing nearly a fourth part of his subjects. In 1614, when Louis XIII. came of age, they met for the last time previously to the revolution of 1789, and nothing could well be more contemptible than this their last appearance on the stage. We quote one of the mildest accounts of their acting and behaviour:—"They were convoked in a hurry, and were dissolved in the same manner. Efforts were witnessed on the part of the clergy to obtain in France the recognition of the temporal authority of the pope, and of the Council of Trent; but no other important discussion occupied the States General. The orders assembled separately, paying visits to each other by means of commissaries, and occasionally sent their orators to one another. All the rules of etiquette were scrupulously observed; they counted the precise number of steps which ought to be made by each when they went to meet at conferences. The Tiers Etat, or commons, had to make so many steps in advance, the clergy so many, and the nobility so many, and no more; and all this was entered on their registers. They also entered their harangues; and these harangues resembled theatrical declamations rather than serious debates. But in the midst of the most fastidious compliments there arose sharp quarrels about inconsiderate words and phrases; and these quarrels were to be settled only by many long negotiations and interviews. This was particularly the case when an orator of the Tiers Etat called the nobility "worshippers of the goddess Pecunia." Afterwards they counted their complaints and grievances, hoping to receive some redress before the meeting should be dissolved; but the dissolution was ordered at the very moment when they were about to present their reports. The deputies of the commons appeared humiliated and disconsolate at being obliged to return home without having obtained anything for the public good."*

Besides the States General there were provincial States, which occasionally showed more wisdom and more spirit (mixed with more moderation) than the greater assemblies; but the times of their meeting were irregular and uncertain, their attributes were still less defined, and they gradually died out altogether, or became simple provincial councils to advise with the king's lieutenants, governors, and magistrates. There were *Parlemens*, but the parlemens of France were scarcely more like the parliament of England than a London court of common council is like the senate of ancient Rome. These parlemens also differed widely in their composition and functions from the States General as originally framed. They represented no part of the nation, for they were not deputed by any order, neither by nobility nor clergy, magistracy nor commons, but were selected and appointed by the crown. In course of time they were permitted, by the extravagant and impoverished court, to *purchase* their places; and this gave them somewhat more boldness and power than they had originally possessed, as even under despotisms public opinion will support men in maintaining that what they buy they ought to be allowed to keep. The Parlement of Paris appears to have been first instituted by Louis IX., about the middle of the thirteenth century, to assist the illiterate, careless, and impatient barons, who formed a sort of royal council or court of peers; and to have consisted chiefly if not entirely of churchmen, possessing a knowledge of civil as well as canonical law, and of other branches of state learning which men of the sword despised. These priest-lawyers decided cases of appeal, or gave to the court of peers advice whereby to decide

* Necker, Revolution Française.

upon them. They had no deliberative voice in the council or anywhere else; but they became important as their opinions and superior learning were known to influence the voice and decisions of the peers. They appear also to have acted from the first as a court of registry; and when all constitutional sanctions were done away with by the growing absolutism of the crown, it was considered that every royal edict or ordinance, to have the force of law, ought previously to be registered by the parlement. By degrees priests became less, and regular lawyers more numerous in this body. As a general rule, they implicitly obeyed the crown, to whom they owed their appointments. In cases of appeal and in other judicial cases, if—as rarely could happen—the crown was indifferent or impartial, they might use their own judgment and superior legal science; but when the king sent them down an edict, let its tenor be what it might, they had nothing to do but to cross themselves and enregister it. Now and then, indeed, favoured by some peculiar circumstances, they ventured to delay, to remonstrate, and even to refuse.* Thus they refused to enregister an edict to abolish the pragmatic sanction, and refused to contribute taxes in the same proportion as the people. Among the innumerable edicts they did enregister without hesitation or murmurs, among the legal decisions they gave, and the other deeds they did, were some of the most execrable ever heard of in any country. They enregistered an edict establishing the inquisition; they condemned Anne du Bourg to death as a protestant, and shortly afterwards the good Coligni; they instituted an annual procession and thanksgiving for the protestant massacre of St. Bartholomew; and in times of faction and civil war they repeatedly made themselves instruments of vengeance to the prevailing party. At times when the government was weak—in the hands of a woman or some perplexed regent—they could assume a high tone and a prepotent bearing; but down to the threshold of the great revolution they quailed before the sovereign power whenever it was held by a firm hand. They had more than once terrified his mother in the days of his minority, but Louis XIV. made them crouch before him like a pack of trained hounds. He ordered and ordained, in his ultra-absolute manner, that they should not presume to intermeddle in matters of state or finance; call in question the ministers of his choice; visit the great; or receive presents for the administration of justice. Being informed one day while hunting in the wood of Vincennes that they were showing symptoms of contumacy, he galloped away to their place of meeting, and suddenly appeared among them booted and spurred, with his *couteau de chasse* by his side, and his heavy whip in his hand, and forbade their proceeding any further. Their submission and timidity ought to excite no surprise and no severity of censure; for there was nothing between them and the king's wrath—they had no broad rights of their own to stand upon—and they could look for support neither from the aristocracy, who had dwindled down into a set of *valets de cour*, nor from the people, who seemed now confirmed in their habits of slavery, and to be hugging the chain which Richelieu and then the grand monarch had

* When the opposition of the parlement of Paris appeared to be unusually serious, the king had two ways of getting rid of it;—he held what was termed a *Lit de Justice*, or Bed of Justice, wherein by his own royal lips he *ordered* his edicts to be registered, and the parlement was bound to obey, without debate or remonstrance; or he held what was termed a *Séance Royale*, or Royal Sitting or Session, where the parlement, though allowed the liberty of speech, were equally bound to enregister the edicts he presented. These *Lits des Justice* and *Séances Royales* were very showy affairs, as the king went in state, accompanied by the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm, a cardinal or two, a selection from the archbishops, bishops, and lord-abbots, the great officers of state and of the household, and an interminable retinue; but they were only *spectacles*, got up by absolutism to assert its will, and awe the only body of men that seemed to retain a fragment of constitutional freedom.



VINCENNES. From a French Print.

lengthened and strengthened for them. Louis XIV. said that he was the state (*L'état, c'est moi*), and all France seemed willing to believe him and to submit to the monstrous dictum. He virtually cashiered the parlement of Paris by forbidding them to deliberate on any matter whatsoever, and depriving them of the right of presenting remonstrances. The Regent Duke of Orleans restored to them the right or faculty of remonstrance, for his government was beset by factions and cabals, and he wanted all the support and sanction he could procure: nor was the regent, with all his vices, anything like a thorough-paced despot. They became refractory under Louis XV., whose government betrayed very striking symptoms of weakness and decay—for despotism had overleaped itself, and was now fast falling "on the other side." They were, however, exiled for their disobedience, and were not recalled till the birth of Louis XVI. On their return they entered into a league with the other parlemens of the kingdom, in order to form one body, which might have strength and consistence enough to oppose some barriers to arbitrary power, and, at least, preserve the members of that body from punishment and exile on a royal or ministerial rescript, without process or any kind of examination. The people of Paris, in whom a few years had wrought a wonderful change, now rallied round them as bold and virtuous patriots, and a very near approach to an insurrection was the consequence of this popular sympathy. Yet it was soon after this that the parlement of Paris passed their irregular and iniquitous sentence of death on Lally. In almost the last days of his life Louis XV. quarrelled with them again, and again exiled them, together with several of the provincial parlemens. There was, however, a loud and almost universal outcry; and Louis XVI. recalled and reinstated them all, immediately upon his accession to the throne in 1774. Under the new reign they enregistered all the edicts that were sent them down to the year 1785, exercising neither less nor more authority than they had done for ages preceding, but enjoying somewhat more of popular respect and support, which rendered it dangerous for a king like Louis XVI., and situated as he was, to try to ride over them booted and spurred, and with whip in hand, as his great-grandfather had done over their predecessors. The provincial parlemens appear to have been as ancient as that of Paris, and to have risen like the provincial States General in the periods when those provinces were separate sovereignties, or principalities held under the little more than nominal suzerainty of the King of France. There were, for example, the parlement of Toulouse, the parlement of Grenoble, the parlemens of Dijon, Rouen, &c.

The Assembly of Notables, or what the French historians particularly designate by that name, had met altogether four times, and no more—in 1558, in 1596, in 1617, and in 1626. It was composed of a certain number of individuals distinguished by rank, character, ability, and experience—of men of note, or "notable" men. They, too, possessed no legislative power, or constitutional, representative capacity; they were chosen by the king or his ministers, and they formed only a temporary council of state, to assist in some great emergency, to deliver their opinions upon plans communicated to them by command of the king, and to offer such advice as to them might appear most conducive to the welfare of his majesty and the nation. The most and the best, we believe, that can be said of the assemblies of the Notables is, that if they did no great good, they likewise did no great harm, leaving the government and institutions of the country just as they found them. So long as there was victory and glory abroad, and much corn and little reading at home, these institutions, radically bad as they were, seem to have suited the French people passably well. At certain intervals, even under the most powerful and popular of their monarchs —and in France the most powerful king was always the most popular—there were *mouvemens, émeutes*, insurrections, and downright civil war; and what is remarkable is, the unquestionable fact, that in all these scenes there was the same horrible mixture of levity and atrocity, of sensuality, lust, and cruelty, that is observed in their earlier annals. Other nations in becoming more civilized had become less and less cruel, and this should seem to be the natural course of things; but it was not so in France, where the massacres of later times have been as pitiless as any that occurred in the most barbarous periods. There were frequent occasions when the aristocratic and priestly and popular excitement subsided into a sudden calm, ending, as it had begun, in words and clamour; but, if once blood was drawn, the tiger part of the national character displayed itself, and they seemed never to know when to stop. In the civil wars of the Fronde, "the last campaign of the aristocracy," during the minority of Louis XIV., the levity, the gallantry, the intrigue, and the debauch, were greater than they had been in earlier times, and the cruelty was not less: they killed one another singing songs and making *bon mots;* and after the day had been spent in fighting and bloodshed the night was devoted to all the pleasanter vices. The highest and noblest in the land were the actors in these excesses, which lasted for years, and a prince of the church, that lively profligate, the Cardinal de Retz, was the real hero of the Fronde. The people of Paris, indeed, took an active part in them, but it can hardly be said that the plebeians, the *gens de la roture*, the *canaille*, were more vicious or bloodthirsty than the noblesse or than the clergy, several of the most conspicuous members of which latter body, besides de Retz, were engaged in the contentions. Even under the vaunted reign of Louis XIV. the French rendered themselves notorious by their cruelty both abroad and at home. There is nothing in modern history more horrible than the havoc they committed in the Palatinate; and the dragonades against the Hugonots or protestants of the

south of France, ordered by Louis XIV., his mistress, his ministers, and his priests, and executed with alacrity and exultation by the troops and the Catholic part of the population, were but little inferior in atrocity to the grand massacre of St. Bartholomew itself, while the proscription and perpetual banishment of so many thousands of peaceful and most useful subjects, by which the dragonades were accompanied, might be compared to the expulsion of the unhappy Moors from Grenada under that bigot and tyrant, Philip II. of Spain.* It is a most hopeless effort in French writers of a later day to attempt to throw all this damning guilt on kings and priests, for the people of all classes partook in the savage frenzy that prompted the proceedings; they were national deeds—they were approved of and were highly popular with the French nation, who never reached the healing philosophy of toleration in matters of religion until they had thrown off and utterly renounced all religious belief—and then we shall find their philosophism, their materialism, or atheism, just as intolerant as the ancient Romanism, or as any other church that ever pretended to infallibility. The Regent-Duke of Orleans, who carried debauchery, obscenity, and irreligion to a monstrous excess, had, however, the merit of being averse to blood, except when shed on the field of battle; and, though passionately fond of war, and not without genius for the conduct of it, he kept France at peace during the whole of his regency; and perhaps it will not be easy to find in French history a similar length of time so entirely free from cruelties and massacres. But under Louis XV., who had all the bad qualities of the regent with only a few of the redeeming ones, the nation was plunged into ruinous, sanguinary, and, for the most part, unfortunate wars, and many savage acts were perpetrated in the interior, sometimes by the people, *de proprio motu*, sometimes by the government, with or without the sanction of the *parlemens* and courts of law. The horrible executions in cases of high treason, once common to all Europe, were gradually falling into disuse, and were repulsive to the feelings of most communities; but in the year 1757, when Louis XV. was stabbed and only slightly wounded by Damiens, an insane fanatic, who ought to have been sent to a madhouse, like Margaret Nicholson, he was condemned by the Grande Chambre of the parlement, from whom the king, by letter, had demanded "a signal vengeance," to be broken alive by horses; and this sentence was executed in a public square of Paris, the Place de Grève, with numerous additional atrocities. Before being put to death by having the four horses attached to his four limbs to pull them asunder, he was tortured for one hour and a half on the place of execution with red-hot pincers, molten lead, and other detestable contrivances. All Paris flocked to the horrid spectacle; the windows and roofs of the houses around the Place de Grève were crowded with spectators, men and women, and among them were many ladies of the highest rank. This was, indeed, one of the most disgraceful exhibitions that ever took place in a civilized country. It was under this reign, and at a time when the labours of the Encyclopedists and philosophists were beginning to produce their effect on the national mind, that Calas and la Barre were immolated by courts of justice at the shrine of superstition, as Lally was sacrificed to the Compagnie des Indes and to selfish cabals. It was under this reign that 60,000 lettres de cachet were granted, that want and absolute famine raged in the greater part of France, that a harem far more revolting than that of eastern sultans was formed for the king in the Parc aux Cerfs, and that a common prostitute, Madame du Barry, was almost enthroned as principal mistress, being made the companion of the king's own daughters, and the place-dispensing idol to which the proudest of the land, princes, dukes, marquises, with their wives or their daughters, marshals, generals, admirals, chancellors, judges, nay, abbés, almoners, bishops, and archbishops, offered their incense. It was under this reign that the court, the capital, and most of the great cities of France, became demoralised to a point beyond which all the horrors of the coming revolution could scarcely carry them. There were great and glorious exceptions among all classes, and in every part of the kingdom; in many of the remote and rural districts a simplicity and innocency of manners still reigned; there were generous sentiments and aspirations in a very large part of the nation, and existing even in the breasts of men to whom vice and sensual indulgence were most familiar; there was bravery to do and dare, for that essential quality never yet was wanting in the French; there was an abundance, or a superabundance, of talent, ingenuity, wit; but there was no political experience, no caution or moderation, no patient perseverance, no toleration for the errors or passions of others, no sympathy or friendship, but a deadly hostility between all the different ranks or classes of society, at the moment when Louis XVI. and his young wife became king and queen, with the touching exclamation or prayer uttered on their knees, and with streaming eyes, "Oh, God guide us, protect us; we are too young to reign!"

The new sovereign, a weak but amiable man, and not without acquirements and abilities which might have rendered him a good and useful king in a different country, or even in France under less numerous and fatal difficulties, found the people discontented, impoverished, suffering, and mutinous; the government embarrassed by an enormous and still increasing debt; the credit of the state destroyed by a bankruptcy profligately perpetrated by the Abbé Terray, the precious finance-minister of Louis XV.; the army disorganised, the navy almost annihilated, and all classes and conditions of his subjects calling for reform—for an immediate

* It was under the same reign that Paris witnessed the bloody and indiscriminate slaughter at the Hôtel de Ville, when the people, too impatient to distinguish between friends and foes, fell upon all they could reach, and massacred alike Frondeurs and Mazarins.

and sweeping reform, without being in the least agreed as to where it was to begin and where end, or as to the means to be employed in procuring it. At first, however, there seemed a fair prospect of contentment and tranquillity: the king chose for

Louis XVI. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

his premier the octogenarian Count de Maurepas, who had grown old without growing very wise; but he appointed Turgot, the most distinguished of the economists, and a virtuous and philosophic man, to be comptroller-general of the finances, and the wise and good Malesherbes to preside over the department of justice. The exiled parlement was recalled, and reinstated with honour. Turgot and Malesherbes, who knew the temper of the times, and that some grand changes were inevitable, wished the king to take the business of reform into his own hands, whereby, they calculated, he might be enabled to retain the direction of it, and prevent the extremity of a revolution—an extremity fearful even among a better trained and more phlegmatic people, but trebly dangerous with a people like the French. They proposed that the king should begin with some of the gross and monstrous burthens that ground the commonalty, that he should suppress the internal duties which weighed heaviest on articles of food, and above all the detested *gabelle;* that he should abolish the *corvées*, and the other tyrannical usages which had arisen out of the feudal system; that he should subject the nobility and the clergy to pay taxes as well as the *tiers état*, or common people; and that he should convert tallagés and other services, which excessively harassed and distressed the country people, into a fixed territorial impost. They also recommended the abolition of torture; a total revisal of the old criminal code; the compilation of a new and uniform civil code; full liberty of conscience, and the recall of the Protestants; the gradual suppression of the greater part of the convents and monasteries; the emancipation of the civil power from ecclesiastical jurisdiction; a proper provision for the parochial clergy and country curés, who did all the duties of religion that were performed in France, who possessed all the religion that was left in the French clergy, and who were and had for ages been condemned to starve or languish upon miserable pittances, while the dignitaries of the church —excessively wealthy and luxurious, and as dissipated and unbelieving as the lay aristocracy—were spending the money of the church at Paris. They further recommended the redemption of all feudal rents and obligations; the suppression of all the existing impediments to trade and industry, of everything which separated the provinces of France from one another, and checked the commercial intercourse of the kingdom; the formation of provincial administrations, to be composed of the great landed proprietors, who were to unite and give strength to the powers and spirit of the municipal bodies, to superintend the construction of roads and canals, in which France was miserably deficient, and to attend to a variety of important affairs too apt to be overlooked by the central government, residing continually in the capital. Turgot was intimately connected not only with the political economists, but with the whole body of philosophes, whose free notions in metaphysics and in religion he participated in: he therefore suggested, as important parts of the reform, that the philosophes should be retained for the government by proper fees and emoluments, in order to furnish "*the tribute of their philanthropic observations;*" that thought should be rendered free as trade; and that a new system of public instruction should be established, from which "*all the old prejudices*" should be weeded and excluded. As Louis XVI. was not an *esprit fort*, as he loved the old religion much better than the new ethics, as, like his grandfather Louis XV., he suspected and dreaded the philosophes, their converts and partisans, there was much in the scheme proposed that was in the highest degree distasteful to him; and other essential portions of the project were still more odious to the aristocracy and the clergy, who exclusively surrounded the king, who already raised a loud cry about vested rights and ancient privileges, and who expressed, in the most determined manner, their intention of yielding nothing to the people. Deafened by these clamours, the young king threw out all the vital parts of the project; and agreed with his premier, old Maurepas, an aristocrat himself, that nothing ought to be done that tended to disgust and alienate the nobility and the clergy, the real supporters of the power and splendour of the throne. Turgot, however, succeeded in inducing Maurepas and the king to consent to the abolition of the *corvée*, of the interior custom-houses between province and province, and of various other vexations and abuses, which collectively formed no insignificant instalment towards better government. But the French people and the philosophes were far too impatient to wait for what could not possibly be well done except with time and caution; and the other orders were variously dissatisfied even with the little that was thus done in the way of reform. The courtiers complained bitterly of the rigid economy which Turgot had introduced; and the parlement of

Paris resented several measures which went to interfere with their old jurisdiction, functions, and profits. The patriotism of the latter body seems to have evaporated from the very moment they discovered that their purses and their influence were to be touched. Turgot's ministerial life of two years was a very uneasy one. The wisdom and the boldness with which he opposed the mad war party that drove Louis XVI. into the American war—predicting, as we have seen, so many of the fatal consequences of that rash step—put the capstone to his unpopularity at court; and he was driven into retirement in 1776. It is said that the king, who had not energy enough to support him against the united cabals of nobles, clergy, and the great officers of the crown, exclaimed, in parting with him, that there were in all France only Turgot and himself who really wished the good of the people! The personal virtues of the man had extinguished his dislike of the philosophe.

Turgot was succeeded as comptroller-general of finance by Clugny, who, after holding office about six months, gave place to Necker, from whom nothing less than absolute miracles were expected; and that too by a people who believed not merely

NECKER. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

that the age of miracles was over, but that it had never existed. The prevalence of the new ideas was seen in this appointment, for Necker was not only a plebeian, but a foreigner and a *Protestant*. He was a native of Geneva, and the son of a professor of law in that little republic. He went to Paris in his youth to seek fortune or employment; and he found both in the house of Thellusson, also a Genevese, and at that time the greatest banker and capitalist on the continent. His steadiness and perseverance, with some abilities, soon raised him from the condition of a clerk to that of a partner, and in the course of twelve or thirteen years he realised a very large fortune. His enemies —chiefly the French ultra-royalists, who attributed to him a revolution which must have happened, a little sooner or a little later, if he had never been born—accuse him of adroit if not fraudulent operations with the French East India Company, and in the English funds, at the time of the peace of 1763, of which, they say, he was advised beforehand by Favier, an employé in the office of foreign affairs at Paris; but it may very reasonably be doubted whether Necker ever exceeded the tolerably wide limits of financiering and stock-jobbing morality. He retired from business in 1774, when he was only forty-two years of age, and in possession of a wonderful reputation for industry, energy, and ability, in all matters connected with finance and public economy. He, no doubt, owed part of this fame to his large fortune and the liberal uses he made of it, and to his charming and spirituelle wife, who collected in her salons and at her dinner-table all the distinguished men of France, with every foreigner of any celebrity that visited Paris. Necker, however, was an author; and at this curious transition period celebrities were not to be acquired and kept in France except by the pen and the press. He had written upon the French corn laws and upon the French East India Company; and his éloge on the great finance-minister Colbert had procured him a prize of honour from the French Academy. At the moment when old Maurepas was perplexed in the extreme, by difficulties which increased after the retreat of Turgot, Necker sent him a long memoir upon the French finances and the best means of paying off the national debt, and making up the enormous deficiency in the revenue. The light-hearted and sanguine old marquis was delighted with the production, and with a scheme which he fondly fancied would remove every difficulty without imposing a too rigid economy on the court. He had some difficulty in overcoming the religious scruples and the national scruples of Louis XVI., who thought that his finance-minister ought to be a Frenchman and a Catholic; but, in the end, the alien and Protestant Necker was admitted to the most difficult office of the state, without, however, having the honour of a seat in the council.* He refused the ordinary pay and emoluments of office, declaring that his only object was to benefit the people of France, and save their government from bankruptcy. Men, however, who knew him well, and who even respected the many good qualities that were in him, thought that it would have given him some pain to see France saved by any other hand than his own, and that, though not covetous of money, of which he had already more than enough, he was covetous of distinction and glory as a statesman, and singularly ambitious of being thought the only regenerator of an undone kingdom. If Turgot's schemes had in some degree smelt over-strongly of the new philosophism and of the coterie of encyclopedists and economists, Necker's certainly savoured too much of the banking-house and the stock-exchange. He considered that the salvation of this ricketty, worn-out monarchy might be found in public loans adroitly managed, in the introduc-

* Necker was not at once made comptroller. A new office—that of "Director of the Treasury"—was made for him, and Tabourean de Réaux, a counsellor of state, was comptroller-general. But this quiet, unassuming man let Necker do as he chose, and in a few months he resigned his office. In June, 1777, Necker was appointed comptroller, with a little change in the official title, being called *Director-General*.

tion of a better system of collection and book-keeping, and in a very little economy on the part of the court and the various departments of government. Loans, new loans, were to supply the place of new taxes; for the people, the Tiers Etat, were already so overburthened that they could bear no more, and the nobility and clergy had secured for a little while longer their exemption from all taxes. No doubt there was service to be done by a good banker and stock-broker, and Necker did, honestly and with spirit, just as much as was to be expected from a man in that capacity; but he did, and could do little more, for Necker was scarcely a statesman at all, and the crisis required the greatest of statesmen. Nor is it at all improbable that the greatest statesman that ever has lived, or that ever shall live, would have utterly failed in that chaos and pandemonium. Necker's prospectuses and conditions of loans were drawn with a practised, and, in that line, an able pen; the bankers and merchants of Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Genoa were tempted to give more credit to their old correspondent, the late partner of Thellusson, whose speculations had all been so successful, than they would have reposed in the French government, which had already more than once defrauded its creditors by bankruptcy: they speculated pretty freely in the French funds and in these new loans, and for a time all went smoothly, and old Maurepas continued in his ecstasies. As for Necker's economy, or reduction of expenditure, it was too insignificant in amount to have saved a little Swiss canton. He would have made it more, but he was thwarted by the young queen, who naturally loved pleasure and expense, by the whole household, and by nearly every aristocrat that had place, appointment, or pension, or was living in the hope of obtaining it. The more thoughtful part of this high, and privileged, and separate world agreed that some retrenchment might be necessary or expedient, but they never could agree as to the places where the retrenchments ought to be made, and every one of them thought that he, his own connexions or particular department, ought to be spared. And Necker, afraid of making enemies, afraid of offending the queen, carefully abstained from any bold attempt. If it had been a time of peace his financial operations might have produced some more lasting benefit; but nearly all the money he could borrow was swallowed up by the American war, and he found himself incapacitated from alleviating the crushing burthens of the people. He went on adding loan to loan: the necessities of the moment were met, and that was all; and by degrees both the country and the foreign creditors began to entertain some doubt whether France was not borrowing more than she would ever be able to pay under her present unreformed system, which left nothing to be contributed by two of the three orders of the state. In the year 1781 he was permitted to publish his famous Comptes Rendus, or regular account of the finances of the kingdom, which disclosed for the first time the state of the revenue and expenditure—things which had hitherto been considered as sacred arcana of government, of which the people were never to have a glimpse. Although he was only half a philosophe and half a liberal, that party highly applauded this disclosure, declaring that it would render impossible the return of the old secret and absolute system. But, on the other hand, his disclosure made him many powerful enemies, and united against him a legion of placemen, pensioners, contractors, and others, who loved to live upon the public purse without the public having any knowledge of the fact. The Comptes Rendus certainly contributed somewhat to the great change that was approaching, and which was driven on by causes innumerable. Necker, assailed on every side at court, now declared that all his endeavours to retrieve the affairs of the country must prove ineffectual unless the king allowed him to change a part of the cabinet and to have a place at the council table. The king refused even the seat in the council, and thereupon Necker tendered his resignation, which was accepted in May, 1781, not many weeks after the publication of his Comptes Rendus. He was succeeded by a mere tool of the court, who never whispered the word retrenchment. Old Maurepas died shortly after, and, instead of the middle course which he had pursued by alternately conciliating the aristocracy and the popular party by concessions and promises, it was resolved at court to present a bold front and refuse any further concessions or reforms. The Count de Vergennes, an experienced diplomatist, and one who thought that diplomacy alone might rescue a universe, obtained the high post vacated by Maurepas. The war was prosecuted with some increase of vigour; and Lafayette, who constantly corresponded with the new minister, flattered him with hopes and assurances that his glorious administration would witness the humiliation and ruin of Great Britain. If the American war most materially contributed, when it was over, to the overthrow of the French throne, it certainly, during its progress, diverted attention and occupied the popular mind too much to allow it to dwell upon state matters at home. Always fond of excitement, the French, in spite of their poverty, had rejoiced at the commencement of hostilities, for the disgraces and defeats they had sustained in the Seven Years' war preyed upon their minds, and the humiliation of England was a pleasure to be purchased at any price. They concluded that the dismemberment of the British empire and the independence of the United States of America must infallibly ruin their old rival for ever; and thus even the court, the aristocracy, and the most passionate of the royalists joined the philosophes and the liberals in taking the young republicans of the West to their hearts, and declaring that no sacrifice was too great to be made for them. The sacrifices actually made were enormous; and when the bustle and excitement of the war were finished and a review was

taken of all that it had cost, of all that it had added to the national debt, the government was mortified and astounded; and all those parties that were looking forward to innovations and sweeping changes became convinced that the whole strength of the monarchy was gone, and that the day was at hand for making a revolution by a *coup de main*. Every effort was, however, made by a half-informed ministry to keep the court ignorant of these fatal secrets. After another change a finance minister was found perfectly to the taste of the court. This was Calonne, a bold, dashing, brilliant, self-confident man, who had a great deal of wit and a wonderful fertility of invention, and who would have saved France, if wit and impudence and wild schemes could have done it. Instead of recommending an extensive and statesmanlike economy as Turgot had done, or practising a paltry economy like Necker, he boldly declared that no economy was necessary, and that the gaiety and splendour of the court ought to be supported. He entirely captivated the suffrages of the court by the urbanity of his manners, the facility with which he granted favours or money, and the charming tone and tenour of his political philosophy. He was regarded as the best comptroller of finances that God had ever made—for courtiers. The presence of his predecessors had cast a gloom over every court fête, for they always seemed to be summing up the total of the expense; but the presence of Calonne made still gayer the gayest parties, for it was one of his well-known axioms that too much money could hardly

CALONNE. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

be spent in this way, because costly entertainments were conducive to national prosperity, by encouraging various branches of trade and manufactures which might otherwise languish. This political economy, besides pleasing the princes, lords, and high dames at Versailles, was very grateful to the marchands des modes, the tailors, jewellers, and a hundred other classes of tradespeople and artisans in the capital; and, though his doctrines did not go down so, well among other classes of the community and in the provinces, Calonne was for a considerable time a very popular finance-minister in a good part of Paris. If any of the princes or princesses wanted a supply, Calonne had always the golden louis ready for them in a pretty box or silken bag: if the queen wanted a place for one of her friends, he had always some appointment which he had kept vacant for that very person. Deprived of their ornaments, their wit, and their gallantry, his speeches at court amounted simply to this—take as much money as you please, and spend it as fast as you can. As he, no more than Necker, could venture to lay on any new taxes, duties, or imposts whatsoever, and as the expenditure continued far to exceed the disposable part of the revenue, he had nothing for it but to make fresh loans; and he borrowed and borrowed until the sensitive money-market of Europe took the alarm, and nearly everybody but himself shrunk back in affright from the abyss he had made. He ventured to prolong a few taxes that ought to have expired, he anticipated some parts of the revenue, he even imposed some trifling new duties; but it was not by expedients and petty operations like these that he could prolong the happy illusion he had raised in the high places: a sum of money which, in francs, fills the breadth of a page, must be raised immediately, and an enormous addition must be made to the annual taxation of the country, or bankruptcy, ruin, anarchy, must ensue. He felt, as a man that had bowels and sense, that it would be cruelty and madness to grind the people any further; and, after revolving many schemes, he determined to make an appeal to the nobility and the clergy, and he obtained the reluctant consent of the king to convoke an Assembly of Notables.

Besides other and more serious consequences, this measure was attended with the ruin of Calonne. His system, founded on prodigality, must end upon his having recourse to the purses of other men. A minister who had raised himself by giving could not sustain himself by asking.* He hoped that an assembly of notables chosen by the government would be easily induced to adopt the views of ministers, and that men who owed so much to the monarchy would be disposed to make some sacrifices in order to relieve it from its present difficulties and the perilous chances of an entire subversion. If ever there was a time for proving the truth of the axiom, that the nobility and clergy were the true friends and defenders of the throne, this was it. The Notables assembled at Versailles on the 22nd of February, 1787. The old courtiers were horror-stricken even at a deliberative, powerless, and most imperfect popular assembly like this; and the profligate Duke of Richelieu asked one of his friends what punishment he thought Louis XIV. would have inflicted upon any minister that had presumed merely to propose such a dangerous measure? These notables were almost to a man members of the privileged orders, and were exempted either by birth

* Mignet.

or by profession, or by both accidents, from contributing to the wants of the state; but many of them were known to entertain the new notions, and to have expressed an eagerness for reform and the correction of abuses. It was, in fact, upon these grounds that they had been selected from among thousands and hundreds of thousands, and Calonne was credulous enough to imagine that they would display a perfect disinterestedness, and forward the liberal principles they professed at the expense of sacrifices from themselves and the orders to which they belonged. He thought, too, that if selfish men should be found among these notables of the land they would, from their very selfishness, be ready to sacrifice a part to save the large remainder, to resign their exemption from taxation in order to keep their great estates and their rich benefices.* It was therefore with his ordinary gaiety and vivacity that Calonne explained in detail the motives of their being called together, and the healing schemes which he had to propose for their consideration. These schemes consisted, first, in a new distribution of taxes, by which the revenue would be materially increased, and the expenses of collecting it materially lessened; and secondly, in the abolition of the invidious privileges of the nobility and clergy, which provoked a perennial jealousy and animosity on the part of the Tiers Etat, and which opposed an insurmountable barrier to permanent improvement of any kind. But his illusion was presently dissipated. Instead of approving his plans, the notables pointed out their defects and their very dangerous tendency. By a proposed land-tax, his *subvention territoriale*, no privileged class was to be exempted, but noblemen, clergy, members of the parlemens were all to pay like the plebeians, whom they had hitherto been used to tax without mercy, and without taking a doit from their own purses. The notables declared that the project was monstrous, and that the enormous deficit which had impelled Calonne to offer so dangerous a proposition had been created by his own prodigality and mismanagement. Some of the body went still further, and accused him of peculation. In defending himself Calonne referred to the old state of the finances, to the enormous dilapidations which existed many years before he entered upon their management, to the exhausting expenditure caused by the American war; and he criticised the operations of many of his predecessors in office, not excepting even Necker, who had palliated the evil without removing the sources from which it sprung, and who had first introduced the system of frequent loans. But the notables were not disposed either to excuse him by admitting the faults of others, or to allow that any extremity of national distress ought to confound the privileged orders with the unprivileged; and with a very few exceptions they announced their determination of contributing nothing. Besides the opposition of particular and individual interests, many objected to this land-tax, or *subvention territoriale*, as a direct infringement of the rights of whole provinces, and a violation of the original capitularies or compacts which they had entered into with the crown when they first became integral parts of the kingdom. These capitularies, they said—and said truly—guaranteed to the said provinces all their ancient immunities; and these immunities were not to be destroyed without violence, war, and revolution. Such a storm was raised as completely overwhelmed even the bold and ready-witted comptroller-general; and, though warmly supported by the queen, Calonne was dismissed on the 10th of April. If there had been peculation it had not been committed by him or for his own profit: he was penniless on quitting office, and might have starved but for a financier's rich widow in Lorraine, who, captivated by his gallantry and wit, married him in the hour of his need, when the courtiers, upon whom he had rained gold, were turning their backs upon him as a broken, disgraced, and dangerous man.

During the discussions in the notables, a forward, fashionable, self-confident dignitary of the church, Loménie de Brienne, had attracted considerable attention by organising or directing the opposition of the clergy, and by making himself their chief mouthpiece. This aspiring churchman had been a college companion of Turgot, and had set out in his college with the resolution of becoming an archbishop and prime minister.* He had so far succeeded that at the meeting of the notables he was archbishop of Toulouse. He had studied men more than books, he was thoroughly a man of the world, and, with infinitely less knowledge, philanthropy, and patriotism than Turgot, he had great industry, and no inconsiderable practical, working ability, which, together with his other qualities, might have rendered him a tolerably popular minister in less difficult times. He accepted the post of Calonne with an appearance of confidence, and was shortly after translated to the much richer archbishopric of Sens. At every change wonders were expected; but it soon became visible that Loménie had no plan, and that no plan was possible. The notables who had joined him in making war upon Calonne abandoned him the very moment he showed a disposition to resume and carry into effect a part of the projects which had been proposed by that minister and first contemplated by Turgot. He could neither continue the profusion of Calonne, by which alone the court was to be retained, nor fall back upon the saving system of Necker, which might have amused the people yet a little while: the loan-market was shut against him, and neither nobility nor clergy would open their purses to contribute. There was no hope for him or in him. He could scarcely dare to speak against the privi-

* The notables consisted of 144 persons, seven of whom were princes of the blood, and the rest peers, nobles, heads of the church, law, and army, ministers of the crown, deputies of the Pays d'Etats, and magistrates of the principal towns in different parts of the kingdom.

* Mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet, de l'Académie Française.

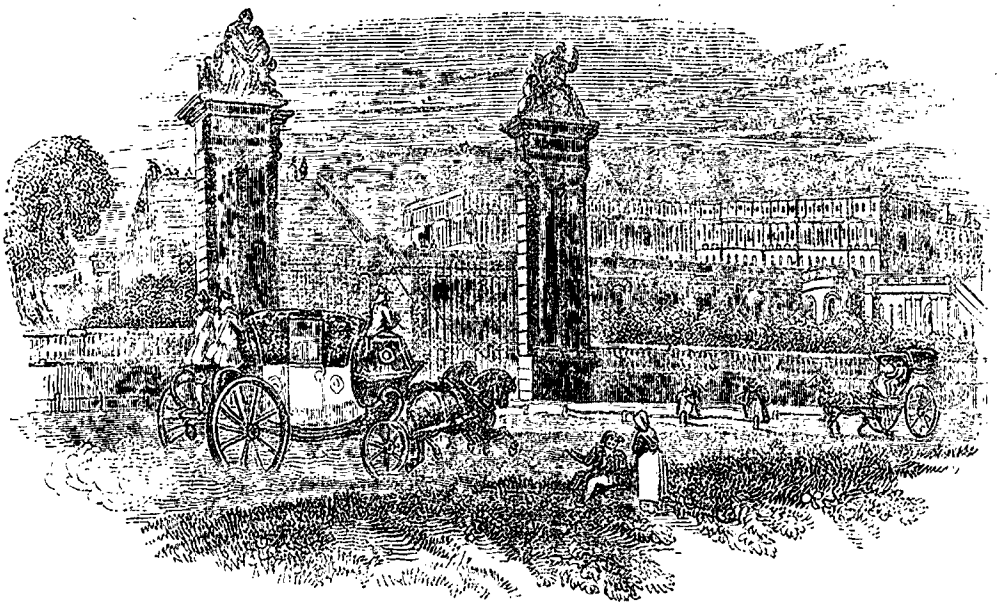
leges and exemptions which he had so recently defended; and, when two or three of the notables hazarded reflections upon the amount of untaxed property, tithes, &c., they were put down by loud and indignant voices. The national violence was enlivened as usual with the national wit and readiness at repartee. The archbishop of Aix, in a pathetic tone, described tithes as being the voluntary offering of the piety of the faithful. "Tithes," rejoined the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in a simple and quiet manner, "tithes, that voluntary offering of the piety of the faithful, about which forty-thousand law-suits are now pending in the kingdom."* In the course of the sittings more than one hint was given as to the necessity of convoking in some form or other the real representatives of the three orders of the nation. "You demand the convocation of the States-General," said the new minister with an air of alarm and astonishment. "Yes," said Lafayette, whose revolutionary ardour had not excluded him from the assembly of notables, "Yes, and something more than that!" The secretaries were ordered to take down these words as improper and dangerous; and Loménie, who had very recently complimented Lafayette, and been in return complimented by him as a man of the most upright honesty and shining abilities, now declared in the king's council that the friend of the Americans was a most dangerous man, and much too apt to put his logic into action.† The notables, who were not incorrectly designated by Lafayette's pun *Not-able*, were rigid in their parsimony, and not very submissive in other respects. They, however, sanctioned the formation of provincial assemblies, which, with time and patience, might have been productive of great good, if only in accustoming the French to a little self-government; and they also approved of the ministerial plan for regulating the internal trade in corn. They agreed to the total abolition of the corvée, and to the imposing a new stamp-tax; and here they halted. The court and the new minister of finance were about equally afraid of what they might do and of what they had left undone; and it was resolved to put an end to a meeting which had disappointed all parties. On the 25th of May, 1787, the king, who had opened their session in person, dissolved them with another speech, in which, with hollowness and sadness of heart, he went through the formula of thanking them for the attention and zeal they had displayed.

The notables had scarcely got back to their homes ere Loménie indeed found himself *not able* to carry on the business of government without having recourse to the old arbitrary system of taxation—of a taxation still to be borne solely by the Tiers Etat. The parlement of Paris, which had taken part in the wordy war for the defence of privileges and exemptions, and which had materially injured by its determined hostility not only Calonne, but his reforming predecessors Necker and Turgot, now resumed its patriotic or opposition attitude, and began by refusing to enregister even the new stamp-tax which the notables had sanctioned. Upon this subject the parlement, about the middle of July, presented an address to the king, strongly objecting to the tax, and requesting his majesty to communicate to them a full account of the real state of the finances, and of the manner in which the money demanded was to be applied. Louis, following the advice of his ministers, and still more the impulses of the arbitrary instinct which, of necessity, had been made a part of his very nature, by birth, education, habit, and every circumstance of his life from his cradle downward, and for which he was not, morally, more responsible than is the man that inherits scrofula, insanity, or consumption answerable for the malady that destroys him, declared his determination not to furnish them with the information they required without any precedent for their demand. The parlement, who were impelled by la Rochefoucauld and d'Espréménil, and who did not foresee that they were calling not merely for the extinction of their own cherished privileges and faculties, but for the extinction of their very being as a body, now put forth an exciting remonstrance, in which, after inveighing against ministers, they entered into a discussion of the fundamental principles and real objects of national taxation; broadly asserted that neither the king nor the parlemens, that no other body of men whatsoever except only the three estates of the kingdom collectively assembled, possessed a right to lay a permanent tax upon the people; and they therefore recommended and requested that his majesty would be pleased to convoke the States-General, as they used to be convoked in former ages. This paper completed the excitement of the people and frightened the courtiers and the old placemen almost out of their senses. The king replied to it that it was for him to judge of the proper time for assembling the States-General; and that it was for the parlement to enregister the edicts he sent to them. But finding that the parlement continued resolute, and that the people of Paris were enthusiastic in their adhesion to it, Louis and his ministers, as the only remaining resort, decided that the stamp-tax edict should be enregistered in a *Lit de Justice*, or Bed of Justice, a fashion which had been introduced in the course of the gradual growth of despotism and disuse of even deliberative assemblies, and which had often been resorted to before, when parlemens proved refractory.

This Bed of Justice was held at Versailles on the 6th of August, 1787. Before the parlement quitted Paris to attend it they entered a protest against anything that might be done or attempted contrary to the laws of the kingdom. At Versailles they were compelled to be silent, and to witness the registering of the edict at the express command of

* Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les Deux Premières Assemblées Législatives, par Etienne Dumont, de Genève.

† Memoirs, &c., of Lafayette, published by his family. Toulongeon, Hist. de France, depuis la Révolution de 1789.



Palace of Versailles; the Orangery Gate. From a French Print.

the sovereign; but on the next day, when they re-assembled in the Palais de Justice, at Paris, they declared, in a formal protest, that the edict, having been registered against their approbation and consent, was null and void; and that the first person that should attempt to carry it into execution should be judged and treated as a traitor. They well knew that the other parlemens of the kingdom would follow their example, and that the tax and duty payers—the great body of the people, who already paid too much—would not, with such encouragements, submit to the stamp-tax. Altogether, a more unlucky choice of an impost could not have been made. The history of the stamp-tax in America was very generally known, and there was Lafayette, with Jefferson, and a knot of Americans, to endoctrinate the French people. The very name of the tax was enough to forbode mischief. At this time of ferment all the printing presses of Paris worked night and day, pouring forth, for the most part, nothing but eulogiums on the patriotic parlement, anathemas on the government, libels on the king, and libels still more atrocious on the queen.* The Count d'Artois, the king's younger brother (afterwards the ill-starred Charles X.) was grossly insulted in the streets of the capital, for having told the parlementers that if he were king he would compel them to be more obedient. At court, with an excessive irritation, there was much indecision; for Louis, though claiming absolute power, had in reality little taste for absolute measures. But, about a week after holding the unpropitious Lit de Justice, he assented to the proposals of his ministers for employing force and intimidation. With full confidence that an army of 12,000 men now collected in the capital would be sufficient to repress any popular movement, the ministers gave their orders, and at a very early hour one morning, beginning between light and dark, an officer of the French guards, attended by a few soldiers, went to the house of each member, to signify to him the king's command that he should instantly get into his carriage and proceed to Troyes, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house previously to his departure. The old words of terror, "*de par le Roi*," had still power enough in them to enforce obedience, and before the city of Paris was well awake all the parlement men were considerably advanced on their journey. When their departure became known there was a loud uproar; but the soldiers, who were not yet won over to the popular side, patroled the streets and restored quiet by breaking a few heads and conveying some of the noisiest to their corps de gardes or to prison. But the king had not armies in every part of France, and at nearly every great town where there were no troops or only weak garrisons a spirit of riot and resistance was manifested. Even at this very early stage there were symptoms that the people would make a wild and immoderate use of their

* Jefferson, still minister plenipotentiary, writes—"In the mean time all tongues in Paris (and in France, it is said) have been let loose, and never was a licence of speaking against the government exercised in London more freely or more universally. Caricatures, placards, *bons mots*, have been indulged in by all ranks of people, and I know of no well-attested instance of a single punishment. For some time mobs of ten, twenty, and thirty thousand people have collected daily, surrounded the parliament house, huzzaed the members, *even entered the doors, and examined into their conduct* (a prelude to what the mob did afterwards in the national assembly and convention), "took the horses out of the carriages of those who did well, and drew them home. . . . The queen, going to the theatre at Versailles with Madame de Polignac, was received with a general hiss. The king, long in the habit of drowning his cares in wine, plunges deeper and deeper. The queen cries, but sins on."—*Professor Tucker, Life of Jefferson.* Jefferson's determined republicanism made him a prejudiced judge of kings and queens; his habitual associates in Paris were revolutionists, and he seems to have adopted the very worst stories told by them of Louis and Marie Antoinette.

power whenever they should be enfranchised, and that the revolution, like all its predecessors, would be a bloody one. But men would not permit their extravagant hopes to be overcast by these sad

COMTE D'ARTOIS (AFTERWARDS CHARLES X). From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

signs. Lafayette, who appears to us to be about the most inept man that ever meddled with the mainsprings of revolutions, wrote in an ecstasy of joy to his old friends on the other side of the Atlantic—"Notions of liberty have been spreading very fast among us ever since the American revolution. The combustible materials have been kindled by the assembly of notables and by our parlemens. . . . Liberty is cantering and prancing from one end of the kingdom to the other."* Prancing, indeed! a wild unbroken colt, beating her unshodden hoofs to pieces on rough ground, where no roads as yet had been made, without bit or rein to curb and guide her, and with a crowd of self-confident but bad riders like Lafayette, each jostling the other and fighting to be first, fondly fancying that they could vault upon her back without saddle or stirrup, guide her as they list, and put her through her paces like an old manège Flanders mare. But, if Lafayette was deficient in all the high qualities which make a statesman or a political philosopher, he was gifted with a wonderful share of activity. He attended the notables; he was in constant communication with the leaders of opposition in the parlement of Paris and in nearly all the other parlemens of the kingdom; he voted and harangued in the provincial assembly of Auvergne, his native province, and in a trice he was back in the capital, consulting with Jefferson and other American republicans as to the best means of making and conducting this revolution.† Other men of less name, but of infinitely more ability, were as active as Lafayette, for the revolutionary party comprised the young and middle aged, whereas the monarchy was defended by the old only — who, as Jefferson complacently remarked, must be less active and be diminished daily in the usual course of nature. Loménie de Brienne, who had to bear the whole weight of government, and who was distracted by conflicting schemes and intrigues at court, not knowing what to do, did scarcely anything at all, beyond ordering the suppression of the political clubs, and causing the streets of the capital to be patroled constantly by strong parties. Troubles and even open insurrections broke out in Dauphiny, in Britany, French Flanders, Provence, and Languedoc; and the provincial states, nobility, clergy, and Tiers Etat united in determined opposition. In Paris the chamber of accounts and court of aid, the two courts next in rank to the parlement, protested against the new taxes, and petitioned the king to recall the parlement and summon the States General. Even an extraordinary assembly of the clergy which the archbishop-minister had convoked at Versailles, in hopes of obtaining some money of them, had no sooner met than they drew up an address to his majesty, imploring him to think no more of beds of justice, which could do nothing, but assemble the States General, which could do everything—repair the disorder in the finances, give security for the public debt, restore credit, and put an end to the present chaos. Various other public bodies concurred in addresses or petitions of the same kind; and the people were led to believe that the assembling of the States would not merely decrease their burdens, but raise them, one and all, to the summit of prosperity and happiness. Thousands of pens, that had energy, life, and eloquence, were employed constantly in discussing these subjects; and, notwithstanding the occasional exercise of arbitrary power against printers and publishers, the press in Paris and all the great cities continued to pour forth the most stirring productions. Mirabeau wrote his celebrated essay to expose the iniquities and horrors of lettres de cachet, and succeeded in inducing the parlement of Dauphiny to protest against that unconstitutional power, that most terrible engine of despotism, and further to pass a decree by which it was rendered a capital crime for any person or persons, under any authority whatsoever, to attempt executing lettres de cachet within their jurisdiction. The parlement and provincial assembly of Britany, assembled at Rennes, joined those of Dauphiny, and that assembled at Grenoble, in declaring that they would not permit any further collection of taxes of any sort until the parlement of Paris should be reinstated in all its rights. In this state of the public mind ministers could not venture to attempt levying the stamp-tax or carrying into effect the *subvention territoriale;* and the president of the parlement, without any permission from the king, or previous notice given, was emboldened to quit Troyes and repair to Versailles. On the 13th of September (1787) M. le President obtained an audience of Louis, who had been for some time in a most painful state of poverty, doubt, and vacillation, not knowing whether to persevere in hostilities or to attempt a reconciliation. He told his majesty—what all the world had been telling him

* Letters to General Washington, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., of General Lafayette: published by his family.

† Memoirs of Lafayette—of Governeur Morris—and of Jay.

for months—that the kingdom would be absolutely ruined unless the present system was abandoned, the parlement reinstated, and the States General convoked. The boldness of his language had an instantaneous effect on the timidity of the king, and decided his wavering mind—at least for a few hours. Louis engaged to give up the stamp-tax and the territorial impost, to recall the parlement, and to give them satisfaction in some other respects; while all that he required from the president was, that they should register the patent by which Loménie de Brienne was recently appointed first minister of state. The parlement returned in triumph to Paris, and, though they considered his conduct as proceeding from nothing but weakness and fear, they conveyed to his majesty their acknowledgments of their grateful sense of his equity and justice, and of his affection for his people in withdrawing the edicts for the stamp-tax and the land-tax, accompanied with assurances of their concurrence in all his beneficent views for relieving the people and rendering them the happiest in the world. But Louis, unfortunate in his own character, unfortunate in his advisers, and in all those who surrounded him, changed his mind and his system within a very few days, and acted in a manner that gave rise to or confirmed suspicions that he was not to be trusted—that his promises were meant to entrap, and that his concessions were only the preludes to fresh aggression. At a very early period of these contentions some of his subjects had begun to compare him with the unhappy Charles I. of England, and his acts now seemed to justify the comparison. With somewhat unusual noise and publicity the 19th of November was fixed for a grand Royal Hunt; and on the morning of that day, when the parlement thought that the king and court were chasing deer in the forest of St. Germain, Louis, attended by all the princes of the blood, the great officers of state, the peers of France, and a long retinue besides, drove into Paris and suddenly appeared at the gates of the Palais de Justice, wherein the parlement was assembled. This was a poor and weak parody of the feat of Louis XIV. The time was gone by for such feats, and Louis XVI. was neither shaped in body and feature, nor framed in mind, to play, theatrically or otherwise, the part of an off-handed tyrant. His most unexpected arrival, however, produced no inconsiderable sensation, and, as Paris was still well filled with troops, there was some appearance of consternation as he entered the great hall. The speech he delivered was not calculated to remove these impressions; it was ultra-absolute in its tone; putting the sovereign will above all other powers, interests, and considerations. "I am come," said he, "to recall to this assembly those principles from which it ought never to deviate, and to hear what you have to say upon two great acts of administration and legislation which to me have appeared necessary. The principles which I mean to recall to your recollection constitute a part of the essence of the monarchy, and I will not suffer them to be forgotten or changed." Alluding to the outcry for the convocation of the States General, he said, "I alone am to judge of the use and necessity of those assemblies, and I will not suffer myself to be indiscreetly importuned for that which ought to be expected from my wisdom and the love I bear to my people." He then mentioned two edicts which were to be registered—one for a succession of loans for five years, amounting altogether to about nine millions sterling; and the other for fully emancipating and restoring to their civil rights the protestants of his dominions. This emancipation of the protestants had at last become a popular measure in France, and had even been recommended to the king by the parlement some time before. It has, therefore, been thought that it was introduced on this occasion to reconcile both the public and the parlement to the successive loans. Louis, however, appeared to speak feelingly on the subject of religious toleration. "I will ever maintain," said he, "the holy religion in which I have the happiness to have been born, and I will not permit it to suffer any diminution of its pre-eminence in the kingdom; but I am of opinion that this same religion commands me not to leave a part of my subjects deprived of their natural rights." In concluding his address he said—"My parlement ought to depend upon my confidence and affection, but they ought to merit them, by confining themselves within the functions confided to them by the kings my predecessors; being careful not to depart from, nor refuse to recognise, these limits, and more particularly never to fail in giving to the rest of my subjects an example of fidelity and submission."

It was quite clear that the parlement had been assuming functions to which they had no manner of claim; but this was not the proper manner to address them, when the great body of the nation were passionately attached to whatever checked the old absolutism, and were impatiently calling for a real representative body, with far higher powers than any the parlement pretended to. As soon as the king had finished his speech, Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, explained his majesty's intentions and views in a long oration, and permission was given to every member to deliver his sentiments in the royal hearing. There were fiery men there, who neither cared for this permission, nor would have cared for a prohibition, as imposed in the late Bed of Justice. There instantly followed a hot, loud, and passionate debate, which made the king red and pale alternately. The great theme was the necessity of immediately assembling the States General, in order to achieve a rapid and universal reform. D'Espréménil, and still more impetuously Sabatier de Cabre and Fréteau, called upon his majesty to be the saviour of France by convoking the States General. These harangues lasted six or seven hours: it was growing dark, and was far beyond the hour at which royalty and the great world then dined. Louis, whose good appetite no

troubles or anxieties could depress, was hungry, faint, exhausted. At last, on a hint given him by Lamoignon, he rose to put an end to the sitting by declaring, as imperiously as he could, that he must have his successive loans edict registered without further talking. A short silence followed, and men gazed at one another as if each expected that some one else would reply. The personage to rise and break this silence was the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood next to the king's bro-

DUC D'ORLEANS. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

thers, who had led one section of the opposition in the assembly of notables, and who had been for several years in fierce hostility to the court, to the king, and still more to the queen. Looking full at his majesty, Orleans inquired whether this was a Lit de Justice or a Séance Royale? He was answered by the king and many of the court, all in a breath, that it was a Séance Royale. Even under despotism certain little forms and rules of etiquette had been observed, and the duke now quoted one of these to the king's face. Orleans said it was an old rule that edicts could not be registered by order in a Séance Royale; and that he, for one, must enter his humble protest against such registry. "You may do as you choose," said the king, who repeated his order, saw it obeyed, and then departed with the same state in which he had come, attended by the princes of the blood, the peers, great officers, and the rest. But his Highness of Orleans accompanied his majesty no farther than the gate, and, returning instantly, entered his stinging protest, which was adopted as their own by such members of the parlement as had remained behind, and who declared the loan edict to be null and void, and Orleans to be the greatest of princes and the best of patriots. They then separated. Next morning the Duke of Orleans was commanded to quit Paris, and confine himself to his château of Villars-Cotterets; and, by lettres de cachet, Fréteau was consigned to the dreary castle of Ham, and Sabatier de Cabre to the still drearier fortress of Mount St. Michael; the other members of the parlement being ordered at the same time to repair to Versailles with their journal or register, in order to have the protest erased. If they were rebuked and brow-beaten at court, the parlement were honoured and applauded by the people of Paris, by the people of Versailles, and by all the people on the road. They returned to the capital bolder than ever, entered a fresh protest, and demanded the immediate recall and liberty of the Duke of Orleans, Fréteau, and de Cabre. The king, through his ministers, ordered them to rescind their resolutions, but they only confirmed them. When this contention had lasted several months the parlement became aware that a regular plan was secretly forming, and almost matured, at Versailles, for depriving them of their existence as a body. This scheme was framed by Loménie de Brienne, or rather, perhaps, by Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, who was considered a bolder man, and one more proper for daring coups d'état. The parlement was to be for ever suppressed, as no longer suiting the monarchy and the exigencies of society; and it was to be succeeded by an entirely new court, to be called Cour Plénière, and to consist of princes of the blood, peers of France, great officers of the crown, the higher orders of the clergy, marshals of France, governors of provinces, knights of the different orders, and a deputation of one member from each parlement in the realm and of two from the chambers of accounts and aids. They were all to be appointed by the king, but their appointments were to be for life. Louis and the queen (who appears to have been consulted on all occasions, and to have taken a more active part in public business than her constitutionally indolent husband) were delighted with the notion of this Cour Plénière, fancying that it might not only rid them of the troublesome parlemens, but also do away with the necessity of convoking the States General. The parlement no sooner got the clue to the secret through the activity, ingenuity, and liberality in bribing of d'Espréménil, than they passed a variety of resolutions, condemning the whole scheme as an invasion of their rights and the national liberties, affirming that they were irremoveable, and that no authority in the state was competent to suppress or usurp their functions. These proclamations, which greatly excited the whole city of Paris, brought down a fresh exercise of arbitrary power. Orders were issued for arresting d'Espréménil and de Monsabert in their own houses. But in the court and in every office and department of government there were individuals who, from jealousy and enmity to their official superiors, or sympathy with the opponents of the court, from a love of the new ideas or a love of money, or from some other motive, were ever ready to betray all the secrets they could learn. This continued until the expiring candle of this poor monarchy was completely burnt out; and the practice will account for many things in the revolution which might otherwise appear inexplicable. When the king's officer went by night to the houses of d'Espréménil and de Monsabert to capture them

without noise they were not to be found there or anywhere else. It was not the intention of those two gentlemen to flee or hide themselves for any time: what they wanted was to get up a scene, to injure the court by a scandalous éclat, to imitate the grand scene which had taken place in the English House of Commons when Charles I. went with an armed force to demand the persons of the five members: for these Frenchmen were always imitating, or fancying they were imitating, the patriots of England, or Rome, or Greece; and, as the two things resembled each other in name, though in nothing else, they thought their parlement might stand out in the eyes of the world like an English parliament. Accordingly, on the following day, they went down to the Palais de Justice, and took their usual seats. After a formal recital of the attempt which had been made overnight to deprive them of their liberty, they joined in passing a resolution that a remonstrance should be presented to the king by a deputation of their body. What they expected and had counted upon for their coup d'éclat happened very soon after: the palais was surrounded by a regiment, and an officer entering their hall demanded, in the king's name, that M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert should be delivered up to him. A profound silence ensued. At length the president rose and declared that he and every member present was a d'Espréménil and a de Monsabert, as they one and all coincided in the sentiments of those members. The officer, not knowing the persons of the two members, and not wishing to proceed to violence without express orders, withdrew, and either went or sent to Versailles to consult ministers or the king and queen. The troops remained outside the building, blocking up all the avenues leading to it, and the parlement remained within, having declared themselves in "permanent session." There were one hundred and sixty-seven of them, sixteen being peers. D'Espréménil compared them to the Roman senate, sitting in their curule chairs and purple robes, awaiting Brennus, the victorious Gauls, slavery, or death; and told them that they were offering a grand spectacle to the Universe! As they were allowed to send messengers out, and even to dispatch a courier to Versailles, it is to be supposed that they were permitted to receive messengers within, and that the means of procuring food and wine were not denied to them. After some twenty hours the officer again entered the hall and required the members to point out to him M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert under penalty of being declared guilty of treason in protecting the king's enemies. There was a beating of drums and rattling of muskets in the court. It was evident that the officer, who was a man of iron, and who had been chosen on account of his resoluteness, would execute his order by force. The scene, besides, had lasted a long while—the majority must have been tired of playing at Roman senators—and so the two chosen victims stepped forth from their brethren and surrendered themselves. As d'Espréménil was escorted to a carriage by a file of soldiers with their bayonets fixed, he put a short question to the crowd of spectators, which, a very few months later, might have caused blood to flow like water. "Have you courage?" said he. The multitude made no reply, and the regiment doing duty on the spot—the French guards—were firm and unconcerned. D'Espréménil was carried away to a little island off the coast of Provence not far from Toulon, and de Monsabert to an old fortress near the city of Lyons. A few minutes after their seizure the officer turned out all their brethren, locked up the chamber of parlement, and carried away the keys in his pocket. Not many days after these high events, on the 8th of May, 1788, the king held a Lit de Justice at Versailles in order to enforce or to establish the Cour Plénière. As there could be no debating, the parlement, or such portion of it as had obeyed the king's summons, seized the first moment of his arrival to present to his majesty an address, wherein they declared that the French nation would never submit to the despotic plan he contemplated; that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled upon; that the parlement was determined, both as a body and individually, to take no part or place in the new court, and to give no assistance in carrying into execution any measures which were not the unanimous resolution of a parlement endued with all its privileges. After receiving this unpalatable address, the king, in a long speech, explained the nature and objects of the Cour Plénière, and ended by ordering the edict to be registered. The parlementers, as in duty bound, sat mute as statues and saw the edict registered. But the very next day they assembled in a tavern or coffee-house at Versailles and entered a protest against the edict, the registering, and the whole system. Nor were the provincial parlements much more submissive; except that of Douai, not one of them would recognise the royal edict. But the last blow which upset the whole plan was the refusal of peers, nobles, bishops, counsellors, and other men of note, upon whose co-operation the king had confidently relied, to accept places in the new court, or to be in any way concerned with it. Absolutism made a few shifts and a few dying struggles before it resigned itself to its inevitable doom. The military were employed at Rennes and forced the Breton parlement to enregister. Blood was spilt in the streets of that town, and, when the Bretons sent a deputation of twelve to Versailles with a remonstrance, Loménie de Brienne, after hearing them, packed them off to the Bastille by lettres de cachet. The Bretons sent a second and more numerous deputation, who were met on the road by emissaries of ministers and frightened back to Rennes. The persevering Bretons dispatched a third and still more numerous deputation, and, as these deputies travelled *incogniti*, and by different roads, they succeeded in reaching the capital and the royal residence. The minister refused to grant them an audience, but they had other work in hand besides

that of representation and remonstrance. Before their coming they had struck up a close alliance with Lafayette, who, by letter, had assured them "that he associated himself in all opposition to every present and future act of arbitrary power." Though not a born Breton, Lafayette's principal property lay in that province, and his mother was a native of it. He was, therefore, considered as good as a Breton, and he became the rallying-point, not only of the deputies, but of all the men of movement that came up from their country to Paris. Under his auspices was now formed the Breton club, the first germ of the Jacobin club. After these proceedings it was not extraordinary that the queen should conceive sentiments of suspicion and aversion against Lafayette, or that he should be deprived of his command of a military division of the kingdom.* Eight provincial parlemens were driven from their usual places of sitting, to some other towns of France, at a greater or less distance from their homes—or, as it was termed by the French, they were exiled. But the members of the Grenoble parlement, the fieriest of them all, would not budge from their city, the citizens rang the alarm-bells in every steeple and tower, the country people flocked in with clubs, axes, and firelocks, the soldiery gave evident signs that they would rather fire upon their own officers than upon the people, and the general in command was compelled to sign a capitulation. This conduct of the troops at Grenoble was calculated to strike all thinking royalists with despair; but they seem to have lulled themselves into a belief that the military malady was endemic and not epidemic—that it was peculiar to the always hot and turbulent atmosphere of the capital of Dauphiny, and would not spread. At Pau, the little capital of Bearn, Count Grammont was met by a procession of the burghers with the cradle of Henry IV., the palladium of their town—was conjured not to attempt anything against their liberties, and was further told that they had mounted their artillery on the walls, intending to fight, but never to submit. To those who represented the relegation of the Duke of Orleans to Villars-Cotterets as too severe a punishment for a prince of the blood, Louis replied that he knew that of him which would justify him in taking off his head; yet he soon yielded to entreaties, and recalled the duke to the pleasures and excitements of Paris. It was observed or fancied, that, from the moment Orleans returned, there was an increase of activity in the press and in the mob, and rumours began to be spread of great sums of money distributed in the faubourgs, and of plots for dethroning the king and setting up Orleans as captain-general and provisory regent. Many of these reports were premature, or altogether fabulous; but some countenance appears to have been given to them by the duke's crowded dinner-parties and assemblies in the Palais Royal, where, without distinction and without etiquette of any kind, parlementers, philosophes, economists, journalists, peers, nobles, liberal churchmen (who neither believed in the doctrines of the church nor in any one point of the Christain faith), and all the men in Paris that were the most wedded to the new opinions, congregated day after day.

But the mischief and the woe were aggravated by the arrival of a far more terrible agent than the Duke of Orleans, whose influence on the revolution has been vastly overrated. In the month of July of this year (1788), a terrific hail-storm fell upon Paris, and the country for 150 miles round about, destroying the harvest, as it was all but ready for the sickle, spoiling all the fruit upon the trees, and doing incalculable damage in other ways. As this storm had been preceded, in most parts of France, by a long drought, there was a certain prospect of scarcity, and of the rage of hunger being superadded to the other miseries and madnesses of the people. Surrounded by difficulties of every kind, without money, or the hopes of getting any—for the people were refusing to pay taxes, whether registered or unregistered, and the capitalists would not look at the successive loans, or lend à sous to a bankrupt government which was evidently falling to pieces—the king agreed that the States General should be convoked in the following month of May; and, as more than a century and a half had elapsed since the holding of any such assembly, as no journals or registers of proceedings had been kept by them, or preserved by posterity, as at different times they had followed very different rules, and as the most vague notions were entertained of their proper constitution, forms, and functions, Loménie de Brienne, instigated probably by some of his old associates, philosophes, and littérateurs, invited "thinkers" to furnish him with a plan of the States General, with their notions upon the best means of holding them, through the medium of discussion by the public press.* At an earlier time this strange application of the archbishop minister would have been hailed with transport as a proper recognition of the philosophy and enlightenment of the age; but, after his recent acts, nothing that he could now do could reconcile the nation. Plans and schemes of States General were written and printed; but those who wrote did not wish that he should preside at their opening, and the people were so impatient as to think that the states ought to be assembled instantly, without wasting time in discussing how they ought to be constituted, and what were to be their proper powers and attributes—points which the "thinkers," in their journals and pamphlets without end, were perplexing and confounding to the vulgar mind, rather than clearing them up and settling them. The poverty of the court, and the emptiness of the national exchequer, precipitated events. The king had but 2000 louis-d'ors left in his strong box at Versailles, and the state treasury at Paris did not contain wherewith to meet its obligations. Still clinging to power or place, Loménie de Brienne thought that all might go well again, at

* Mémoires de Lafayette,—de Bertrand Moleville,—de Marmontel.

* The French Revolution, a History, by Thomas Carlyle.

least for a short time, if the court would permit him to re-appoint Necker comptroller of finances. The queen strongly objected, and the archbishop minister, it is said, shed tears to move her; but when this difficulty was removed there arose another—Necker refused, as any other man in his senses would have done, to accept of office under a minister so thoroughly discredited and detested. Still Loménie would not resign. To make up for the lamentable deficiency in the treasury, he issued paper money to be redeemed with specie next year, and to bear interest; and a proclamation, or edict, was cried through the streets of Paris, in the middle of August, informing all whom it might concern, that all payments at the royal treasury should henceforth be made three-fifths in specie, and the rest in paper. A paper money thus heralded, and introduced under such circumstances, could not meet with much respect: it was hooted by all Paris, and by all France. A public subscription had been entered into for the relief of the poor who had suffered by the late hail-storm. The archbishop minister laid his hands upon this sacred deposit, and applied the money to some pressing want at court; and, before he retired, he was guilty of other invasions and petty larcenies, one of which was his seizing the money-box at the King's Theatre! At last, Count d'Artois waited on the queen to assure her that Loménie must be dismissed, or the monarchy ruined; and, after tears shed both by her majesty and the minister, it was agreed that the archbishop should travel for the benefit of his health, and that Necker, who had returned to Paris some time before, should be invited or implored to accept the task of righting the finances and the monarchy.*

Loménie de Brienne took the road to Nice and Italy; and the Genevan banker, on the very same day, the 24th of August (1788), was reinstalled finance-minister, with wonderful acclamations on the part of the people, who once more believed, for a little moment, that he was destined to be the saviour of France. His appointment gave so much satisfaction that Paris, which had long left the name of royalty out of her *vivats*, shouted all day and all night, *Vive le Roi! Vive Necker!* But in the course of the night, the people of Paris, in burning Loménie in effigy, grew riotous, and engaged in a conflict with the city watch, in which several lives were lost on both sides. Two or three weeks after, they burned Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, who remained in office, in effigy; and it was supposed they would have burned him in his real person, if troops had not arrived at his house in time to drive back the mob, who were carrying links and torches, and a portrait of Necker hoisted on a pole. During this night, the troops, both horse and foot, were repeatedly brought to action by the mob, who were gradually training themselves in the art of street war. The slaughter was supposed to have been very considerable on the part of the people; but, to conceal its extent, the city watch and the troops, remembering probably an ancient practice, threw all the dead they could find, and, it is said, some of the wounded too, into the Seine. Several things were noticeable in these rehearsals for grander slaughters. The mob, on perceiving the French guards advancing against them, saluted them with loud *vivats*, called them friends and brothers, and seemed to expect that they would use neither ball nor bayonet against them. Several persons, well-dressed, and apparently belonging to very different classes of society, occasionally glided through the streets, and encouraged the mob. Conspicuous among these individuals was a Paris jeweller named Carles, who, like all the rest, and without sufficient proof, was said to be an agent of the Duke of Orleans.

The promise to assemble the States General in May, and even a royal decree to that effect, had been given under the wretched ministry of Loménie. Necker only confirmed the king in this resolution. It would have been beyond the power of Necker, and all the finance ministers and statesmen of Europe, to have put off the meeting; but a wiser man might assuredly have made some better preparations for it. Some sort of revolution was as necessary as it was inevitable—perhaps the worst was better than lingering on in the present state;—yet, by previously defining and properly limiting the respective powers of the three orders of the state, and by providing beforehand some barriers against the sudden in-rush of the democracy, it appears just possible that much blood and crime might have been spared, and that Louis, instead of being dragged under the axe of the guillotine, might have been made the not unhappy or incompetent head of a constitutional monarchy. It becomes us, however, to speak with doubt as to this desirable result: the French were a strange, impatient, impetuous people; the nobility and the clergy clung to all their privileges, great or small, with a most tenacious grasp—with a grasp like a death-grip: if, instead of being swamped and lost in the same chamber with the Tiers Etat, they had been united into one body, and set apart from or above the Commons, as in England, they would of a certainty have sent back every bill presented to them, and would never have yielded a point in which their privileges and exemptions were concerned without braving the extremities of civil war. The hot temperament of the patriots and the Tiers

* Loménie de Brienne did not resign without grasping at more rewards than had usually been granted to the most successful minister in the most prosperous days of the monarchy. Besides a cardinal's hat for himself, he obtained for his nephew, hardly yet of age, the profitable place of coadjutor to his archbishopric of Sens, together with one of the richest abbeys of France; for his niece a place of dame du palais, and for his niece's husband a regiment. It was said, though probably with some of the ordinary exaggeration of the period, that he had amassed, during his short ministry, a fortune of from 500,000 to 600,000 livres of revenue on the property of the church. He left behind him, as minister of war and governor of a province, his brother, the Count de Brienne.—*Mémoires de Weber.*

Such was the man whom Lafayette had announced to Washington as one that was destined to save France, and establish the national liberties on a safe foundation; as "a man equally great from his abilities and his uprightness;" as "honest, sensible, and enlightened—a man of first-rate abilities."—*Letters from Lafayette to Washington, written in the summer and autumn of* 1787.

Lafayette's eagles were all apt to turn out sparrow-hawks or carrion-crows. His letters at this critical time betoken a vapourish, illogical, childish mind.

Etat, which could never brook any, the shortest, delay, which had never been cooled down by constitutional habits and experience, could have tolerated but for a very short time any such struggle of powers as this; and it may very reasonably be suspected that, in any case, the sword would have been drawn. In spite of their boasted new lights and new philosophies, all classes, in constitutionalism and the science of representative government, had almost everything to learn; and, unfortunately, each from the beginning seemed determined to ride over the other, to treat it as an enemy, to impose its own will for law upon it by force or by manœuvre. The parlement of Paris, which was honourably reinstated as soon as Necker returned to office, positively and pompously declared that the States General ought to sit according to the form observed at their last meeting in 1614, which was the same as declaring that the nobility and clergy should be everything, and the Tiers Etat, or Commons, nothing. The parlementers evidently thought that patriotism was an aristocratic occupation, and that they ought to preserve the monopoly; but their dogma, their heresy, their high treason against the Tiers was no sooner promulgated than they lost, and for ever, all favour with the nation. Even in France, there has seldom been a transition so rapid and extreme. On the 22nd of September they were reinstalled in the Palais de Justice, amidst the plaudits, and rejoicings, and congratulations of all Paris; on the next day they delivered their opinion on the subject of the States General; and on the next all Paris hissed them, hooted them, and loaded them with execrations. As a body, they never raised their heads again: they had played their part in what was only a prologue to the great drama, and they were thrust aside to make room for other actors. On the other side, the Breton Club, the *Club des Enragés*, all the clubs, with all the philosophes, economists, and ultra-liberals of Paris, went as far into extremes, or rather farther, than the parlement had done—advising and insisting that the Tiers Etat ought to have a greater weight in the States-General than the two orders of the nobility and clergy united; for (so they argued, with a force that was irresistible to those who had nothing to lose) as great sacrifices were to be demanded from those two aristocratic and privileged orders, how was it possible that resolutions and laws to that effect should be carried, if those two orders were not outnumbered and outvoted by the Tiers, who were calling for the sacrifices, and were to be directly benefited by them? Some truly noble aristocrats, some generous self-denying priests, might, in their patriotism, enthusiasm for liberty, and philanthropy, renounce their privileges and their odious distinctions, and consent to be taxed like other sons of earth; but this stretch of generosity and virtue could be expected only from a very few: the rest would guard their lion's share with the resoluteness and fierceness of lions. A paper entitled 'Deliberations' was put forth as the production of the Duke of Orleans, though it was written, no doubt, with advice and assistance from the philosophes and littérateurs that sat at the duke's table, by Laclos, the author of 'Les Liaisons Dangereuses,' one of the most debauched and most debauching works ever written, even in France. Laclos was secretary—*secrétaire des commandemens*—to the Duke of Orleans, and a servant very worthy of such a master. The conclusion intended to be drawn from these deliberations was, that the third estate was the nation, and that nobility and clergy were nought! On the other hand, the Count d'Artois, with other princes of the blood—the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Enghien, and the Prince of Conti—published a mémoire, or memorial to the king, in which they declared that such principles must endanger privilege, nobility, monarchy itself, church, state, and the king's treasury.* This was quite certain, but what could the helpless king, or what could these princes of the blood, do to prevent it, or to overset a political philosophy that was inculcated by ten thousand pens, and that would soon be maintained by four hundred thousand swords—by all France, except the privileged orders? But the production which was by far the most ably written, which made the most noise, and produced the greatest effect, was the *brochure*, or pamphlet, of the Abbé Sieyes—*Qu'est-ce qie le Tiers Etat?* or, 'What is the Third Estate?'—in which, answering his own query, the author said it was everything; that it had hitherto been nothing, but that it now wanted to become something. Sieyes—one of the many priests who had let their tonsures grow, embraced the new philosophy, and thrown their theology to the dogs—had been vicar-general to the Bishop of Chartres, a canon and chancellor of that cathedral; but he had been living for some time in Paris, with the philosophes and political reformers, having a voice potential in all their deliberations for the regeneration of France and the world. He was one of the ablest men of that school, but visionary, fanatic to his system or systems, and as blind as all the rest to the danger of throwing all the power of the state, and all at once, into the hands of the people, who hitherto had had no share of it. As well might this logical Sieyes have believed that a child might construe Virgil before being taught his alphabet, as believe that the huge and untaught democracy of France should pass at once from the condition of bondsmen to that of lords and masters, and still act with moderation and wisdom. He and his fellows, no doubt, reposed an entire confidence in their own great wisdom and moderation, and in the enlightenment of the middle classes, who were, at least, well read in Voltaire; and fancied that, when the masses of the people had thrown off the yoke of king, nobles, and priests, they would, with exemplary docility, submit to the guidance of philosophers, and to the laws and regulations adopted by the middle classes. We shall see how this vision ended. Necker, who had found out before this that there are accounts more diffi-

* Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française.

cult to manage than accounts of finance, and that it is easier work to raise loans than to create constitutions, was distracted by all these extreme schemes; and he evidently had no scheme of his own. As a means of solving the difficulty, or of settling some of the points in dispute, he advised the king to re-assemble the notables who had sat so inauspiciously in the time of Calonne; and the very same men were once more called together on the 6th of November (1788). The questions proposed to them were principally the Double Representation of the Tiers Etat, and the Vote by Head. Should the Tiers Etat, or Commons, have as many members in the States General as the noblesse and clergy united? Should the States General vote and deliberate altogether in one body, or vote in three separate bodies—vote by head, or by order or class? Simply, the two questions amounted to this:—Shall the Tiers Etat have power to outvote the other two orders or not? As the notables thus re-assembled consisted of princes of the blood, great lords, great churchmen—consisted, almost exclusively, of members of the two privileged orders—it could hardly have been expected from them that they should answer in the affirmative. Necker's wish appears to have been that the double representation should be granted, but that the three orders should not vote by head, but deliberate and vote separately; and he had the vanity to believe that, by the weight of his character and influence, he could carry the notables along with him. They investigated the question in seven different committees, or bureaux, as they were termed, each presided over by a prince of the blood. Only one of these bureaux decided in favour of the double representation,* and not one could come to any decisive opinion as to the vote by head. After sitting about a month, the notables were dismissed with bad humour on all sides. At the end of December, 1788, a fortnight after the dismissal of the notables, who had scarcely furnished him with any materials, or with any ground to stand upon, Necker presented a report to the king in council, wherein he recommended, or almost enjoined, at his own risk, the granting of the double representation, without enforcing, what ought to have been a corollary, separate deliberation and the vote by order, not by head. When the perplexed king applied for the advice or opinion of the parlement of Paris, they meanly shrunk from any revolution, saying that it was for the wisdom of the king to decide these weighty questions.. Louis issued an ordinance in which he gave the double representation to the Tiers Etat, leaving the other question of voting by head, or by order, to be settled by the States General themselves, when they should meet at Versailles in the happy month of May, 1789.† This announcement gave rise to some fierce dissensions in the provinces. The Breton nobles, notwithstanding their recent alliance with Lafayette, raised a terrible cry against the certain ascendancy of the commons, and depression of the noblesse; insisted that the number of members, or deputies, from the Tiers Etat ought not to exceed the number sent by the nobles alone; that the nobility and clergy united ought to double the Tiers Etat, &c.; and they drew and lost blood in the fighting town of Rennes with those who differed from them. Good revolutions have been made, in more phlegmatic countries, with the loss of infinitely less blood than was wasted in these preludes or prefaces to revolution in France. Nearly all the provincial parlemens, who had been so long shouting for States General, cursed them now that they had *got* them, or were close upon getting them, because of the double representation, and the sure democratic majority. *Like* the parlement of Paris, they proclaimed to the world that patriotism ought to be exclusively the virtue *of* the magnates of the land. The Besançon parlement arrested thirty individuals for professing and promulgating the principles contained in the king's decree. The parlement of Aix declared that the said decree, or edict, tended to disorganise and ruin king and kingdom, and "*to impair the dignity of the noblesse.*" The parlement of Grenoble, who had been driving for States General at so headlong a rate, now shrunk back from the goal, declaring that there would not be States General, but one sole tyrannical state, the Tiers Etat, the overwhelming democracy. Everywhere the aristocracy, whether of the sword or the robe, of ancient date or modern creation, thundered at Necker and his double representation; and—what was equally natural and to be expected—the Tiers Etat applauded the minister and the edicts, and even at this early stage threatened the aristocrats with extermination. No attempt was made at reconciliation by proving that it was a time which called for mutual concessions and mutual forgiveness of past wrongs, with the oblivion of past animosities: the two great classes stood opposed to each other as vindictive, irreconcilable, eternal enemies. French writers of memoirs and histories draw a fanciful picture of this dawn of liberty, making it all gentle, soft, and balmy, like a sun-rise picture by Cuyp or by Claude, filled with lowing cattle and piping swains, or with goddesses and nymphs dancing before the rising orb, and making with their own fair hands music for their own merry feet: but in sober truth, and sober sadness, the picture was of a character and a composition altogether different from this; the dawn was dark and stormy like the noon that was to follow it; the tempest had not only gathered on the horizon, but was already spreading itself as fast as winds can fly over the whole hemisphere; and instead of that absence of hatred and all the evil passions which philosophes and littérateurs dreamed of in their Paris lodgings, all the evil passions, with hate and revenge at their head, were crowded and jostling

* The bureau, or committee, which gave this decision, was presided over by Monsieur, the elder of the king's two brothers, afterwards Louis XVIII.

† Lacretelle, Histoire de l'Assemblée Constituante.—Dulaure, Esquisses Historiques des principaux Evénemens de la Révolution Française.—Thomas Carlyle, French Revolution.

together as in a carnival. During the elections innumerable duels, scuffles, and downright battles, took place all over the kingdom. In all town riots, where no troops were employed, the democracy had the upper hand, and made the noblesse and clergy taste the bitterness of mob-law. The fierceness of the populace was augmented by their privations. Trade, manufactures, and nearly every kind of industry, had come to a dead stop, and the price of bread rose to an enormous height when money was scarcest.

Only a few days before the meeting of the States General, Paris was the scene of terrible disorders. On the 27th of April (1789) an immense crowd from the very lowest class of the people assembled in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the most turbulent part of that turbulent capital, to take vengeance on M. Réveillon, a rich paper-manufacturer, who occupied the best house in that quarter, and who had just been named one of the electoral assembly. His alleged offence was, that he had attempted to reduce the rate of wages. The bloody business began with some drollery. The mob had dressed up a mannequin—a sort of Guy Faux effigy—which they carried to the Place Royale, where they pronounced a pretended sentence of the Tiers Etat, condemning Réveillon to be hanged for having said that the day wages of the workmen ought to be reduced to fifteen sous; and adding, that in consequence of his words he had been expelled from his district and from the electoral assembly. This was in the afternoon. M. Réveillon, apprehending more serious mischief than the being hanged and burned in effigy, ran to the lieutenant of police to demand protection for his person and property, but no succour was given him until ten o'clock at night, when a serjeant and thirty men of the regiment of French guards were sent to his house in the Faubourg St. Antoine. On the following morning the mob vastly increased in number, and, armed with clubs, sticks, and stones, made a general attack on the house, broke down the doors and windows and got in, the thirty soldiers making very little resistance, and not firing a single musket. Réveillon, flying for his life, took refuge in a place to which few men had gone voluntarily, and the name of which had been for many generations a word of terror—he fled from the canaille, and their Tiers Etat law, into the Bastille, which stood in the same faubourg. The mob plundered or destroyed everything in his house. When this mischief was done the military commandant sent a detachment of grenadiers to the spot with orders to fire upon the rioters. The rioters were so numerous and so resolute that the grenadiers halted in the streets until they were reinforced by fresh detachments, when they advanced and fired. The rioters, from the windows and roof of Réveillon's house, and from the windows and roofs of all the houses near, responded to the musketry with paving stones, tiles, and whatever missiles they could lay their hands upon, maintaining their positions for many hours. At last, as night approached, two pieces of cannon and some of the red-coated Swiss guard were brought into action, and thereupon the rioters began to retreat. From four to five hundred persons, including women and children, and many that were mere lookers on, were killed or wounded in this affair. On the day after two men that were found in the paper-maker's wine-cellar were hanged at the Porte St. Antoine, by the sentence of the châtelet court; and this appears to have terminated all inquiry into the affair.*

As soon as these revolutionary horrors began, the French began to attribute them to all kinds of extraneous causes, and all kinds of iniquitous plots at home, being unwilling to perceive that the real causes were to be found in the national character, and forgetting, what all their histories told them, that all seasons of great excitement had been seasons of blood. The first great evil genius was England; and there are Frenchmen, even at this day, insane enough to believe, or at least to write, that the atrocities of the revolution were secretly promoted by George III. and William Pitt, by means of English gold! The evil genius next in magnitude and malignity, and whose existence is less problematical, was the Duke of Orleans. Besenval, a royalist and a courtier, says:—"The events in the Faubourg St. Antoine were the explosion of a mine charged by the enemy. I judged that it must have proceeded from England, not daring at that time to suspect the Duke of Orleans." The wretched Orleans was, as one of their wits said of him, "a sink into which the French tried to pour all the filth of their revolution:"† where he did so much that was vile and horrible, it is difficult to say what he might not have done, and with a ragged hungry populace his immense command of money gave him the power of doing much mischief. It was said at the time that much money was found in the pockets of the dead in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and that this money could only have come from King George or from the Duke of Orleans. No proofs, however, are adduced, and the first movement of the rabble may have been altogether spontaneous.‡ One very significant sign, among many that were ominous and woeful, was, that all the while they were fighting in the streets, or destroying the houses and goods of the rich bourgeois, the rioters kept shouting, "*A bas les aristocrats!*" and even the quieter part of the mob, who took no part in the affray, yelled in chorus, "Down with the aristocrats!" They already considered the possession of property as a sure mark of aristocracy. Some Parisian patriots,

* Mémoire de Besenval. (Besenval was military commandant at the time, and sent the grenadiers.)—Dulaure, Esquisses Historiques.

† Talleyrand.

‡ Réveillon himself published a Mémoire à Consulter, in which he accused a certain Abbé Roy of encouraging and directing the brigands in their attacks on his house. The paper-maker says, that the abbé owed him money, and was a notorious coiner besides; that he was pursuing him in the courts, and that the abbé wished to liquidate his debt, destroy a dangerous witness, and gratify his revenge. In the following year this Abbé Roy sent to Bailly, mayor of Paris, a letter containing his civic oath (*serment civique*) signed in his blood.

however, were quite sure that all this rabblement was got up by the aristocrats themselves, in concert with the queen and the Count d'Artois, in order to throw discredit on the cause of liberty and democracy, and disgust men with the revolution at the beginning. Writers of this class, in describing the tumult and the slaughter at the distance of years, admit that they were contrary to the "*perfectioning* of the institutions which was about to be operated"—that they were "the presage of the political tempests which were going to assail France and oppose her future prosperity."*

But nothing less than absolute perfection in government and laws, and a national prosperity without check or end, was now anticipated; for the 4th of May had arrived, the deputies of the three orders were all assembled in Versailles, and the States General were going in solemn procession with the king and court to the cathedral church at Notre Dame to propitiate heaven to bless their labours, which were to commence on the morrow. It was a *Grand Spectacle*, and all Paris, and all towns, villages, and hamlets in the valley of the Seine, or within twenty leagues of it, went to see. There was scepticism, Voltaireism, or Holbachism or downright atheism, in luxuriant abundance; but religion of any kind, except the religion of nature, or the theism of Rousseau and his Vicaire Savoyard, there was little or none except only in the breast of the king and a few old courtiers, who had not been able to shake off the fashions of old times, or their reverence for the church of Rome: and yet this procession of the States General assembled in, and started from, one church—the church of St. Louis—to go to another, where high mass was to be sung, and all knees bent at the elevation of the Host. There was a hollowness and mockery in this very beginning. The streets were lined with regiments of the French guard and regiments of the Swiss guard. The first that came forth from the church of St. Louis were the deputies of the Tiers Etat, six hundred in number, and all—as had been nicely regulated at court beforehand—wearing plain black mantles, plain white cravats, and slouched hats; then came the noblesse, three hundred in number, all clad in gold-embroidered cloaks, with lace cravats and plumed, turned-up hats à l'Henri IV.; after the noblesse marched the clergy, also three hundred, the high dignitaries, the archbishops and bishops distinguished by the violet-coloured robe, the alb, and rochet, and the rest in soutanes, grand mantles, and square caps; and last of all came the court, most splendidly attired and blazing with jewels, with the king looking hopefully and even joyously, and the queen already changed from what she was, her bloom and beauty fading, and her hair prematurely turning grey, looking sadly and almost despairingly, for her first-born son was lying in the palace dangerously ill, her reputation both as a woman and a queen had been blasted, and, with a far more prophetic eye than that of her husband, she saw in the future nothing but mischief, peril, and woe! To increase her forlornness, not a tongue in all that multitudinous assemblage cried *Vive la Reine*, while thousands rent the air

Marie Antoinette. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

with shouts of *Vive d'Orléans*. It was remarked that during the procession the Duke of Orleans, in contempt of the laws of etiquette, was continually quitting his place as a prince of the blood to mix with the sombre-clad deputies of the Tiers. As they all wended on their way to the church of Our Lady, the priests chanted, military bands played, and trumpets and drums sounded. Within the temple the three orders took their seats according to their ranks, on benches prepared for them in the nave; the king and queen were conducted to a dais near the high altar, and set under a velvet canopy violet-coloured and sprinkled with golden *fleurs de lis*. *O Salutaris Hostia* was chanted, the grand mass was finished, and then M. de la Fare, Bishop of Nancy, delivered a sermon or discourse on the theme—"Religion makes the force of empires, religion makes the happiness of the people." Even philosophers, doubt-alls, and scoffers were touched for a moment by the music, the incense, and the imposing pomp; and the multitude of spectators that only saw the procession in the streets returned to Paris, or their other homes, declaring that it was beautiful, sublime, ravishing—that so grand a spectacle had never been seen.*

On the following day—the 5th of May, 1789—the States General assembled in a great hall at Versailles, which had been prepared for them, not without expense. It was the *Salle de Menus Plaisirs*, or hall of amusements, in which the court had been wont to disport itself in all kinds of merry games; but carpenters and upholsterers, painters and decorators had done their work, and, in French phraseology, "that vast hall was arranged with a magnificence worthy of the imposing solemnity of the

* Dulaure.

* Mémoires du Marquis de Ferrières.—Madame de Staël, Considérations sur la Révolution Française.—Dulaure, Esquisses.

occasion." The king took his seat on an elevated throne with the queen near him; the court occupied *tribunes* or galleries, the noblesse sat on one side of the hall, the clergy on the other; and the Tiers Etat at the *fond* or bottom of the hall, on seats lower than those of the privileged orders. There is no calculating the extent of the mischief and mad excitement produced on that sensitive people by these etiquette distinctions alone. In the cahiers, or written rules and instructions, which the electors all over France had given to their deputies or delegates, they were strictly enjoined to submit to no humiliations, but to assert the dignity of the Tiers, and its equality with the other two orders. And now, though contrary to the precedent of former States General, the Tiers sat with their hats on, like the noblesse and clergy. The king, with a countenance still cheerful and hopeful, read a commonplace speech, recommending disinterestedness to the privileged classes and prudence to the others, and expressing his own earnest love for his people. He was interrupted more than once by warm acclamations, which made the queen weep for very joy: but not one voice was heard to wish her well. His majesty was followed by the keeper of the seals—no longer the bold Lamoignon, who had been dismissed soon after the threat of the people to burn him,* but M. Barentin, late president of the Court of Aids—who spoke for an hour, and then by Necker, who spoke for two. The finance minister, who might now be considered as prime minister, read a long mémoire on the state of the kingdom, which acknowledged a deficit of fifty-six millions of livres, and wearied those whom it did not offend by the great length of its explanations.† When the king rose to withdraw there was what seemed a pretty hearty *Vive le Roi!* and when the queen rose a very faint *Vive la Reine!* On the next day the combat began between the Tiers and the two superior orders. It was intimated that the deputies of each order should repair to the chamber appointed for them. Besides the great hall, two smaller halls, opening upon it, had been constructed, one for the noblesse, the other for the clergy. The first operation to be performed was to verify the returns, or to make what was termed a *vérification des pouvoirs;* and there instantly arose the question whether this should be done in common, or by each order or state separately. The Tiers, alleging that each part of the States General ought to assure itself of the lawful returns of the two others, demanded that the verification should be made in common, and not by each order separately. The noblesse and the clergy, wishing to assert and maintain, at starting, the principle of separation by orders, insisted that each order should verify and constitute itself apart from the rest; and after very little debate they quitted the great hall and retired to their several chambers. The Tiers, understanding that this would be followed by the assumption on the part of the privileged that the orders should also vote separately, and not by head, determined to make their stand here, and to adopt a "system of inertia," until the noblesse and the clergy should give in, and consent to the verification of powers in common. And accordingly there they sat in the great hall, day after day, doing nothing beyond declaring that they were waiting for the other two orders, and declining to receive letters and petitions, as they were not yet constituted, but waiting for their colleagues of the other orders. During this long inaction, which was followed by such an electric activity, not merely in words, but also in deeds, we may briefly describe the composition of the unorganized and unorganizable body, and introduce more particularly a few of its leading members.

The first remark which suggests itself is, that the representatives of the Tiers Etat represented, in their own persons, almost everything but property. There were physicians and metaphysicians, poets and painters, a great astronomer, and several natural philosophers, chemists, mathematicians, journalists, littérateurs, and more than *three hundred and fifty lawyers;* but the number of proprietors was exceedingly small.* The majority of the six hundred were young men—men at least under thirty years of age—who had no experience in public business of any kind, and who could not, from the previous condition of the country, have had any training in political life. The only men at all trained—and their education was not good—were the members of the parlemens, who belonged to the privileged orders, and sat,

* Lamoignon quitted office a much poorer man than he entered it. In the course of the year 1789, when the revolution was declaring its proper character, he was found dead in his garden, with a gun lying near him. His family endeavoured to believe, or to make others believe, that he had shot himself accidentally; but the more general opinion was, that the prospect of poverty and of greater evils had overset his reason, and driven him to suicide.

† Thiers, Révolution Française: Our American republican speaks *smartly* on Necker's Oration; "M. Necker rises. *He tries to play the orator, but plays it very ill.* The audience salute him with a long and loud plaudit. Animated by their approbation, he falls into action and emphasis; but a bad accent and an ungraceful manner destroy much of the effect which ought to follow from a composition written by M. Necker, and spoken by M. Necker. *He presently asks the king leuve to employ a clerk which, being granted, the clerk proceeds in the lecture.* It is very long. It contains much information, and many things *very fine*, but it is *too long*, has many repetitions, and too much compliment, and what the French call *emphase*."—*G. Morris, Diary.*

* The Marquis de Bouillé says that, of the six hundred members who represented the Tiers Etat, *three hundred and seventy four* were lawyers of some kind or other.

The Tiers Etat of Rennes had sent as one of their deputies a rough old farmer, one Gérard, commonly called Père Gérard, or Father Gérard, and described as "a man of common sense and honesty, without any learning." On being asked, after he had had some experience, to say candidly what he thought of his colleagues, Gérard said, with his farmer frankness—"I think there are a great many scoundrels among us!" (*Je pense qu'il y a beaucoup de coquins parmis nous.*)

Father Gérard scorned the prescribed costume of black mantle and white cravat, and always wore in the assembly the same farmer clothes he used to wear on Sundays and holidays in Bretagne. He was neither an idle nor a silent member. He demanded the suppression of a burdensome tax on bullocks and cattle for his native province: he proposed augmenting the miserable salaries fixed for country parish priests, when the nation seized all church property; he moved and carried that all absent members, and all members that should thereafter absent themselves from their duties, should be deprived of their daily pay; and in the month of November, 1790, when they had been sitting nineteen long months, he rose and exclaimed with his loud rustic voice—"I demand that, since the National Assembly will not get on with this constitution-making, *they shall receive no pay this year!*" A good many more Father Gérards, and a good many fewer Abbé Sieyes, in the Assembly, and matters would have gone on better!

When the Assembly was dissolved, to give place to a much worse one, Père Gérard returned quietly to Bretagne and his bullocks.

like d'Espréménil, with the noblesse. Instead of experience and practical knowledge, the deputies of the Tiers brought theories and systems—with all the impatience, intolerance, and fanaticism of system-makers. Instead of doubt and diffidence, there was an overweening and most rampant vanity, nearly every third man among them believing that he and his scheme alone could regenerate France and the world. A great many of them were so poor that they could not have supported themselves without the daily pay which was allowed them. This pay, or *traitement*, moderate as it was, formed a better income than many of them had ever enjoyed before. At first there were, in some quarters, delicate scruples whether patriots and world-regenerators ought to take pay for their sublime functions; but patriots and regenerators must eat and drink, be lodged and clothed; and, seeing that the members of the American congress were paid for their attendance, there was even republican precedent for the acceptance of the *traitement*. As the noblesse and clergy possessed nearly two-thirds of the landed property of the kingdom, as their respective deputies were considered as representing property and privilege, as the deputies of the Tiers did not represent property, and were come to destroy all privilege, nothing but a combat *à outrance* could be expected. By far the most eloquent and energetic member of the Tiers did not properly belong to that order. Gabriel Honoré Riquetti, Count de Mirabeau, was of an ancient noble family of Provence, which came originally from a still more

Mirabeau. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

southern climate—from the fair but factious city of Florence, when Ghibellines and Guelfs were waging mad war, and the Ghibelline ancestor of Mirabeau became, like Dante, a fugitive. The family, from their first settlement in France, seem to have been noted as an eccentric and wild race. Gabriel Honoré's grandfather was a destroyer of men as a fierce and brave soldier; but his father, the Marquis Victor, set himself up as "the friend of men" (*l'ami des hommes*), wrote books under that title, made theories and systems for increasing the happiness of mankind in his own compulsory way, and dabbled in political economy before that science had the name. Old Victor aimed at changing and system-governing the whole moral world, and, like other men of equally ambitious aspirations, he could not change or govern the habits and tempers of his own children. According to the great Gabriel himself, it was a most disorderly, vicious stock. "Ours was a family of Atreus and Thyestes," said he—we hope and trust, for the honour of human nature, with a little exaggeration. The future orator, author, spy, politician, statesman, everything, began his career as a soldier, and served in the cruel wars in Corsica. After a campaign or two he married a rich heiress of Aix, in Provence, dissipated her fortune and his own, contracted enormous debts, ill-treated his wife, separated from her, obtained the renown of being one of the most debauched men in France, and all before he was twenty-five years old.* To check his wild career, which threatened his whole family with ruin, his father applied to the court for *lettres de cachet*, which it was not unusual to grant in the like cases, and got him locked up in the Château d'If, which stands on a rock above the Mediterranean shore and the old town of Marseilles. He was afterwards tranferred to the fortress of Joux, in Franche Comté; but, being allowed more liberty there, he made use of it in seducing and absolutely carrying off Sophie de Ruffey, Marquise de Mounier, the young and pretty wife of the old president of the chamber of accounts at Dôle.† The seduction and the double adultery would not have excited any particular sensation—for such things were every-day occurrences—but the carrying off was a startling novelty, a measure never resorted to by well-bred French gallants; and, though the lady went of her own free will, he was found guilty "de rapt," and beheaded in effigy. He had taken refuge with his Sophie in Holland, where, being penniless, and on the point of starving with the companion of his flight, he first began to write for the booksellers. But he had not been long in Holland before he seduced a lady, most respectably connected, unmarried, young, handsome, graceful, and innocent, and who sacrificed everything for him, to be by him ill treated and in a very few years cast off and abandoned. With consent of the Dutch authorities he was seized by agents of the French police, who carried him back to France. This

* "I have heard," says his friend Dumont, "that, to obtain the hand of his wife, he had recourse to means which were not very delicate. The young lady's parents refused their consent, and there was a dangerous rival to be got rid of. It is said that, after having corrupted a femme de chambre of the family who gave him amorous rendezvous, he went one night in a carriage to a street hard by, in order to give an air of mystery and excite curiosity. The carriage remained there several hours, and the spies of his rival soon reported that the Count de Mirabeau went to the house of his mistress by night and stayed till morning. The young lady's reputation was committed, the rival beat a retreat, and the relations were but too happy to prevent scandalous *éclat* by a marriage. This union, which had begun in love, grafted on fraud, was *soon* broken by infidelities on both sides, and a separation *sans retour*."—*Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.*

† The whole story of this seduction, with a rival to Mirabeau in the governor of the fortress—an old man—is horrible.

was in the year 1777. The law was in a strange state, for, without any reference to his trial and sentence for the abduction, he was sent by another *lettre de cachet* to the dungeon of Vincennes, near Paris, where he lay some forty-two months with scarcely clothes to his back. Upon his liberation he returned to Provence to claim his wife or her fortune, and, not having money to employ counsel, he pleaded his own bad cause with great ability and eloquence before the parlement of Aix, having for his audience the whole city, pleasantly excited by so novel a procedure, and the sight of a man who, since they saw him last, had gone through so many adventures. He lost his cause, but gained a new reputation, with some practice and confidence as a public speaker. He also engaged in scandalous lawsuits against his father, his brother, and other members of his family. His Sophie, Madame Mounier, died at this time, and, it is said, of poison, taken by herself in a fit of despair. As a writer he had continued to ply the pen with much activity, but had not as yet acquired much reputation in that line, though he had tried various subjects and styles, from the very moral and didactic, down to the obscene. For several years, however, his principal means of support were derived from his pen—a pen of all work, that undertook anything the Paris booksellers wanted—a history, an essay on the Free Navigation of the Scheldt, a treatise on political economy, an essay on the sect of the Illuminati, an essay on Count Cagliostro, an address to the democrats of Holland, a translation, a novel, or a love-song. It appears, however, that he made books and pamphlets as commoner men make pins and needles, adopting in literature that division of labour which has been found so useful in the mechanical arts, and, like the master manufacturer, giving his own sole name to the articles produced. In 1784 he paid a visit to London, where he made himself known as an habitual liar, quarrelled with John Wilkes on the subject of the gallows and hanging, and involved himself in a trial at the Old Bailey, in which, though the accuser and witness, it is doubtful whether he did not make a worse figure than the party he accused—one Hardi, who had been acting as his amanuensis, and who was tried for stealing Mirabeau's shirts—more shirts than he had been in the habit of possessing for many a year.* He became acquainted with the late Sir Samuel Romilly, the first Marquess of Lansdowne (Lord Shelburne), and with other Englishmen of note and rank belonging to the Whig or opposition party, who admired the wit and fire of the man, detested the arbitrary extra-judicial way in which he had been made to pass the prime of his life in fortresses and state prisons, and fully sympathised with him in denouncing the oppressions, uncertainties, and depravities of a decrepit, profligate government. Nor were these sentiments at all confined to any particular set of men or political party. At this time the old despotism of France was odious to the Tories—odious to every Englishman that reflected on the subject, or compared the condition of France with that which England had attained under free institutions. During his stay in England Mirabeau wrote and published—and Romilly translated for him—a work against the proposed American order or society of Cincinnati, and he also wrote a series of letters to his friend Chamfort, in which he eulogised in a warm manner the character and institutions of this country. He acquired no inconsiderable portion of political information, with an insight into the workings of our constitution; and, though his knowledge was incomplete, and though there were no such materials in France to work with, this visit to England was calculated to be of some use to one about to be engaged in constitution-making. On his return to Paris, finding the pay of the booksellers altogether inadequate to his expenditure, and reasonably considering that he had abilities and knowledge that qualified him for diplomatic employment, he applied for a place; but his evil reputation stood in the way of his promotion. Calonne, who was then in power, had, however, sundry obligations to him, for he had taken part in a pamphlet war which broke out on the first dismissal of Necker, and had directed the hostilities against the Genevese financier with some effect. Frederick the Great, too, was approaching the end of his extraordinary career, and it was considered important that the French ministry should be fully informed of the character and views of his successor, together with the disposition of his ministers, generals, courtiers, and of all that surrounded him, including, as a matter of course, his mistress

* The prisoner, Jacques Philippe Hardi, was acquitted. Years after, when Mirabeau was attracting universal attention by his conduct in the National Assembly, Justice Buller, who had sat upon the bench at the trial, stated, in different companies, that Mirabeau had had the villany, because his servant demanded his wages of him, and threatened him with an arrest, to charge him with a felony, for which there was so little foundation, that it was proved upon the trial that Mirabeau had never been possessed of so many shirts as he had accused his servant of stealing! From the high quarter it came from this story seemed entitled to universal credit, and, certainly, other facts in the life and adventures of Mirabeau did not tend to render it incredible. We learn, however, from the Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly, that Romilly himself, then a young barrister, his friend Baynes, another young barrister, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had been at the same school in France with Mirabeau, and was the greatest friend he had in England, were present at the trial, and had been consulted by Mirabeau upon all the steps he had taken: that, when the trial was over, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baynes, and Romilly went immediately from the court to Baynes's chambers, and there drew up a very full account of the trial, which was the next day published in one of the newspapers, which contained a scrupulously exact account of everything that passed; and that Baron Perryn, who tried the prisoner, declared from the bench that, though the prisoner ought certainly to have been acquitted, no blame whatever was to be imputed to the prosecution. Romilly and his two friends were convinced that nothing at all discreditable to Mirabeau appeared upon this trial. Romilly says that Hardi, having abruptly left him, *although his wages remained unpaid*, suspicion naturally fell upon him, and the count obtained a warrant against him; that the evidence was very slight, and that therefore the man was properly acquitted. We learn also from the same authority that, besides the shirts, Hardi was charged with stealing a manuscript copy of the correspondence between Voltaire and d'Alembert, which was at that time unpublished, but has since appeared in Beaumarchais' edition.—*Autobiographical Narrative of his Early Life, in Memoirs of the Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, Edited by his Sons.* We are disposed to entertain proper respect and deference for such authority; but we have read, attentively, an account of the trial, with the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, and the impression left on our mind is a strong doubt in favour of the credibility of Judge Buller's story.

In other respects the trial was most disgraceful to Mirabeau.

or mistresses, a class to which the French diplomatists of the old school, and in the heyday times of absolutism, always paid very particular attention. Calonne therefore supplied the count with money and sent him to Berlin; but he appears not to have mentioned the blackened name of Mirabeau to the king or to any of his colleagues; the mission was unaccredited, secret—in short, the count was employed as a spy. According to his own account, he introduced himself, as one travelling for his amusement, into the society of ministers, mistresses, courtiers, and princes royal, and obtained—which is very probable—a deal of secret information, which the French ambassador, or any accredited agent, could never have obtained. He says that he was the first to obtain certain information of the death of the great Frederick at Potsdam, and would assuredly have been the first to communicate that important information to Calonne *if* he had only had a little more money to pay couriers. On returning to Paris, as poor as he had left it, Mirabeau compiled with his usual rapidity a book on the Prussian monarchy, from materials which he had collected during his six or seven months' stay in Berlin.* This work was perhaps the most respectable of all his productions; but there is in it much vagueness, loose generalisation, and empty declamation; and it is only here and there that one sees any trait or sign of genius.† He also wrote, in the form of a series of letters, a book which was much more taking with the French reading public—'A Secret History of the Court of Berlin'—for it was filled with scandalous anecdotes. Montmorin, the French minister for foreign affairs, offered the needy count a sum of money to suppress the book: Mirabeau took the money, and afterwards went to a bookseller and sold the copyright. The publication, which was anonymous, provoked a prosecution by the king's advocate,‡ and the Secret History was condemned to be burnt by the common hangman, which as a matter of course caused it to be more eagerly sought after and read. The sentence—one of the very last that proceeded from the expiring parlement of Paris—was passed in 1788, when the whole nation was crying out for the entire liberty of the press, and when the States General, that were to procure all manner of liberties, were actually promised. All France, all the reading part of Europe, knew Mirabeau to be the author of the book; yet he wrote circulatory letters in English newspapers, and in a French newspaper published at London, to deny the authorship, or rather to mystify the fact, for in denying it he seemed not only to admit it, but to take merit to himself for it. This Secret History, though in some parts loose enough, was by no means so deserving of hangman's hands as several of his preceding works which circulated freely in France. There is scarcely a brilliant or smart thing in it except the exclamation that the forced artificial monarchy of Prussia was a pear that was rotten before it was ripe—a truth which was made pretty evident a few years later.* Compiling, scribbling, and making others scribble for him at a portentous rate, Mirabeau contrived to keep soul and body together, down to the time when he became a statesman and regenerator. As the methods he employed in his literary avocations were precisely the same as those he adopted as a senator and orator—as he made his projects of laws and reforms and his speeches in the same way in which he made his books—we may say a few more words in explanation of his method, and of the confidence with which he appropriated everything to himself. According to his partial friend, Dumont, who loved the man for his attaching qualities and the good that was really in him, and who is forward to acknowledge that the materials which he himself furnished very copiously received a new life after they had passed under the hand of Mirabeau, half of the floating talent of France was employed by this *maître de métier*, and with such ready aid the author, as was afterwards the orator, was ready for everything and anything. "Having formed an acquaintance with a geographer, he began to think of writing a universal geography. Had any one shown him the elements of Chinese grammar, he would, no doubt, have immediately attempted a treatise on the Chinese language. He studied and learned his subject in writing about it, and all that he required was an assistant to collect and furnish him with materials. He could so contrive as to get notes and additions from twenty different hands; and, had he been offered a good price, I am confident he would have undertaken to write an encyclopædia. His activity was prodigious. If he worked little himself, he made others work very hard for him. He had a particular skill in finding out men of talent, and in successfully flattering those who could be of use to him, by means of insinuations of friendship and of notions of doing public good. His interesting and animated conversation was as a hone on which he sharpened his tools. Nothing was lost to him; he carefully collected anecdotes, sayings, thoughts; appropriated to his own benefit the fruits of the reading and study of his friends; knew how to use the information thus acquired so as to appear to have

* Dumont says that this work, which fills eight volumes, was in truth entirely the work of Major Maun Villau, an officer in the Prussian service, whose talents were scarcely known or noticed by his own government.

† One of these traits of genius or quickness of perception is a passage in which he describes the wholly military, forced, and unnatural tie that bound the heterogeneous portions of Frederick's monarchy together.

‡ M. Seguier, who exclaimed in his pleading, "France is now overrun by anonymous papers, seditious pamphlets, and scandalous writings. Services, dignity, and rank are no longer respected;—powers, potentates, and crowned heads themselves are become objects of derision and satire." Poor M. Seguier! three short years, and then——

* The book was translated almost immediately into English, and published in London with a few trivial suppressions and mistakes. The anonymous translator took no incorrect view of the production, and his words may be applied pretty closely to all Mirabeau's writings and doings:—"This work itself proves him to be *an unequal man*; frequently capable of despising what is despicable, yet sometimes alike capable of practising what he despises; occasionally with views so independent, dignified, and comprehensive, as to enforce admiration and applause; at others, displaying vanity, forming schemes, and stooping to arts that excite pity and disgust."

always possessed it; and, when he had once begun a work in earnest, it was seen to make a rapid and daily progress. . . . . He had some right to regard himself as the father of all these works, for he had presided over the execution, and without his activity they would never have been published." [As soon as they were finished he certainly considered them as wholly and solely his own, and, though he would divide some of the booksellers' money, he would never divide the fame.] . . . . . "He had some natural taste, but he knew little: his small knowledge, however, served for all occasions. In the whirlwind of his stormy life he had had no leisure for study; but in his prison at Vincennes he had occupied himself in general reading, had exercised himself in making translations and copying passages from a few great authors. All this scarcely formed the capital of an ordinary man of letters; and when he spoke openheartedly he was by no means proud of his knowledge or acquirements; but what was particular to him was a soul eloquent and passionate. . . . . He had been accustomed even from his youth to think about great questions of politics and government, but he was not made to go to the depths of them; the labour of examination, comparison, discussion, doubt, were little suited to his nature: he had too much heat, and fermentation, and impatience to submit to any laborious occupation; his mind went by leaps and starts, but it could leap vigorously and daringly; he abounded in smart, striking expressions, and made a particular study of them. . . . . As an author it must be confessed that all his works, without exception, are pieces of patchwork, little of which would remain as his if every one of his contributors claimed his share. . . . . He felt himself absolutely incapable of writing anything continuously unless he was sustained and guided by some borrowed labour; but, when he had a groundwork and materials furnished him, he could enlarge, combine, give more force and life, and a movement of eloquence to the whole. This he called putting the dash into a work, (*mettre le trait à un ouvrage,*) and his traits consisted of sallies, epigrams, ironies, allusions, or anything lively or cutting—and this was almost all the work he did either to his books or to his speeches." With such qualities, acquirements, and habits, Mirabeau might indeed seem made to *shine* in a popular assembly, at a tempestuous time, when audacity and fire were required, and in which a little political knowledge would go a great way; but they assuredly did not qualify him for any of the high duties of a reforming legislator, or creator of a constitution, government, laws; and in France nearly everything was to be created, and everything required profound knowledge, long reflection, and moderation. France was not to be re-made by traits and bons-mots. If such things could have saved her, she would not have been in this agony. Yet, such as he was, Mirabeau was about the most hopeful man that took his seat in the States General. His schemes were not all visions; he set limits to his reform, and, having secured fortune, consideration, and power—for lacking these he would have driven on the revolutionary car just as far as any among them—and having reformed the monarchy instead of destroying it—if such reform were really possible—he would have put a drag-chain on the wheels, and have at least tried to stop. He had a confident and never flagging reliance on his physical powers, his audacity, and his thundering voice. All besides him were in their turns undecided and timid—afraid of what they had done, afraid of what they had still to do, and most of all afraid of the sovereign people;—but Mirabeau was never timid: he defied the shouting, threatening mob to the last, and he died before they could obtain any triumph over him. For the part he was to act, and the theatre in which he had to act it, his physical advantages were immense. He was tall and exceedingly robust; his carriage was imposing and majestic; his face was frightfully ugly, but he had an eye of fire, and the size of his head, the grand height and breadth of his brow, and an enormous quantity of raven-black hair flowing down to his shoulders, made up an aspect which all men were struck with, and which the rabble, that always filled the galleries in numbers immeasurably greater than that of the House, could never look at without emotions of awe and fear. He well knew, and he artistically availed himself of, these exterior advantages and peculiarities. When he became a senator he paid the most scrupulous attention to his dress and to his luxuriant head of hair; no regular actor was more careful about these matters. With his friends he was accustomed to compare his head to that of a wild boar, and to say that, when he shook it in the assembly, fear and trembling followed. His sonorous voice could make soft music as well as thunder; its gentler tones were melodious and touching; it was a glorious organ. The old marquis, the friend of men, complained that his son had destroyed all formulas. There were still people in France who retained some respect for formulas, and for all the established notions of decency which Mirabeau had outraged. When he presented himself to the noblesse of Provence as a candidate for the honours of representing them in the States General, he was rejected with disdain, and with some hollow mutterings about the indecency of his past life. The motive ostensibly assigned was, that he did not possess a fief; but the real reasons of his rejection were his ill-fame, and his previous attacks upon exclusive privileges. Perhaps the last reason was the strongest, and Mirabeau chose to consider it as the only reason. With curses on the aristocrats, he then offered himself to the Tiers Etat, and was elected both by Aix and by Marseilles. He chose to sit for Aix, which had alternately witnessed his splendour and his degradation. His younger brother, who had been returned by the noble order, could never forgive him for entering the assembly as a plebeian. On the day of

the grand procession to Notre Dame the Titan-like form of Mirabeau drew and fixed the popular gaze; many of the upper classes, who knew more of him, turned their eyes from him with remarks or sneers; but unabashed he stalked on, prouder and more stately in his plain black mantle and plain white cravat than any noble or prince there.* At this time he was generally regarded as a dangerous enemy and unsafe friend: his lawsuits, his shameless intrigues with women, his running away with other men's wives, his open dissolute manners, his imprisonments and scrapes of all kinds, were rather more than could be pardoned even in so lax a city as Paris; and in respectable houses his name was never mentioned but with scorn. When he appeared for the first time in the great hall at Versailles there was clapping and applauding at the names of Mounier, Chapelier, Rabaud de St. Etienne, and many others; but when the name of Mirabeau was pronounced, instead of applause, there was hissing and hooting. Afterwards members of the States General spoke openly of displacing him by questioning the legality of his return in their verification of powers.† But long before they got to this verification Mirabeau showed them that he was their lord and master, and there was no more talk about expulsion.‡ He was in the fortieth or forty-first year of his age when he entered this assembly.

The Abbé Sieyes, of whom something has been already said, had recently renounced the

Abbé Sieyes. From an Anonymous English Portrait.

clerical order, and was sitting with the Tiers Etat, as one of the Paris deputies. His pamphlet and other works had obtained him a great reputation among his countrymen, for "his nonsense suited their nonsense." He entertained almost sovereign contempt for the actual state of society, not only in France, which was the only country he knew anything about, but in all Europe, in all the world, not even excepting the United States of America, whose model constitution he would have destroyed to make a better one for them with his own line and rule. He considered the English constitution as mountebank work and humbug, got up to impose on the obtuse understandings of a dull people. The only thing appertaining to England that he could condescend to admire was the trial by jury, and even that, like all the Frenchmen of the time, he misunderstood. In spite of their long practice, he looked upon the English as mere children in matters of constitution, and intimately believed that at any given hour he could improvise an incomparably better constitution for France. In the overflowing vanity of his heart he told one of the best informed and most sensible men of the time, that "polity was a science which he believed he had completed" (*la politique est une science que je crois avoir achevée*). There were but too many Abbés Sieyes in this assembly! for, though few were destined to make so many constitutions, there were scores upon scores who believed, like him, that they had mastered every difficulty in the science. The text-book of Sieyes, and of all of them, was the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau. A mean, feeble frame, weak voice, and timid spirit, prevented him from taking the lead in debates which were all hurricanes; but through his writings, which had traced the march of the assembly and claimed the whole power of the three estates for one of them, he was for some time regarded as a head of the Tiers Etat. He drew out the plan of battle, although he remained in his tent when it was to be fought. He did little himself as a deputy, but he made other deputies do a great deal.* In some respects he differed from the herd, for he was cold and passionless. A vainer, more self-sufficient man, a more wiry, mechanical, pedantic logician, a more narrow-minded and unimaginative metaphysician, or a more thorough dogmatist, never existed.

Bailly, another of the Paris deputies, was a very different man from Sieyes. He was the son of an artist, who had been keeper of the royal pictures, and the writer of many forgotten poems besides. He attached himself to the study of astronomy at an early age, and, while yet a young man, published several admired works on that science or matters connected with it. His merits were not unrewarded, and several years before the outburst of the revolution he had become a member of the three great French academies. France has produced few more elegant writers; but his "History of Astronomy"—his greatest work—no longer satisfies astronomers; and his political science appears to have been no science at all. He went into the States General with the belief that he was to glide down a quiet stream to a blessed Utopia; and he

* Madame de Stael. † Dumont.

‡ Mirabeau took his revenge by publishing a journal, entitled "Les Etats Généraux," and which was a caricature of the assembly. In it he compared, with more truth than satire, Messieurs the Deputies to a set of riotous school-boys; he sharply attacked Necker, then the idol and save-all of the nation, and launched epigrams against a hundred others. As the liberty of the press was not yet recognized, Necker and the government commanded the suppression of this anonymous newspaper. But Mirabeau's spite would not be disappointed. He announced, under his own name, "Letters to his Constituents." No one dared to dispute the right of a representative of the people to give an account of the public sittings of the assembly; and he continued for some time to fill these letters with abuse, epigrams, and caricatures.

* Dumont.

soon found himself whirled away by a torrent with rocks ahead and on either side of him. Though entertaining liberal opinions, and though eager for a constitution, Bailly had hesitated before com-

BAILLY. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

mitting himself, and it was with regret and misgiving that he quitted his pleasant retreat at Chaillot; but friends, philosophes were not to be resisted, and the electors of Paris flattered and encouraged him by naming him the first of their *twenty* deputies. He was in his fifty-third year.

Mounier had been secretary to the provincial states of Dauphiny, his native province, and had contributed in a very essential manner to the hot patriotism of that part of France and to the convocation of the States General. He had enjoyed a high reputation at Grenoble, and there were few men that came to the great hall at Versailles from whom more was expected. He had abundant courage, and played about the boldest part at a most critical moment; but when he found that the revolution was going too fast, and far beyond the original intentions of its framers, he lost heart and presence of mind, sneaked away from the assembly and from Paris, hiding himself in the remote hills of Dauphiny, and excusing himself, as so many others did, by protesting that he had thought better of the people, and of human nature, than human nature and the people deserved.* Rabaud St. Etienne was a Protestant clergyman; Petion, a young advocate from Chartres, who hitherto had been distinguished only by a taste for music and fiddling, and an incoherent passion for liberty and equality;† Barnave was the son of a lawyer of Grenoble, and had obtained his election through a patriotic pamphlet; he was young, daring, and ambitious—inexperienced, untaught, uninformed in political life, but gifted with eloquence and fire: his readiness astonished Mirabeau, who is reported to have said of him, "This is a young tree that will mount high if they will only let it grow." But next to Mirabeau himself, the man that claims the most particular attention in the States General is—

Maximilian Isidore Robespierre, who performed a far more considerable part, and attracted much

ROBESPIERRE. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

more notice, even at this early stage of the revolution, than is usually reported. He was born at Arras on the 6th of April, 1759. His mother was the daughter of a respectable brewer, his father an advocate practising in Arras. When he was seven years old he lost his mother by death, and his father soon after by flight, for the advocate, to escape his creditors, fled to America and there disappeared, leaving Maximilian and three younger children to the charity of people who had more bowels than their own father. Old France contained some good things: there were numerous charitable institutions founded by the piety of princes and churchmen in the earlier times; and there were prelates and priests that exercised as well as preached the Christian charities. Maximilian and his brother Augustine were both put into the public school of Arras, and, together with another brother, who appears to have died in his childhood, and a sister who survived them both and only died in 1834, were fed and clothed, and brought up, upon charity, and chiefly the charity of priests. Maximilian attracted notice by the gentleness of his manners and his promise of future abilities; and the Bishop of Arras, M. de Conzié, obtained from the great Abbaye de St. Waas one of its exhibitions at the college of Louis le Grand at Paris for the promising orphan. On his arrival in Paris M. de la Roche, a canon of Notre Dame, took him under his protection, so that this priest-destroyer owed almost everything to benevolent ecclesiastics. In the college of Louis le

* A few months before the grand meeting at Versailles the Marquis de Bouillé saw Necker for the last time, and conversed with him on the imprudence and peril of his plan or no plan. The marquis says—"I represented to him with force, and with truth, the danger of assembling the States General in the manner he intended. I told him that he was arming the people against the first orders of the state, and that, when thus delivered up unarmed, they would soon feel the effects of their vengeance, urged on by the two most active passions of the human heart, interest and self-love. I entered into particulars, but he coldly answered me, raising his eyes to heaven, that it was necessary to rely on the moral virtue of mankind. I replied that this was a fine romance, but he would see a horrible and bloody tragedy, of which I advised him to avoid the catastrophe. At this he smiled, and Madame Necker told me that my apprehensions were extravagant."—*Mémoires de Bouillé.*

† "I saw Petion rather frequently without guessing the part he would one day play. He had the *embonpoint* of an indolent man and the appearance of a tolerably good fellow; but he was vain, and looked upon himself as the first of orators, because he was always speaking like Barnave. He had little wit, nothing striking in him, no force of expression or of thought."—*Dumont.*

Grand he had for his fellow-students Camille Desmoulins, Lebrun, Sulleau, Duport-du-Tertre, and Stanislas Fréron, who took very different sides in the revolution, but who all equally came to an untimely end.* It is said that one of the professors, M. Herivaux, an enthusiast in Roman history, and one that thought that Roman heroes were proper models for modern France, encouraged and applauded his pupil's precocious notions about liberty and equality. It was certainly the fashion in most schools and colleges in France to over-romanize raw youths, and to give them crude mistaken notions about ancient institutions and ancient virtues—not excepting those of the fiercest kind—which were rarely corrected in after-life by a fuller study of the subject, and maturer meditation. If, in any case, a little knowledge be a dangerous thing, it was so in this. A very great part of the revolution reads like a parody of ancient history; and we shall find continually the examples of Greece and Rome cited as precedents for some of the worst atrocities that were committed. It was, indeed, a time for all good or quiet Frenchmen to have exclaimed with their own poet—"God deliver me from these Greeks and Romans!" When Maximilian Robespierre was about to leave the college of Louis le Grand, he obtained, through the patronage of Cardinal de Rohan, a presentation for his brother Augustine. He now dedicated himself to the law, and became in very brief time an advocate in Arras, as his father had been before him. He pleaded in a cause in favour of some persons who had erected lightning conductors—a startling novelty in Arras, and complained of by some of the neighbours—and he gradually obtained some legal reputation. The business of a young provincial advocate could not, however, be very great; and he had time and ambition to aspire to the honours of literature. He cultivated the *Belles Lettres*, wrote verses, and belonged to a verse-making confraternity—an Arras Arcadia or Della Crusca—called *Les Rosati*, or The Be-rosed, the members of which wore crowns of roses, spouted their own rhymes, and made impromptus so many times a year. He also tried his hand at more serious compositions. In 1784 the Society of Arts and Sciences at Metz proposed a prize for the best essay on the question—"Whence arises the opinion which extends to a whole family a portion of the disgrace inflicted on a criminal by a degrading punishment? And is that opinion beneficial to society or otherwise?" Robespierre took the liberal side of the question, but his essay was not deemed the best. The Academy of Amiens offered a prize for the best eulogium on Gresset, the light, gay, and graceful author of Vert-Vert, La Chartreuse, Les Ombres, and other pieces in prose and verse. Here, too, Robespierre was a candidate, but only to be again disappointed of the prize. He was, however, comforted by a friend, who told him, in French Alexandrines, that he must not be discouraged, nor permit his modesty to obscure his merit—that glory was preparing immortal laurels for his head—and finally, that he was the prop of the unhappy, the avenger of the innocent, one living only for virtue and sweet friendship! All this was bad poetry and nonsense; but it does not appear that Robespierre's general reputation among his fellow-townsmen was at all a bad one. The reader must remember these particulars of the early life of the little advocate of Arras when he finds him in the character of a dictator and exterminator. So high was the consideration in which he was held by the democratic party, who had it all their own way, that at the elections for the States General he was returned for Artois, one of the great provinces of the empire; and as his brother members, or the deputies returned with him, were no orators, *he undertook to speak for them all as well as for himself.* Poor as the poorest, with a mean, weak-looking frame, a sharp, thoughtful countenance, a most bilious complexion, and eyes that already needed spectacles, he arrived at Versailles. It was soon observed of him that he had a sinister aspect, that he never looked any one in the face, and that he had a continual blinking of his eyes painful to see. He was a nervous man, and said himself he never stood up to speak without trembling. It is, however, a great, though almost a general mistake, to suppose that he sat silent, or was an inactive or obscure member at the opening of the first assembly.*

Among the deputies of the noblesse, and in far greater numbers among the deputies of the clergy, were men as extreme in their democracy as any of the Tiers. There was Lafayette with his one idea—to turn old France into an America, and be himself the Washington of it—with a reputation he merited for superior decency of manners and conduct in private life, and with a reputation for abilities he assuredly was not entitled to. His republicanism was mixed with inordinate vanity, which is the more offensive from a perpetual attempt at humility and modesty. Judging him alone by his own private letters, we should say that, in another way, he was as vain as the Abbé Sieyes himself, and, in his early revolutionary career, not half so sincere. This abbé frankly avowed from the beginning that what he and France wanted was a republic; but this marquis declared in public that he was all for a constitutional monarchy, and in private that nothing but a republic would do—that nothing but a republic was suitable to the free and enlightened spirit of France, or worthy of the labour of one, who, at the age of nineteen, had devoted himself "*to the liberty of mankind and the destruction of despotism*," and who had learned his political philosophy in

* Camille Desmoulins and Lebrun were thorough-going republicans, and they were guillotined; Sulleau was a royalist, and was mas-acred by the mob; Duport-du-Tertre was a constitutional monarchist, and he was guillotined; Fréron was a Jacobin of the most enraged kind, but, though he sent many to the guillotine, he escaped it himself, to die of yellow fever:—being appointed under-prefect of St. Domingo. He went to that island in 1802, with the death-devoted expedition of General Leclerc, and died almost as soon as he arrived.

* Art. in Quarterly Review on Life of Robespierre.—Dumont.

the American revolution. Surely Lafayette has been singularly fortunate in obtaining, from a very considerable part of the world, a character for sincerity and straightforwardness. On the very threshold of the States General, he proclaimed to Washington, with a very shallow knowledge of Washington's real present sentiments, that no terms must be kept either with monarchy or aristocracy, that the Commons, the Tiers Etat, the people, ought to be all and everything in France.* His constant oracle and adviser, at this moment, was Jefferson, who never came to Washington's moderate conclusion that, though a republic might be very well suited to the United States, it might sit very uneasily on a country like France. Lafayette boasted that he had "drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard"—that he "would owe his *celebrity* to the Tiers"—that he "must be delighted with everything that drove on the revolution"—that he "had already tried all means except a civil war, which he might have brought on, and which he would have provoked, *but for the dread he entertained of the horrors it might cause.*"† In all the private letters written at this critical moment, that we have seen, he talks in the same ultra-republican strain, without foresight or moderation, or the least glimpse of a preference for constitutional monarchy. The craving after *celebrity* meets us in almost every epistle; and, in the confidence of friendship, his vanity is as transparent as plate-glass. He can scarcely admit that he has been liable to human error in the politics he has pursued. If he has ever done wrong others must bear the blame, for it was their over-caution and not his ardour that was at fault. With a self-complacency scarcely to be found in the heroes of Molière's comedies, he tells a confidential correspondent—"It is to you alone that I could write what may look like idle boastings—not from believing that you will approve of them, but from knowing that you will keep them secret. I solemnly assure you that during the twelve years of my public life, if I have committed several faults, there is not a single moment of that life which I do not approve of; and, among the faults of which I have been guilty, many may be imputed to the prudence of other men." He had begun his public life as a stripling—he was now only in the 32nd year of his age—but, with such immeasurable vanity and self-satisfaction, where was the hope of any improvement? There was none; and Lafayette remained all his life a boy of nineteen with one idea in his head, and his hand perpetually placed upon his heart in testimony of the honesty of his intentions, and of the truth of the protestation, made after every failure, that the fault was attributable to other men. Mirabeau, whose keen eye took a correct measurement of his character and intellect, described him as being ambitious without force or ability; as hungering after newspaper glory; as aiming at a supreme power in the state without the courage or means necessary to reach it; and, to do justice to his observance of decorum and domestic morals, and his incessant professions of chivalry*ism*, and couple them with his ambition, he called him a Sir Charles-Grandison-Cromwell. His exploits in America, which did not exceed what might have been expected from any young officer sprung from a brave nation, and which were only cried up there as proceeding from a foreigner and a nobleman, were exaggerated in France in the most extravagant manner; and not only was his own head turned, but that of the nation with it, for all France believed, for a season, that he was the greatest of soldiers, and one of the greatest of statesmen. The nation found out its mistake, but Lafayette never did. His family was ancient, his connexions were among the highest of the aristocracy, and his wealth was great when he entered the assembly. The Dukes of Liancourt and la Rochefoucault were both of the liberal party, tolerably well acquainted with England, and sincerely aiming at, or wishing for, the establishment of a constitution resembling that of England. Count Lally Tollendal, son of the Indian Lally, was animated in the first place by a passionate desire to redeem the fame of his father, to expose the unlawfulness and arbitrariness of his trial and execution, and to prevent, by lasting constitutional barriers, the recurrence of similar tyrannical deeds; but except on this one point he was, comparatively, calm and moderate, and he too appears to have given a thoroughly conscientious preference to a limited constitutional monarchy. The two brothers Lameth, Count Theodore and Count Charles, had both served in America, and were attached to Lafayette and his American school; but they were far less enthusiastic as republicans, more open to any advances from the court, and much less disposed to incur the risk of extremities. As for d'Espréménil, the old parlementer, he had been so shocked at the disrespect shown to the privileged body to which he belonged, that he had returned from his last exile or relegation a furious royalist. All these individuals were men of considerable weight and ability, and neither without moral courage nor eloquence; but they were but a small number among three hundred deputies of the noblesse, and what would they be when swallowed up in the Tiers Etat?

In the order of the clergy, the most conspicuous member—and he would have been one of the most conspicuous of men anywhere—was Charles Maurice Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, but who had nothing prelatical or priestly in his character, manners, or thoughts. Though the eldest son of a great princely family, he had been thrust into the church, in his childhood on account of a physical deformity, it being considered in the family that the representative of the long line of the princes of

* Besides revolutionizing France, Lafayette, as if one revolution at a time were not enough for his mighty genius, wanted to get up two other revolutions. "I wished," said he, "to contribute to two other revolutions, one *in Ireland* and one in Holland: the prudence of our ministers alone prevented my taking advantage of the state of the public feeling in those countries."—*Private letter, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts published by his Family.*

† Various private letters to Washington and others.

Talleyrand Perigord ought not to be a cripple. But, if Charles Maurice was lame of a leg, he had no other kind of lameness or infirmity: his wit was keener and more nimble than that of any man in

Talleyrand. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

Europe. He had hardly ever slept under the same roof with his father and mother, who neglected him from his infancy as a poor miserable being, and who, in making him a priest, had also made him renounce his right of primogeniture in favour of his second brother. In his youth, these things weighed upon his heart, rendering him taciturn, melancholy, shy, and reserved; but this did not last, and, when he had thrown off his sadness for a bantering, philosophical cynicism, he was never sad again. His name, his rank, secured him immediate elevation in the church; and he spent the revenues of his bishopric like a man of gallantry and pleasure in Paris. He had no more of the catholic priest about him than Cardinal de Retz in former times, or than the Cardinal de Rohan, or a hundred other bishops and dignitaries of the church of France, in the present time; and, as for his religious faith, it lay in a smaller compass than that of the Savoyard vicar. Against the dogma of clerical celibacy his life was one constant protest—allowing himself, in this respect, much more licence, or open liberty, than was common with his predecessors or contemporaries in the church. But with all this he was a nice observer of the *bienséances;* and was master of that difficult secret of knowing when to speak out, and when to be silent. As yet, his political knowledge and experience were nearly all to be acquired; but the very few men who knew him well prognosticated great things from his sagacity. Though not harsh, unkind, or misanthropical, but rather the reverse of that, he cared too little for mankind to be very ardent in any scheme for their improvement; and it may reasonably be doubted whether he would have entered into this revolution at all, if he had not clearly perceived that it was inevitable, and that his best chance of getting through it was to take some quiet post near the helm. Perhaps too, with all his coolness and impassiveness, he was impelled, by the bitter recollections of his early life, to wish the humiliation of a body into which he had been forced; and though no man was less of a system-maker, or more remote from the philosophe fanaticism of the day, he may have been prepared to witness, without any deep emotion, the overthrow of a church whose wages he received and spent, but whose doctrines he despised. Confident in his own abilities, his powers of application to business, and his address, he could hardly despair, when bishoprics and archbishoprics, and all the profitable dignities and envied privileges of the Gallican church, should be swept away, of obtaining wealth and distinction in some other line. He had indeed felt already that the vocation for which he was best fitted was diplomacy. If he had any decided preference in forms of government, it was assuredly for a constitutional monarchy; but Talleyrand set out with a determination not to let this preference interfere with his own personal safety. The philosophy in which he had really been reared, and which was not that taught at the Sorbonne, led him to despise, as fools and madmen, the martyrs of religion; and Talleyrand would not be a martyr for any system or code of opinions. It is not for his countrymen to charge him with insincerity, and a proneness to shift and turn; for, if he had not so accommodated himself to the circumstances made by their madness, he must have been sacrificed over and over again. He took thirteen oaths to different constitutions, republics, and monarchs; but if he had not sworn, he would have been thirteen times a martyr. With all his easy adaptability, he was no small sufferer; and in the hour of adversity this voluptuous, expensive man could accommodate himself to privations, and share almost his last shilling with the friend that could amuse and be amused by him. Very different from Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, was the Bishop of Chartres: he was an amiable enthusiast, of perfectly good faith, and of a very weak judgment. He believed that there was sufficient virtue and moderation in the people to justify the Tiers Etat in the full extent of their claims; and that there could scarcely be anything but candour, single-mindedness, and integrity in the reformers: he knew the enormity of the existing abuses—every man knew it—and he fancied that all might be set right without blood or violence, or injustice of any kind: he was a sincerely devout Christian, according to the forms of the church of Rome; but his heart had ever been a stranger to intolerance, and he had even rejoiced at the emancipation of the French Protestants. He wished for a reform in the temporalities of his own church, and he could not foresee that the very first essay in reform would be to annihilate that church.* In the simplicity of his heart he cordially joined Talleyrand in proposing that the order of the clergy should waive their objection about the verification of powers, consent to the vote by head, and concur and co-operate with the commons in proposing and making a constitu-

* Dumont, who knew the Bishop of Chartres very intimately.

tion which should limit the monarchy without destroying it; make nobles and clergy pay taxes, and renounce privileges without sacrificing them; restore credit and tranquillity to France; and render all classes happier, juster, and more tolerant. When he became an exile, and was depending on the charity of strangers for the bread he was eating, the poor, good, simple old bishop could not understand how this beautiful vision could have failed.* Very different again, both from the Bishop of Chartres and the Bishop of Autun, was the Abbé Maury, who became, under Napoleon, a cardinal, and Archbishop of Paris, and one of the most selfish and worldly of priests or men. These qualities, however, appear to have been the result of his sad experience of the little faith that was to be placed in the disinterestedness or political wisdom of his countrymen, or of those very large portions of them who, in the rapid changes of the times, ruled France. At his entrance into the States General, he took a clearer view of the tendency of the Tiers Etat than any other man there: he strenuously, and with great eloquence, urged the deputies of the clergy, in their separate chamber, never to consent to the verification in common; and he told them, in a few energetic words, that, if the three orders were confounded as one deliberative and voting body, all would be lost. He was not merely eloquent, but unusually well informed: he is charged with sophistry, but we see no appearance of it in his present performances. His points and his bons-mots—and no orator or statesman in France was anything without bons-mots—were, next to Mirabeau's, Talleyrand's, and Narbonne's, as good as any man's. It was Maury who said at the beginning that the philosophy of the revolution might be described in a very few words:—All men who had nothing said to all who had something, "*Ote-toi, que je m'y mette*" (Get out of my way, that I may get into your place).

But out of these three hundred deputies of the clergy, about two hundred were possessed of no ecclesiastical dignity;† and, besides the noted curate Grégoire, who subsequently ran to the utmost lengths of Jacobinism, there were many of these two hundred eager for a sweeping reform, which, among one of its blessed fruits, should give them preferment, or some better provision; and they despaired of this reform from any but the Tiers Etat. It is said that the persuasive tongue of Talleyrand was employed in winning over these men to vote for the verification in common; but their own feelings and circumstances really directed them; and, with a very few exceptions, all the hungry parish priests and country curates showed, from the very first moment, a disposition to join the great moving party. Their poverty was rendered more painful and impatient by being placed in juxtaposition with the wealth and splendour of the higher clergy. Besides, there were not a few philosophes among them. Yet, notwithstanding all these elements of disagreement and discord in their own corps, the resistance to the imperious demand of the Tiers Etat was obstinate and protracted on the part both of the noblesse and clergy. Days were lengthening into weeks, and still no beginning could be made in the work for which they were assembled; but, in spite of their decorous professions and lamentations to the contrary, the Tiers were by no means impatient, calculating that the long delay would be attributed by the people to the obstinacy and wilfulness of the two privileged orders, and thus be the means of increasing, day by day, the popular excitement, and the already rabid hatred against nobility and clergy. The great hall of the *Menus Plaisirs*, which the Tiers had all to themselves, presented a strange scene, and one which might excite little but laughter, were it not for the after "confusion worse confounded," and the madness and the horrors it presaged. There was no subject of discussion before the deputies as a House: there was no order whatsoever. The deputies sat here and there and everywhere, gossiping, or reading newspapers. The hall was continually inundated by all kinds of people, by visitors from Paris and other places, all curious to see what sort of thing was an assembly of States General; and these visitors sat themselves down on the members' benches, and mixed themselves with the deputies, without remonstrance or remark from any of them.* Outside of the doors there was generally a crowd of the idlers and vagabonds of Versailles, hissing and hooting the aristocrats and the priests, and occasionally asking when the machine was going to go, as if the States General were Versailles water-works! The great hall resembled a political club rather than anything else; and at night the members adjourned to real clubs in Versailles, or at Paris, where Lafayette's Breton Club was making great way, and where, by day and by night, the Palais Royal was crowded by people, murmuring, and cursing the aristocrats and the priests. Even at this moment a threat was occasionally dropped by the excited mob that they would go to Versailles, *à faire main basse*, on court, clergy, and noblesse. Thus, in the language of the times, did the spirit of liberty gain strength and courage by the very inactivity of the States General. The Tiers Etat, happy in their profitable idleness, continued to assemble in the hall, and do nothing but declare that they were not an order, but an assembly of citizens called together by lawful authority, to wait to be joined by other citizens—that is to say, by the noblesse and the clergy. The deputies of the nobles put the question to the vote, and decided, by a majority of four to one, that they would not admit the claim of the Tiers. The deputies of the clergy, on the contrary, suspended their verification; and, when the noblesse

* The Marquess of Lansdowne sent him, anonymously, a bill of exchange for 100*l*. He would not accept it, saying that, as he should never be able to repay it, he ought to know who was his benefactor, so as not to dispense with the duty of gratitude. Dumont then disclosed the name of the marquess, and comforted the poor old bishop with the assurance that he was still remembered and respected by those who had known him in his prosperity.

† Mémoires du Marquis de Bouillé.

* Dumont.

declared themselves constituted, the churchmen declared themselves not constituted, without venturing upon any vote. There was thus not even an accord between these two orders: it was prevented by the majority of the inferior clergy.* The clergy and noblesse, however, as a concession and peace-offering, declared that they were ready to renounce and give up, for the good of the country, *all their pecuniary privileges*. The Tiers accepted this ample concession, and some of them even applauded the patriotic motives from which it had proceeded; but they continued, nevertheless, to persist in their inertia, demanding the verification in common. Several conferences took place between the three orders, but not by any regular deputations or committees; for the Commons, as the Tiers already began to call themselves, would not consider themselves constituted, and therefore could not name deputations or committees. They merely sent a few of their members as private persons anxious for union and concord. The noblesse spoke in a loud tone of defiance, and gave way to their passions and resentments. The clergy were more calm, and studiously avoided committing themselves by any explicit declaration. The messengers of the Tiers were—*if* we are to credit their admirers—calm, dignified, and firm, without any *emportement*. As a new means of accommodation, it was now suggested by the Tiers that the verification might be made by commissioners taken from all the three orders. The noblesse instantly rejected this proposal, and passed a vote declaring that, for this session, the verification should be made separately, reserving to the States the right of fixing that or any other mode for the future. This would have left the question open to general debate by the three orders; but the Tiers, knowing their own power, wanted no discussion.† They had assembled on the 5th of May, and now it was the 27th. The interval, as we have seen, had been profitably employed by the popular party; but the state of inertia could not well be prolonged any more.‡ Mirabeau therefore represented, in his epigrammatic manner, that it was high time to begin business; that the good of the people, the regeneration of France, had been too long delayed already; and he proposed that, as the unalterable resolution of the noblesse was known to them, the Tiers should summon the clergy to give an immediate answer whether they would join the friends of the people or not. This was agreed to; and Target, a Paris lawyer, marched, at the head of a whole troop of the Tiers, into the room occupied by the clergy, and invited them all, "in the name of the God of peace, and for the interests of the nation," to repair to the great hall of the Assembly, and unite themselves with the deputies of the Tiers Etat. A great number of the unbeneficed, with some few of the beneficed, answered this invitation with loud and joyous acclamation. Some of them got up to follow Target, but were hindered by their brethren; and the answer returned was, that the order of the clergy would take the invitation into their consideration. The Tiers hereupon determined not to adjourn until they should get from the clergy a direct answer to their main question. The clergy complained that this was pressing them too hotly, and they demanded time for deliberation. The Tiers told them that they might take their time; that they themselves would wait, if necessary, all day and all night. The clergy, already giving up their rights or pretensions, humbly begged to be allowed to give their answer on the morrow; and with great difficulty they obtained this favour from the Tiers, who then went to their dinners and their clubs, without caring about their non-adjournment resolution. That evening and night the dignitaries of the church consulted in private with the court and noblesse order. This they had often done before, but now it was necessary to come to some decision. The king, oppressed by domestic afflictions, and who seems to have been perfectly bewildered by the difficulties of his situation and by the contrary opinions and advice that were poured into his ears incessantly, agreed to interfere by message; and on the morrow he invited the three orders to renew their conferences, in presence of his keeper of the seals, in order to come to an amicable agreement. The Tiers replied that, out of deference to his majesty, they would consent to renew the conferences, although, after the declarations of the noblesse, they must consider them useless. Moreover they sent their doyen, or president by seniority—Bailly, the astronomer and author—to present an address to the king. On arriving at the palace, apparently without the common decency of a previous announcement, Bailly found some difficulty in getting admitted, for the young dauphin—happier in this than his brother who succeeded to his honours—was dead. But the astronomer, so mild and amiable a man apart from his politics, and recently a bashful and timid man, would not respect the sacred feelings of a parent grieving for his first-born, and insisted on an immediate audience, with a pompous and uncalled-for parade about the dignity of the assembly he represented. As he would not be refused, he was admitted to the afflicted Louis, taking care, even in that presence, to avoid the observance of the ordinary rules of etiquette, which he or his party had already reprobated as humiliating ceremonials.* He told the king that

* Thiers, Histoire de la Révolution Française.—Mignet.—Madame de Staël, Considérations.—Lacretelle, Hist. de l'Assemblée Constituante.

† Thiers.

‡ "This lost time, as it appeared to be, had been put to wonderful profit by the deputies of the Tiers. They had made sure of the public favour. . . . . I was a close eye-witness of the effect this season of inertia had in inflaming the spirit of party. The Tiers made daily progress. The seeds of all disorders were sown, and began to germinate, during this interval. The future historian of the revolution ought to devote a particular attention to these days."—*Dumont*.

* M. Thiers, writing in our own day, when the excitement and passion ought to be over, finds that all these proceedings were not only justifiable but worthy of the highest praise. He has no more sympathy or respect for the grief of the king than Bailly had when worked up by the charge he had received from his infuriated colleagues. He applauds the astronomer for making the courtiers respect the *majesty* of the Assembly, "which he represented with all the dignity of virtue and of reason;" finds it quite natural that he *should force his* way into the house of mourning; praises him for avoiding "*tout cérémonial humiliant*;" and dismisses the business with saying that Bailly

the Tiers Etat would never forget what they owed to him, and would never lose sight of the natural alliance between the throne and the people, against *aristocracies*, which, under whatever form they might exist, were only established on the ruins of the regal authority and the happiness of the people; that the French, whose glory it had at all times been to love their king, would always be ready to shed their blood and spend their money for the defence of genuine monarchy; that the greatest cause of their present impatience was their ardent desire to be enabled to offer a more striking homage and proof of their love for his sacred person and his august family. Louis, whose natural mildness or gentleness of manner was unalterable, expressed his great satisfaction at these hollow professions; he said, he hoped that the Tiers Etat would proceed with a spirit of prudence and of peace, and that all obstacles would soon be removed; but he did not explain his intentions to the astronomer, who made an unfavourable report of his audience to the Assembly. The conferences between the orders, which the king had recommended, were however consented to; but they only gave rise to mutual reproaches and fresh animosities. There was violence, noise, and gesticulation enough to have made one believe that, instead of deputies of States General, met to reform a vast empire, they were a set of maniacs who had met to tear one another to pieces. On the side of the noblesse d'Espréménil was one of the most noisy and furibund.* At this point Necker, who was as much perplexed as the king, and who had fully proved himself to be incapable of guiding the storm, stepped in with a new plan, which he delivered in the name of the king as a proper means of conciliation. It was, that each of the three orders should examine and verify their powers *separately*, and then report to the two others; that, in case of any difficulties, committees should report them to each of the orders; and then, if they could not agree, the king was to judge and decide *en dernier ressort*. The clergy accepted the project at once; but the noblesse, though they seemed at first to look upon it with a favourable eye, doubted and questioned, hesitated, and finally rejected it. In their desire—in their fixed and regular scheme—to throw the whole blame of the horrors of the revolution upon the aristocracy, the generality of French writers date all the misfortunes that afterwards fell out from this day, and thus attribute them all to the wilful noblesse. But a very little serious consideration will date all the misfortunes and all the disgrace from a much earlier period, and will hold the noblesse responsible only in common with all the rest, and in a minor degree:—for their power was gone or going, past recovery; the animosities of the Tiers Etat were implacable; the Tiers Etat were the strongest and were every day getting still stronger; the whole democracy of France was let loose; little or nothing remained to do except to gain over the army, for which end slow but sure means were at work, and had been at work for months; and with all the weight thrown into one scale it was impossible but that the other should kick the beam. All balance was lost, never to be restored, except by blood; for the privilege or monopoly of political power was dearer to the Tiers than were their ancient privileges and exemptions to the noblesse, and no people ever yet resigned such a possession without fighting to keep it. Compliant or recusant, voting by order or by head, the two superior orders were equally doomed; and one chamber, a nullity and nonsense when the sovereign is powerful, must become a tyrant and a devourer when the sovereign is powerless.

The clergy, however, agreed to send a deputation, in the view of taking the Tiers by surprise. The Archbishop of Aix appeared in the great hall and delivered a pathetic discourse on the misfortunes of the people, and the famine and misery prevailing in the rural districts; and he produced a bit of black bread which animals would scarcely have eaten, to show the food to which the poor of France were reduced. He then invited the Tiers to a conference with the clergy and noblesse, in order to devise means for relieving the distresses of the indigent. The Tiers saw through the snare, but, though they were determined to do nothing that might look like an acknowledgment of the separation into orders, they durst not openly reject so popular a proposition. One of their members therefore rose, and, after agreeing with the archbishop as to the existence of misery and famine, and expressing his own sympathy, proceeded to throw doubt on the real intentions of the clergy. With his eye fixed on the Archbishop of Aix he said, "Go tell your colleagues that, if they are so anxious to relieve the people, they should hasten to unite themselves in this hall with the friends of the people. Tell them no longer to retard our proceedings by affected delays: tell them not to employ paltry means like this to make us recede from the resolutions we have taken. Rather, O ministers of religion, as worthy imitators of your Master, renounce the splendour which surrounds you, the luxury which insults the poor. Resume the humility of your origin; dismiss those insolent lacqueys who escort you, sell your gaudy

showed as much firmness as respect—"*autant de fermeté que de respect.*"

It might be proper in the Commons to send up this address, but none but the rawest and most unmannerly novices would have sent it up without previous notice: it might be proper (though the fact is very doubtful, if, as they pretended, they wished for a monarchy, only improved and constitutionalized) to make access to the sovereign easier than it had hitherto been, and to take some of the starch out of the old court etiquette;—but was this the mode to make the attempt? Was this the time for reading harsh lessons to the king?

And Bailly, "whose soul had been elevated and harmonised by dwelling in the heavens"—Bailly, the idol of the Parisians, the flower of reformers—represented as the mildest and gentlest of them all—could undertake this work, notwithstanding certain private circumstances which his liberal biographers take care not to mention! His father had been keeper of the royal pictures, and so had his grandfather, also an artist. The place, like so many others, had become hereditary, and Bailly, though no artist, was allowed to fill it. In his hands it became a mere court sinecure; and Louis XVI., who was fond of his pictures, in the year 1785, thought proper to give the place to an artist who really performed its duties. But, that Bailly, who was otherwise not badly provided for, might not be a loser, he granted him a pension.

* The deputies of the noblesse protested against the title of "Commons" which the Tiers had taken.

equipages, and convert these odious superfluities into bread for the poor!" "At this speech," says one who was present, "there arose, not a loud applause—that would have been a bravado—but a confused murmur of approbation, which was much more flattering to the orator. Everybody asked who was the speaker? He was little known, but in a few minutes the hall and the galleries circulated a name which, within three years, made all France tremble—it was Robespierre."*

The Archbishop of Aix had scarcely taken his departure, with his ears ringing with Robespierre's eloquence, when a message from the noblesse assured the Tiers that that order persisted in the separate verification. Now or never it was time to strike a great blow. Mirabeau rose, shook his locks, and exclaimed, "No project of reconciliation when rejected by one party can longer be entertained by the other. A month has rolled away since we met. We must now be doing—a decisive step must be taken. A learned deputy of Paris has an important motion to make. Let him be listened to!" After this introduction by the bold man, the Abbé Sieyes mounted the tribune with his written speech in his hand, and read their lesson to the Tiers Etat. The marrow of it was, that they had waited long enough in hopes of an amicable arrangement with the other orders; that any longer condescendence would be useless, dishonourable, and fatal to the high mission wherewith they were charged by the French people; and that consequently they ought to send a last invitation to the noblesse and the clergy to join them immediately, and form with them one chamber. The lesson was well received, for most of the pupils had been prepared beforehand. The abbé returned to his place amidst acclamations. Some thought that the word invitation was an incorrect word, unworthy of the majesty of the Assembly; and that, instead of being *invited*, the two refractory orders ought to be *summoned* to attend, and that, too, within an hour. The Tiers, however, adjourned that day without sending either invitation or summons. The following day was the Fête Dieu, or Corpus Domini, and, as religious festivals were as yet observed in France, there was no meeting. But on the next day, Friday, the 12th of June, Sieyes's message was sent in the polite form of an invitation to the two orders, as was also an intimation to the king. The noblesse and clergy replied that they were going to deliberate; the king replied that he would make his intentions known. The Tiers proceeded to constitute themselves; and three curates forsook their order, went into the great hall, and took their seats as a part of the House, in the midst of tumultuous applause. On the following day six more of the unbeneficed clergy joined the Tiers; and on the day after that another company of the unbeneficed, having at their head the curé Grégoire, deserted in the same manner.* In constituting themselves, the Commons or Tiers Etat were for some time divided as to the name they should now take. Mirabeau proposed as the proper definition "Representatives of the French People;" Mounier thought that a longer definition was necessary, and that they ought to style themselves "The Deliberating Majority in the absence of the Minority." But the real godfather was Jefferson, who had settled with Lafayette that the proper name would be "National Assembly;"† and, as Lafayette still stayed with his order, Legrand, lately a provincial advocate, moved that they should forthwith take this name.‡ There was, however, a long and vehement discussion before Jefferson's name was adopted. Mirabeau delivered, like an inspiration, a speech which had been written by Dumont. He denounced the terms National Assembly as premature, incorrect, unjust—as tending to produce incalculable mischief; and he repeated that his own definition, "Representatives of the French People," was the best, and the only one they could properly take. His auditors thought that the word "People" would appear as if they intended to admit distinctions of classes and bow to the claims of the noblesse. The word itself, too, had fallen into disrepute with the multitude. Galleries and deputies signified their disapprobation with cries, with convulsions of rage; and Mirabeau was assailed from all sides with abuse and invective. When the tumult was somewhat calmed, he laid before President Bailly the manuscript from which he had spoken, and then quitted the hall, followed by furious threats and imprecations. Gabriel Honoré compared the Assembly, deputies, strangers, and all, to a set of wild asses, who could do nothing but bray and kick. "They have not frightened me," said he; "within eight days they shall see me stronger than ever. They must come to me when they find themselves foundering in the tempest they have just let loose. The fools! I despise them too much to hate them! I will save them in spite of themselves."§ After they had declared themselves to be by name and by nature the National Assembly, there was a still more furious debate as to whether they should finish constituting themselves that night or adjourn till the morrow. Those who were for the adjournment, finding their voices drowned by the vast majority that were for immediate decision, roared and screamed to make themselves heard, and, according to the admirers of the majority, behaved very indecently and unconstitutionally, and very like madmen. And yet, according to these same authorities, the behaviour of the majority was not much better. "The two par-

* *Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.* The Genevese adds: "Reybaz, who was sitting by my side, said to me, 'That young man wants practice; he is rather too verbose; he does not know when to stop; but he has a fund of eloquence and bitterness, which will not leave him long in the crowd.'" It appears to us, as it does to a more competent judge of parliamentary speaking, that Robespierre's eloquence was about as good as the eloquence of any of them, after Mirabeau; and that his début was, for the place, striking and most promising.

* In the course of the third and fourth days the number of curés that joined the Tiers was not more than ten, including Grégoire.

† Letter from the Duke of Dorset, ambassador at Versailles, to Mr. Pitt, in Bishop Tomline's Life of Pitt.

‡ Dumont says that it was Sieyes, afraid of doing it himself, who urged on Legrand, a dull and obscure member, to make the motion.

§ *Dumont.*

ties," says Thiers, "sat on the opposite sides of a long table, threatening one another; Bailly, sitting between them, [we suppose at the head of the long table,] was called upon by one party to adjourn, and by the other party to put it to the vote that they were constituted. Unmoved in the midst of the most violent cries and threats, he remained more than an hour mute and motionless. It was two hours after midnight: the heavens were stormy, the wind blew and roared in the hall, and increased the tumult. At last the madmen (*les furieux*) withdrew, and then Bailly, addressing the Assembly, become calm by the retreat of those who had troubled it, recommended them to adjourn and postpone the important question till the morrow. The Assembly adopted his opinion and retired, applauding his firmness and his wisdom." It required a Thiers to find any matter for admiration in a scene so thoroughly disgraceful; Thiers, however, has very extraordinary faculties of discovery in this way. But there are accounts of the proceedings of this night which represent that Bailly, if not terrified, was stupefied by the wild uproar; that the galleries, which were crowded by thousands of persons, joined in chorus; and that the minority, who wished for delay and circumspection, and who seem to be more particularly designated by Thiers as *les furieux*, were, if not actually expelled by bodily force, hissed, hooted, and cursed out of the hall. Immediately after, the names of all those who had voted against the denomination of National Assembly, and who were only about 80 in 600, were inscribed on black lists, which were handed about to excite a people who required no additional excitement; and orators in coffee-houses and public places called for vengeance on the fourscore traitors and aristocrats.*

Such were the infant steps of French liberty. On the next day, the 17th of June, after a long, hard, angular discourse from Sieyes, the Commons constituted themselves as the National Assembly, and thereby declared that they counted the king for nothing, the nobility for nothing, the clergy for nothing, for they assumed to be, in themselves, and by themselves, the Nation. Sieyes was applauded to the skies, and the great hall resounded with joy and exultation. "How pitiful!" said Mirabeau: "they are imagining that all is finished, but I should not be surprised if a civil war were to be the fruit of these decrees!" A civil war, and something worse even than that extreme evil, was in fact inevitable, after such a beginning, and with such a universally inflammable people. The noblesse took up the gauntlet that had been thrown to them; the debates in their chamber were scenes of fury; the proceedings of the Tiers were characterised as revolt, treachery, and high treason; and it was declared in various forms that there was nothing for the king to do, in order to save the monarchy, but to call his faithful subjects to his assistance, put himself at the head of his army, arrest the seditious deputies, and disperse the Assembly. "It is," says an eye and ear witness, who was almost the sole witness calm enough to give an intelligible account, "in this state of parties, and in this universal fury, that we must seek for the origin of events. One must have been a witness of this fermentation, to be able to comprehend the aftercourse of affairs. Historical facts given in order, and without these circumstances, which prepared them, are inexplicable. The atmosphere of Versailles was black and burning; the explosion which was preparing could not but be terrible."*

Sieyes had declared that the National Assembly, as constituted, might use its good endeavours to bring some of the noblesse and some more of the clergy into its bosom, but that, without those refractory orders, it was fully competent to discharge every function and duty, and restore the nation. No time was lost in carrying his doctrine into practice: many votes and measures were instantly carried by acclamation, and without the formality of debate. Indeed, in these first tumultuous stages, everything proposed was carried by acclamation, or was not carried at all. They decreed that, if the Assembly should be dissolved by the crown, from that day no taxes or imposts whatsoever should be paid; that they would take all the creditors of the state under their protection; and they announced that they would immediately occupy themselves about the causes which had produced the present scarcity and misery. They appointed a committee of subsistence, which could find no corn, or money to procure it: they appointed three or four other committees, and did other work—if work it may be called, which was only enouncing what had previously been settled —and all within the space of eight-and-forty hours. In such speeches as had time to be delivered the noblesse were charged not merely with their own extravagance, luxury, and vice, but with all the vices of their ancestors from the earliest and most barbarous times; the clergy were treated with equal severity, and both orders were held up to the execration and vengeance of the people, to whose vices and cruelties, either in ancient times or in modern times, no allusion could be made. And, when the people really took it upon themselves to burn châteaux and exterminate nobles and priests, these sweet orators marvelled at their excesses— marvelled how Frenchmen could be guilty of such unspeakable atrocities — marvelled at everything except at their own inordinate vanity and folly. The court was now dismayed, distracted. The king, who had passive courage or fortitude in abundance, had no active courage; in times of tranquillity he could only form his determinations slowly and piecemeal, taking a little advice here and a little there; but in a hurricane like this he could form no determination at all; and still the

* Mirabeau cunningly stayed away and did not vote with the minority. Hence he escaped the sharp tongues of the coffee-house and Palais Royal haranguers. The tempestuous debates on their name, which was not all a name, but many things besides, occupied the Tiers for three or four long days.

* Dumont.

conflicting opinions of his various advisers, all (except Necker, who had become like a watch that wanted winding up) positive, passionate, and loud in argument, perplexed and bewildered him more and more. At last one party, which was more particularly the queen's, induced Louis to make a short excursion to Marly, in order to get him beyond ear-shot of Necker and his ministers. In that quiet retreat they told him, what he knew too well—that the storm was terrific; and they also told him that it was time to stop it, or it would deprive him of everything but the name of king. The Cardinal of la Rochefoucault and the Archbishop of Paris threw themselves at his feet, imploring him to protect religion and prevent the ruin of the clergy; the parlement of Paris, which a little while ago had so clamoured for States General, sent a secret deputation to show how easy it would be to do without them and break up the usurping Assembly; the keeper of the seals spoke with great force to the same effect as the parlement; the queen and the Count of Artois joined the keeper of the seals; all, together, they convinced the king that he might by his own power and prerogative satisfy the people; that a royal proclamation doing away with privileges and exemptions on the one side, and burthens on the other, would be enough; and that the noblesse and the high clergy would now accept such a proclamation with gratitude, and conform to its provisions. In the end Louis engaged to take a bold and decisive step which should prevent the National Assembly from meeting.* But, alas! every step was a new blunder, or, at least, contained, with what was wise and well meant, some capital mistake. There was, moreover, if not a total want of sincerity on the side of the court, an intimate conviction on the part of the people that it was insincere and deceptive in everything. Every man believed that the king feared and the queen detested the States General from the first, and even before they had given their alarming proofs of the chaos in which they must inevitably end.† On Saturday, the 20th of June, the deputies of the Tiers, on going down to their great hall, found the doors closed and the building surrounded by soldiers of the French guard. On the great door was a placard with this announcement:—"The king having resolved to hold a royal session (Séance Royale) on Monday the 22nd, preparations necessary to be made in the hall require that the States General should suspend their meetings until the said Séance Royale. His Majesty will make known by a new proclamation the hour at which he will repair on Monday to the Assembly of the States." And while the astonished deputies were reading this placard they heard the sawing and hammering of carpenters within the hall, and heralds proclaiming through the streets of Versailles that there was to be no States General today, but a Séance Royale on Monday. These things were sufficiently exasperating to choleric men, and what made it additionally annoying was the fact that the clergy had resolved on the preceding evening by a majority of votes to join the Tiers or National Assembly this very morning. The knowledge of this fact had, indeed, induced the court to send the carpenters and decorators into the field a little sooner than was intended. Notice had been sent to Bailly as president—but it was merely a verbal message delivered by the king's master of the ceremonies! There must have been a little *malice* in the choice of the messenger. Perhaps it was meant to remind Bailly of his want of manners or ceremony at court—perhaps it was intended to express contempt for the National Assembly;—but, whatever was the motive or meaning, it was injudicious, unwise. The astronomer-president told the master of the ceremonies that his message was no order; that the House was adjourned for eight o'clock that morning, and must and would meet accordingly; and, accompanied by his secretaries and a number of deputies, he came to the hall. Bailly arrived just in time to prevent a fight, for many young hot-headed members proposed forcing their way into the building in the teeth of the soldiers. Having restored a little calm, Bailly, as president, demanded admittance. The officer in command showed him his orders from the king; and the troops blocked up the door. The president then called upon all present to witness that he, in the name of the National Assembly, protested against this refusal of admission, and declared the session to be opened, though they could not sit where they did when they adjourned last night. The officer agreed to permit the president with the secretaries and some half-dozen of deputies to enter the hall, and bring out their papers and inkstands. When this was done all the National Assembly who had met—and their number of 600 was nearly complete—went with loud talk and vehement gestures to the head of the Paris road, and took their station in that part of it which is called the Avenue de Versailles, which has rows of trees on either side, and is open to the front of the palace. It was a drizzling, uncomfortable morning; and, to add still more to the irritability of the patriots, the courtiers, it was thought, looked at them from their windows, and enjoyed their houseless plight. The king had again driven over to Marly. Some of the deputies proposed going thither after him, and holding session there on the

* Mémoires du Marquis de Ferrieres.

† Fear and suspicion were most active passions in all parties and classes—in court, clergy, noblesse, Tiers Etat, and populace—and it was the desperation of these many fears that drove on the revolutionary car. This great fact stands out at nearly every step, and at every turn of the road. That moderate American republican, Gouverneur Morris, who watched all these proceedings, and saw the anarchy and horror in which they would end, says, more in sorrow than in anger or contempt—"In the course of conversation they tell me some anecdotes, which convince me that *the king and queen are confoundedly frightened.*" The conversation took place on the 23rd of June, and in the house of a royalist lady at Versailles. Morris spoke of "a man of sense, decision, and firmness," as being necessary to the king at the present moment to extricate him from the difficulties in which he was plunged; but in all France he could see no hope or chance of the king's finding such a man. As for Lafayette, this sensible American evidently thought him a vapouring, incompetent, dangerous blockhead.—*Life of Gouverneur Morris, with selections from his Correspondence, &c., by Jared Sparks. Boston, 1832.*

great outer staircase under his majesty's windows. Some proposed going to Paris to deliberate there; some were for one plan, some for another. But at last somebody named the Tennis Court, or *Jeu de Paume*, close by in the street of St. Francis; and President Bailly marched with all speed at the head of the deputies to gain possession of that court, lest, for some political reason, (*quelque raison de politique*), the proprietor should refuse to let his building to such tenants. According to Bailly's own account, he sent forward a detachment of deputies *to seize the place* (*d'aller s'en emparer*); but then he informs us in the next sentence that the proprietor received them with great joy, and made all the haste he could to put his Tennis Court into proper order for holding and accommodating the National Assembly.* They had begun in the Salle de Menus Plaisirs, and they were now in the Jeu de Paume! The latter place, though rough and unroofed, consisting of four high bare walls, was advantageously spacious, and furnished all round with immense wooden galleries, capable of containing thousands of spectators or auditors. At first, two deputies stood sentinel at the gate; but the municipality of Versailles soon sent down a civic guard. Nearly the whole town of Versailles, most ardent in the cause of revolution, had collected in the Avenue, and followed the deputies from that place: they now crowded the galleries, the summits of the walls, and the tops of the houses round about. A table or two, and a few chairs, were readily procured. The secretaries undid their bundles of papers; and Bailly, taking the chair, communicated to the National Assembly the message he had received from the master of the ceremonies. This produced a new and terrible outcry from the galleries, the wall-tops, and the floor of the Tennis Court—members and mob, citizens within hearing, and citizens on the house-tops, shouting tremendously. All agreed with Bailly that the National Assembly had been outraged and insulted; and that, if the king had orders to send to the president of the champions of liberty, he ought to send them in a letter. In the midst of an excitement which kept increasing, Bailly declared the Assembly to be regularly constituted in its present locality; but Mounier, the Grenoble advocate, thought that it would be proper for the deputies to bind themselves, by a solemn oath, never to separate until a free constitution should be established. His proposition was received with enthusiastic acclamations: all talk of seeking a refuge elsewhere, of going on foot to Paris in a body, was suspended. Mounier and the secretaries drew up the form of the oath; and Bailly, as president, demanded the honour of being the first to swear; and, standing upon a table, the astronomer read the formula:—"You solemnly swear never to separate, to re-assemble everywhere as circumstances may demand, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established and secured upon solid foundations." As Bailly pronounced these words at the top of his voice, all the deputies held up and stretched towards him their right hands; and not only they, but most of the spectators, who always acted very like a component part of the Assembly, repeated the words "We swear!" The secretaries then attached to the form of the oath sheets of paper enough to contain the signatures; and the deputies began to sign, each saying separately as he wrote, "I swear!" Out of 600 there was only one that dissented. This remarkable recusant was Martin d'Auch, of Castelnaudery, in Languedoc, who would neither sign nor swear. Being dragged to the table, he was in a manner forced to sign, but he wrote after his name the word *opposant*. There was a fearful outcry: he was surrounded, hustled, threatened with death and destruction, for spoiling the unanimity by his one accursed vote; and, though the deputies had not murdered him, the mob assuredly would have done it, if it had not timeously and mercifully been suggested that the man was and must be mad. In the end, president Bailly caused poor Martin d'Auch to be smuggled out by a back door; and they wrote at the head of their oath, or resolution, that it was unanimously adopted, saving only by one. By four o'clock in the afternoon all this work was done. The next meeting was fixed for Monday morning, at an hour earlier than that for which the Séance Royale was fixed or expected; and, that the deserters from the order of the clergy might not be baulked, they agreed that their next place of meeting should be at the church of "Recollets." Bailly and the deputies then went to their dinners, followed or greeted on their way by countless multitudes; for it was now Saturday evening, and the Parisians had come out in shoals. On the Sunday, fresh multitudes arrived from the capital, and from all quarters; and so clamorous were they, that mischief was apprehended by the courtiers, in spite of the strong walls of the palace, and the presence of the French and Swiss guards.* A great mistake had been committed by the court in not plainly intimating its intention, and in making a parade of military force which it certainly had no intention of employing. Louis really meant only to suspend the session, but the proceedings adopted made all men believe that he intended to dissolve the States General: hence the minority of eighty, who had declared against the encroachments and irregular title of the Assembly, had taken the oath in the Tennis Court with the rest. Sunday was spent by the people in haranguing and hearing harangues; but towards evening patriotism got gay and danced. In the palace there

* Bailly, Mémoires.

* *Marquis de Ferrières.* Dumont says that, when the news of the expulsion of the National Assembly from the Salle des Menus Plaisirs, and of what had passed in the Jeu de Paume, reached Paris, there was a terrible commotion. "The appearance of persecution doubled the interest the people felt for the deputies of the Tiers. All Paris was agitated. The Palais Royal, the great centre of excitement, was absolutely frantic. Menaces were muttered: the heads of the highest personages were menaced. In that troubled horizon, people could not see things as they really were: they became alarmed, suspicious, inflammable; and nothing that the king or court could afterwards do was sufficient to remove these popular feelings, or re-establish confidence. *Here was the true beginning of that burning fever which was afterwards kept up by two classes of men—the factious and the cowardly.*"

were deputations from the order of noblesse; doleful representations from some of the very men who had recommended the great step which had been taken; private deliberations in the deep embrasures of windows, and a council of ministers in the proper chamber. Necker recommended a middle plan, which was not adopted, and thereupon resolved not to attend the king to the Séance Royale, for fear he should seem to give his high sanction to arbitrary measures which he disapproved. Nobody thought of proposing a great and bold plan, but little ones—*petits moyens*—were suggested without number. Nothing was determined, except that the Séance Royale should be put off till Tuesday, in order to gain one day's time for further deliberation and consultation. The king's brother, the Count of Artois, thought it would be a masterly stroke to shut out the Assembly from the Tennis Court, whither they would be sure to repair on the Monday morning, as soon as they learned that there was to be no Séance that day; and he sent down to the proprietor of the place to engage it for all day on Monday, "as he and the princes intended to play a match;" and, monstrous to relate, the proprietor of the Tennis Court was so little of a patriot as to let his place to the princes.* Between Sunday night and Monday morning, President Bailly was roused from his sleep by a herald at arms, and his evil genius, the grand master of the ceremonies, who brought him a letter signed by the king, intimating that the Séance would take place on Tuesday morning at ten o'clock, and that the great hall, or Salle de Menus Plaisirs, would not be opened till then. Bailly, at an early hour on Monday morning, went to the church of the Recollets; but, when nearly 600 deputies arrived, they found that temple too narrow to contain them. They would have gone back to the Tennis Court, for the clerical deserters might meet them there as well as in any other place, and there would be plenty of room; but they were informed by the proprietor that their royal highnesses were to play tennis, and that consequently he could not accommodate the Tiers Etat that day.† The National Assembly knew not where to go; or, giving themselves the air of not knowing, and wearing disconsolate looks, they wandered through the streets of Versailles. The scene was dramatic; the effect more than galvanic. It was liberty seeking a resting-place: it was the dove from the ark. Deep emotions—*emotions profondes*—were depicted in the countenances and gestures of the spectators. At last somebody bethought himself of the church of St. Louis, and thither they all went. They took possession of the body of the church; and presently the majority of the deputies of the clergy arrived, and took possession of the choir. Bailly ordered an *appel nominal*, or muster-roll, to be made; and thereupon the priests to the number of 148, with three prelates among them—Talleyrand, the Bishop of Chartres, and the Archbishop of Vienne—advanced from the choir to the nave;

* Marquis de Ferrières. † Ibid.

and the Bishop of Chartres, in brief words, told the Tiers that they, the majority of their order, having agreed to the verification in common, now claimed their places in the Assembly. The Archbishop of Vienne, in terms equally concise, expressed his joy at this union. Then nothing was heard but blessings and praises, and nothing was seen but huggings and embracings—lay patriots and clerical patriots locked in each other's arms, and kissing cheeks. Some, it is said, wept for very joy at the spectacle, which was declared to be touching and sublime. Of the priests who thus joined the National Assembly, about 130 were of the unbeneficed class—poor curés who hitherto had done the work of the church, and been deprived of all hope of its preferments. When the first lively emotions were over—when the Judas kiss had passed between the Assembly and the Church—president Bailly made a very fine oration, in which he prognosticated that France would for ever bless this memorable day, and inscribe the names of all these patriot priests in her proudest annals. After verifying the election of a certain number of the clerical deputies, the National Assembly adjourned till Wednesday, but where they should then meet could not be determined. In the course of the day the president was informed that there must be no debating or haranguing at the Séance Royale,* and that the Tiers Etat must enter the great hall by a side door, the grand entrance in front being reserved for the two superior orders. This was wormwood to Bailly and the Tiers; and they rose on Tuesday morning, the 23rd of June, in the worst of humours, and not without their fears, as the streets of Versailles seemed to abound more than usual with troops. But the court was not less soured and alarmed. On either side the desperation of cowardice might almost at any moment have hurried on the terrible crisis. "The day of the Séance," says Dumont, "I went to the palace to see the magnificent procession. I remember yet the hostile and triumphant looks of many of the courtiers, who made sure of victory. I saw the king's ministers come out: they tried to look tranquil, but their uneasiness was visible in spite of their efforts. The attitude of the Count d'Artois was bold and proud; the king appeared sadly dejected; the crowd was immense, and the silence profound. When the king entered his carriage there was a roll of drums and a flourish of military instruments, but no plaudits from the people—not a single *Vive le Roi:* fear alone repressed murmurs. All the royal household—the guards, the officers, the cavalry—escorted his Majesty to the hall."† As for the Tiers Etat, when they arrived by a roundabout road at their side door, they found it closed and fast, and that they must wait outside in a shower of rain. The indignity was not to be borne. Could a National Assembly, the very na-

* This was not in conformity with, but directly contrary to, the old forms and precedents in the parlemens. When there was *Lit de Justice* silence was imposed, but in *Séance Royale* debating was allowed after the king and his minister had spoken.

† Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.

tion itself, be kept waiting in the rain (without umbrellas) for a mere king, and a set of vile aristocrats? They looked at their watches: it was past ten o'clock, the hour appointed by the king in his note to their president. Bailly knocked at the door, and the door opened; but not yet to admit him. Some of the king's body-guard—*guard du corps*—stood behind the threshold and coolly told him that everything was getting ready in the hall, that he would soon be admitted; and so saying they shut the door again in the face of the president and the whole National Assembly. Many of the deputies now proposed that they should assert their dignity and retire without caring anything more about the Séance Royale. Bailly knocked at the door louder than before, and demanded to speak with the grand master of the ceremonies—that busy and unlucky Marquis du Brézé. The guard du corps told him that they did not know where du Brézé was. "I was very uneasy," says Bailly in his own Memoirs; "I saw that it was possible, and even natural, that the Commons, wounded in their feelings, would retire, and then the king must be exposed to an insult, and be obliged either to hold the Séance in their absence, or break it off for want of their presence. The intention of retreat was soon manifested in loud cries: the Commons were determined to wait no longer. The care of their dignity rested with me; I knocked again at the door; I demanded to speak with the commanding officer. The captain of the guards, the Duke de Guiche, then made his appearance. I said to him, 'Monsieur, you can go into the interior of the hall; I beg you to find out the grand master of the ceremonies, M. du Brézé, and acquaint him that the representatives of the nation can no longer remain where they are; that they will wait no longer, that they are going to retire.' The next minute the door opened, and the deputies were permitted to enter the hall, where they saw the noblesse and the clergy already seated and in order." This etiquette and precaution may seem to the last degree pitiful, paltry, and injudicious; but, on the other hand, there is good reason to suspect that what the court feared would really have happened—that, if the Commons or Tiers had been admitted earlier or at the same time with the noblesse, there would have been a fierce quarrel and actual combat about places.* As it was, they could scarcely control their passions—passions more violent and opposite than were ever before enclosed within four walls. When they were all seated the king appeared, followed by his ministers; but Necker was not in that retinue; his scrupulosity kept him away, and his absence injured the king by augmenting the doubts and fears and dark suspicions of the patriots. From his elevated throne Louis addressed the whole assemblage. His voice was firm enough, but his countenance was still sad, and his demeanour, never graceful or dignified, seemed to be more than ever awkward, embarrassed, and constrained. He told them that he had called them together solely for the good of his people; that he had met the wishes of the nation, and was now deeply grieved that his and the nation's hopes should be disappointed by their dissensions. "I owe it," said he, "to the common good of my kingdom, I owe it to myself, to put an end to these sad divisions. It is in this resolution, gentlemen, it is as the father of my subjects, as the defender of the laws of my kingdom, that I again assemble you around me, and that I am here to show the true spirit of those laws, and put down all attempts against them." When he had done speaking the keeper of the seals, on his knee before the king, read a royal declaration, annulling the votes and resolutions of the Tiers Etat passed on the 17th of June, and everything they might have done since then, as illegal and unconstitutional, permitting the deputies to demand a new verification, exhorting the three orders to concord and agreement in order to deliberate on affairs of general utility, and establishing sundry rules for the holding of the present and future States General. This declaration being read, Louis spoke again to affirm that, though he laid down this plan and these rules, he would adopt with pleasure any others that might be proposed by the States General for the public weal. "I may say without flattering myself," he added, "that never did king so much for any nation. But what other nation can have deserved it all better than the French?" The keeper of the seals then read another paper, called "Declaration of the King's intentions," and consisting of five-and-thirty articles, each recommending or prescribing the removal of some old popular grievances, but not one of them containing what the people and their deputies now most eagerly coveted, such as the abolition of all titles and distinctions, the abolition of feudal droits, the abolition of tithes, the suppression of all monastic orders, and the confiscation of all church property. After this long reading, which vexed and wearied all the Tiers, who loved giving long lectures much better than hearing them, and who imagined that they alone ought to redress everything, that they alone had the necessary lights of political philosophy, and the necessary right from the people, the king said or read again,—for his speech, as well as most of the orations of the deputies, was written out and held in his hand; "You have heard my wishes: they are conformable to an ardent desire to promote the public good; and if from any fatality, and contrary to my hopes, you should abandon me in so laudable an enterprise, alone I will consider myself as the true representative of my people, alone I will seek their happiness—(*Seul je ferai le bien de mes peuples*). I know the instructions you have received from your constituents, and the perfect agreement that exists between the views of the greatest part of the nation and my own intentions: I will have all the confidence that so un-

* "I have always understood," says Bailly, "that they kept us waiting in order to have time to take their places according to their rank, fearing that we the Commons, constituted a National Assembly, would claim the first seats."—*Mémoires.*

common a harmony ought to obtain, and will go forward to the object I wish to arrive at with the courage and firmness such confidence should inspire. Reflect, gentlemen, that *none of your plans, none of your resolutions, can have the force of laws without my special approbation.* I am the natural guarantee of your respective rights, and the three orders of the States may rely on my impartiality. Any display of mistrust on your part would be manifestly an act of injustice to me. It is only I, as yet, who have done everything for the public weal; and it, perhaps, has seldom happened that the only ambition of a sovereign has been to obtain of his subjects agreement among themselves in accepting the advantages which he offers them. *I order you, gentlemen, to separate immediately; to meet again to-morrow, each order in its separate chamber, and to recommence your proceedings.* I order *the grand master of the ceremonies* to prepare your halls accordingly." Louis then rose from the throne and quitted the hall, followed by the order of noblesse and the minority of the order of the clergy. The Tiers remained where they were; but the greater part of them in very apparent doubt and trepidation. It is otherwise reported by the regular revolution historians, but the plain truth of the matter is, that the deputies were in a very great fright:* and it appears that but for the high political or orator-courage of Mirabeau, (who in other circumstances and attitudes was scarcely a man of courage,) the game would have been given up as lost. They began to understand the consequences of the votes and resolutions which they had passed with so little deliberation or thought; they felt that in making themselves a National Assembly they had placed themselves under the necessity either of conquering royalty or being conquered by it; they saw that they must retrace their steps immediately, or dash forward into civil war—and the army not yet won over to their cause, no plan of combat yet laid down! They sat gazing at each other in bewilderment and silence; and not a word was spoken until the master of the ceremonies—that fatal functionary—came in and with trepidation inquired whether they had not heard the king's order to them to retire? Then Mirabeau showed the wild boar's head, and looking at the young, slim, dancing-master figure of poor du Brézé with ineffable contempt, roared out, "Yes, sir, we have heard what the king was advised to say; and you, who cannot be the interpreter of his orders to the States General; you, who have neither place nor right of speech here; *you* are not the man to remind us of it. Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that nothing shall send us hence but the force of bayonets!"† The grand master of the ceremonies, looking very small, went back to the king. Some of the fiery noblesse thought that a company of grenadiers would soon clear the hall; but Louis, with an unkingly shrug of the shoulders, said, "Well, if the gentlemen of the Tiers will not come out, there is nothing for it but to leave them where they are."*

After the bold war-cry of Mirabeau, President Bailly and sundry others mustered courage and spoke out. Bailly said that "the National Assembly could not receive orders from any one on earth," and Abbé Sieyes assured them that "they were to-day just what they were yesterday." A circumstance which greatly encouraged them was that Necker had not accompanied the king to this Séance Royale. They knew that his popularity, which had been waning, would be wonderfully increased by his absence; they thought that they could hold by Necker as an anchor in the storm; that it would be for their interest to make him for a season their own idol as well as the idol of the nation, and make use of his name and credit as a counterpoise to the court.† To infant powers any alliance is important and encouraging. The chief leaders of the National Assembly either hated Necker with a most cordial hatred, or despised him as a formal pedant; but he could be made useful, and that was enough. Barnave had mounted the tribune, and was declaring what were the rights of the National Assembly and what the duties of the king, when some thirty carpenters entered the hall to take down the scaffoldings which had been erected for the Séance; and some officers and soldiers showed themselves at the doors, as if to intimate that the workmen would not be permitted to be molested or hindered. The carpenters, therefore, began to hammer, and unscrew, and take to pieces, making, it is supposed, a more than necessary noise in order to drown the voices of the orators. But the National Assembly, who had not quitted the hall for a king and a grand master of the ceremonies, were not to be scared away by carpenters. Before they broke up and withdrew they decreed that they were, and would continue to be, nothing but a National Assembly, sitting in one house or chamber, without any order or orders above them, or separate from them; that they were inviolate and inviolable; and they denounced as infamous, traitorous towards the nation, and guilty of a capital crime, any "person, body corporate, tribunal, court, or commission that, now or hereafter, during the present session or after it," should "dare to pursue, interrogate, arrest or cause to be arrested, detain or cause to be detained, *on whose part soever the same might be commanded,*" any deputy or deputies of the National Assembly.

For a few hours the noblesse and the higher clergy, who had driven the king into the Séance Royale, were joyous and triumphant, for they fully expected that the vigorous demonstration would be followed up by vigorous deeds, and that the Tiers

* Dumont says gently, "On *dissimula* un peu *la consternation* des communes quand le roi, la noblesse, et le clergé se furent retirés."
† Thiers.—Dumont.

* Marquis de Ferrières.
† Dumont. If we are to take the testimony of this plain-speaking Genevese against that of many others, Necker's staying away from the Séance was, after all, more than half accidental, and by no means the result of any fixed determination to mark his disapprobation of the proceeding.

would not dare to face royalty backed by the nobles and prelates of the land, by parks of artillery and the army. But Mirabeau, reviewing at night all the events of that critical day, said to his friend Dumont, "This is the way kings are led to the scaffold." Necker was once more extolled to the third heavens; the Archbishop of Paris had his carriage windows smashed, and owed his life to good horses and bold drivers; every aristocrat, bishop, or priest that had applauded the king, and opposed the National Assembly, was held up as a traitor to his country; the king's brother, the Count d'Artois, was proclaimed to be unworthy of breathing the free air of France; and fresh reproaches and criminations, horrible, unnatural, utterly incredible except to madmen in a paroxysm of their disorder, were heaped upon the queen. The French people, or the vast mass of them, were assuredly ripe and ready for anything; yet this agitation was not altogether spontaneous. There were prompters behind the scenes; there were paid libellists and haranguers; there were clubs that had their agents at Versailles as in Paris; there were regularly organised committees of insurrection; and a thousand secret wheels were set in motion by unseen and still in part unknown hands. The Breton Club, which Lafayette had so materially contributed to form, received their impulse directly from the minority of the noblesse order (including Lafayette himself and the Duke of Orleans), and communicated that impulse to other bodies of men. "We shall never," says Dumont, "have a complete history of the revolution until some man of this party shall give his memoirs veraciously." Some of the consultations that took place between this Breton Club and the nobles of the liberal party were too much even for Sieyes, full as he was of the revolutionary logic. Coming from one of their conciliabula the abbé philosophe exclaimed, "I will go no more among those men: theirs are cavern politics; they propose crimes as expedients!"* We do not believe—whatever Orleans and others may have done—that Lafayette either proposed or approved any of these infernal projects; but it is impossible to conceive that they could have been unknown to him; and yet this wearisome prattler about honour, morality, and strict virtue continued to be connected with the Breton Club! An old American friend represents him as being perpetually surrounded by immoral and dangerous men—as having no time for thinking—as having no fixed plan.† The money employed came in part, perhaps, but certainly not entirely, from the Duke of Orleans, who is represented lying in the Palais Royal at Paris, like a bloated spider in the midst of its entrapping web: for the Palais Royal, now his ordinary residence, was filled and crowded by haranguers, plot-makers, journalists, and the fiercest of the demagogues. "But," says Dumont, "those who would attribute the revolution solely to secret plotters and conspirators commit a great mistake. It was not these men who created the general turn and disposition for revolt; they found it existing in the French people, and they availed themselves of it, and in some instances directed it: but it is ridiculous to imagine that conspirators could give so vast, so sudden, and so irresistible an impulse to the people. All Paris was tossed and agitated. The coolest heads partook in the passion of the moment: the entire mass was heated. A cry in the Palais Royal, an accidental motion, a nothing, might at any moment bring on a universal commotion. In this state of things tumults produced tumults; it was the malady of the evening aggravated in the morning."

On the morning of the 24th of June the Tiers went down to the great hall expecting to find it surrounded by troops and artillery; but there was not a single company or cannon near the place, and accordingly they entered and took their seats undisturbed except by the carpenters, who had not yet finished their work. They confirmed all their previous decrees, and again invited or summoned all the noblesse and all the clergy to join them. The majority of the clergy, who had kissed and embraced them in the church of St. Louis, at once took their seats in contempt of the royal command. The minority of the same order kept to their separate chamber a few hours longer; but then, at the entreaty, it is said, of the court, they too resolved to join, and almost by bodily force they carried with them or dragged after them the Archbishop of Paris and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who had made a last desperate struggle for the privileges of

* Dumont, who heard the words at the moment from Sieyes's own lips.

† Gouverneur Morris. This moderate man, who revered and really understood (which Lafayette did not) the political principles of Washington, relates a conversation he had with Lafayette the very evening of the day of the Séance Royale, at a dinner-party in Versailles. "At dinner," he says, "I sit next to M. de Lafayette, who tells me that I injure the cause, for that *my sentiments are continually quoted against the good party*. I seize this opportunity to tell him that *I am opposed to democracy from regard to liberty*. That I see *they are going headlong to destruction*, and would fain stop them if I could. That their views respecting *this nation are totally inconsistent with the materials of which it is composed; and that the worst thing which could happen to them would be to grant their wishes*. He tells me, that he is sensible that *his party are mad*, and tells them so; but is not the less determined to die with them." [He did not die; he fled —fled in most disgraceful plight—and, more than forty years after the guillotine had disposed of *his party*, *he was alive and well, and with* a vanity as lively as ever.] "I tell him that I think it would be *quite as well to bring them to their senses, and live with them*. He says that he is determined to resign his seat, which step I approve of." [He did not resign it, but joined the Tiers Etat as a national convention.] "Before we part I take an opportunity to tell him, that, if the Tiers are now *very moderate*, they will *probably* succeed; but, if *violent*, must inevitably fail."—*Diary, in Life by Jared Sparks*. Morris gave a great deal more good advice of the same kind, but it was all thrown away; and it seems to have become a fashion with Lafayette and his liberal friends to laugh at the prejudice and illiberality of this American, whose notions were so opposite to many of those entertained by Jefferson. It is amusing to find a bourgeois of New York, and one who had materially helped to make a revolution and a republic, hotly disputing with marquises, dukes, princes, on the preferableness—at least for France—of a constitutional monarchy; contending for subordination, and for checks on the democracy; strenuously recommending a house of peers or an upper chamber of some sort; and declaring, over and over again, to impatient and incredulous listeners, that if they pared down the royal prerogative to nothing, and submitted to the usurpations of the National Assembly sitting as one Chamber or House, there would be no safety for men's lives and property, no liberty, but a sanguinary anarchy far worse than the old despotism. Morris's diary fully establishes a fact, of which we never had a doubt: it proves that Lafayette himself was insincere and duplex—that while he was professing an attachment to constitutional monarchy he really preferred a republic.

Jefferson's advice was of a very different kind; but he, too, recommended placing the privileged classes together in one house, and the unprivileged in another, showing that, "for good legislation, two houses are necessary."—*Professor Tucker, Life of Jefferson*.

the order. On the same day the Count of Clermont-Tonnerre moved that the nobles should all unite with the commons; and he was seconded by Lally Tollendal, who hereby renounced for the moment all hopes of a House of Peers. The Duke of Orleans supported the proposition, although he had pledged his word to Polignac the evening before not to do so. Lafayette, with all his party, voted for the motion; but it was rejected by an immense majority. D'Espréménil, the great thunder-maker of the parlement, now thundered at the Tiers; he proposed declaring them guilty of treason, and prosecuting them by the law-officers of the crown: this motion was rejected in the midst of a deafening tumult; yet the majority determined to remain where they were. Upon this the minority, 47 in number, headed by Orleans and Clermont-Tonnerre, went into the great hall and were received with tremendous applause. "We yield to our conscience," said Clermont-Tonnerre; "but it is with grief that we have separated from our brethren. We come to concur in the work of public regeneration." Here there were fresh acclamations; and in the midst of them the noble deputies took their seats among the commons. Every day brought some few deserters from the noblesse majority, and some congratulatory addresses to the brave Tiers Etat, the unflinching National Assembly, from cities, towns, and districts. None were refused: even an address got up by the lawless rabble in the Palais Royal was received with all honours. The deputations that brought up these addresses were flattered and feasted in clubs, in private houses, and were sent back with the clear understanding that the hour was fast approaching when the National Assembly and the cause of liberty would require every man of the people to be up and doing. Sieyes, moreover, had organised a complicated system of committees of correspondence, and of many other committees besides; and by this means every populous corner of France was inundated with journals, pamphlets, and treatises, all running one way; for in these days of liberty the man or writer that advocated moderate principles was denounced as an aristocrat and a traitor, and exposed to the risk of murder or proscription. Grenoble, Marseilles, were already armed to the teeth. Even in the town of Versailles, under the very windows of the palace, the people were committing terrible riots, and crying death to the aristocrats. In several instances the servants of the court, with the royal livery on their backs, were knocked down in the streets and trampled under foot. The king, fearing nothing less than a general insurrection, implored the majority of the noblesse to give up a useless and dangerous opposition to the will of the Tiers, and to unite themselves in the great hall as the whole order of the clergy now had done; and on the 27th of June all the nobles that remained in the separate chamber repaired to the great hall, where their president, the Duke of Luxembourg, announced to the Tiers that they had come to give to the king a mark of respect, and to the nation a proof of their patriotism. "The family is now complete," replied President Bailly; "we may now occupy ourselves without interruption on the regeneration of the kingdom and the happiness of the people." The nobles, however, showed that they had not come there of their own free will, and that they had still a reluctance to being intermixed and confounded with the commoners. For some time they would not be seated; and it was considered a signal triumph for the Tiers when Bailly induced them to sit. They proposed that a new president should now be elected by the three orders; but this was contemptuously rejected, and Bailly kept his seat and looked proudly down upon princes and dukes, archbishops and bishops—the heads of the nobility and of the hierarchy of France. They had, indeed, not the most remote chance either of carrying any measure or of hindering any vote in this assembly. The united numbers of the two orders only equalled that of the Tiers; from the noblesse a minority of about fifty were pledged to the revolution; the majority of the clergy were in the same predicament; and of the Tiers not above eighty had ever ventured to oppose the impatient and intolerant will of their majority. Supposing a strict union between the high noblesse and the high clergy, they must be constantly out-voted on a division by about 770 to 350. It was difficult to resign oneself to such a gigantic master and tyrant. The pretension was once more advanced that, though they sat together, they ought to vote not by head but by order. This being rejected by acclamation—a loud and terrible argument, for the galleries, as usual, all joined in it—the Cardinal Archbishop of Rochefoucault protested in the name of the minority of his order, and assured the Tiers that he had only joined them to deliberate on general objects, and with the understanding that the clergy preserved its right of forming an order. The liberal Archbishop of Vienna reminded Rochefoucault that he was in a minority even in his own order, and that therefore he had no right to speak in the name of that order. Mirabeau fell upon the cardinal still more fiercely, telling him that he must not protest in that Assembly against the Assembly; that he must either acknowledge its sovereignty or depart out of it. In this humour this nondescript assemblage of men began to concoct a constitution.

In the mean time the king had collected a considerable army round about Versailles. The royalists said, with some reason, that this was necessary for the preservation of the king and his family; the patriots said, and not without reason either, that it was intended to strangle liberty. On the 30th of June a little event in Paris tended to shake the confidence which the court might have in the army; and that confidence once gone, all must be given up as lost. The regiment of French guards, who had fired with such murderous effect on the people in the Reveillon riot, were

now considerably changed by a variety of circumstances easy to be understood. They had lost their old colonel (Abiron) by death, and their new colonel was a disciplinarian and very unpopular. All classes of Parisians had been for some time past fomenting the ill humour of the soldiers, and labouring to instil patriotic sentiments into them. A certain Marquis de Valady, who had formerly been an officer in the regiment, but who had quitted it or been driven out of it, to become, first a Pythagorean philosopher, and then a patriot of the maddest kind, had been going from barrack to barrack in order to enlighten the soldiers on the subject of their duty to liberty and their country; and his private lectures and the things in print that he left among the men produced their effect. Similar means were employed more or less openly wherever there were troops. But the disciplinarian colonel of these French guards in Paris no sooner discovered that his soldiers were becoming political philosophers than he confined them to their barracks, and strictly forbade any visits from the city. This was on the 20th of June, three days before the Séance Royale. On the 25th of June the men broke out of their barracks and ran to the Palais Royal, shouting "Vive le Tiers Etat!" This was repeated on the 26th, all Paris applauding and caressing them. In the garden of the Palais Royal they received not only refreshments but also money; and there they heard patriots mounted on tables and stools preaching a crusade against all aristocrats; and there they were asked, as they had often been asked before, whether they would ever again wet their hands with the blood of their countrymen, fellow-citizens, friends, brothers; and there the soldiers shouted "Vive la Nation!" It was quite clear that these French guards would never more pull a trigger against the people of Paris; and that the courage of the people of Paris must expand with this conviction. At six o'clock on the evening of the 30th, when the Palais Royal was crowded to excess, a letter addressed to the friends of liberty was produced and read. The contents were short and simple: eleven soldiers of the French guard had been thrown into the Abbaye prison for having refused to turn their arms against their fellow-citizens. Ten thousand throats—such is the estimated number of these Palais Royal evening assemblies — roared out "To the Abbaye! to the Abbaye!" and in a minute thousands were running towards the prison to liberate the patriotic soldiers. The outer gate, the inner gate, were burst open, the guards were liberated, and, with huggings and kissings, and exclamations peculiar to this nation, they were carried in triumph from the Abbaye to the Palais Royal. Some hussars and a company of dragoons were sent to stop this disorder; but the men put their sabres in the scabbard in order to take the wine that was offered them by the people; and they drank a health to the king and prosperity to the nation. "The arm of power was paralysed."*

* Dulaure, Esquisses Historiques.

Paralysed indeed! The liberated guardsmen were comfortably lodged and had a good supper in an hotel close by the Palais Royal, where their colonel could not dare to touch them. On that same night nothing was seen in the streets of Versailles but men running with torches. Early in the following morning a deputation from the Palais Royal mob arrived in that town to present to the president of the National Assembly a representation or petition in favour of the liberated soldiers. The paper was well enough written to have formed a speech for one of the deputies. There were good and quick penmen mixed with the rabble in the Palais Royal. Bailly, after showing the letter to Necker, who represented the danger there would be in authorising the people to commit such acts, carried it to the National Assembly, situated as they were, with an army gathering around them, and with menaces or reports of menaces from the court and furious aristocracy. The great majority of that Assembly must have been cheered and delighted by the whole occurrence; perhaps not a few of them had helped to make the event which they were now to debate upon; but it was necessary to save appearances, and therefore, though they received the petition, they voted and solemnly decreed that they would not receive the twenty deputies who had brought it, and who, no doubt, found very good accommodation, with sympathy and honour, among the thousands that crowded the galleries. The National Assembly debated for four hours on the subject; but then they agreed —that is to say the majority agreed—in a shuffling, equivocating resolution, and in appointing a committee or deputation to wait upon his majesty, and implore his royal clemency to grant a pardon to the soldiers of the guards and all who had offended. The king, apparently without an effort or a remark, granted a full pardon; and the patriot soldiers, enriched by a subscription made for them in the Palais Royal, were sent back to the Abbaye, *for one night, to save appearances*, and then liberated. Appearances were now all that could be saved.*

Shuddering at the idea of shedding blood, and yet convinced that blood must be shed, all the hopes of Louis seemed now to centre in the Marshal Duke de Broglie, a decided royalist and a brave veteran, recently appointed to the command in chief of the army. Broglie, judging of soldiers by the old rules, assured the court that the army might be depended upon, and that a little grape-shot would bring the people to their senses. He fixed his head-quarters at Versailles with a most numerous and brilliant staff, and he soon gave to that town all the appearance of a *place d'armes*. Artillery was collected, and some of it, it is said, so disposed in the Queen's Mews as to appear pointed at the great hall—no longer the hall of

* Thiers, who, since writing his history, has been a prime minister in France, relates this whole story in a way admirably calculated to encourage mutiny and revolt, and praises the conduct of the National Assembly as moderate, wise, and patriotic. But this wisdom and patriotism could not fail of deluging France with blood. He calls the common soldiers *the Tiers Etat of the army!*

pleasures—wherein the National Assembly continued to sit, making a constitution. Other guns were put in battery by the bridge of Sévres to command the road leading from Paris to Versailles; troops, chiefly foreigners in the pay of France, were quartered in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital; and trenches were begun, or traced out, even on the heights of Montmartre, which almost overhang the city. Native-born French troops were cantoned in St. Germain, Charenton, St. Cloud, and other places. The whole force was popularly estimated at fifty thousand men, and probably amounted to about that number. As soon as the army was collected some of the most fiery of the old aristocrats recommended the king, who was not yet bound by any constitutional oath, to make a coup d'état by dispersing the Assembly and sending some of its most popular members into state prisons; but Louis was not bold enough for such a step, and Necker, with others of his advisers, represented that, if the States General should be dissolved in this manner, there would not only be no hope of settling the enormous debts of government, but no possibility of levying taxes and duties for the future. At the same time other men of rank, who entertained liberal principles, assured the king that all would work itself right at last,—that the over-excitement would subside, and that he would be made the happiest of sovereigns under an excellent constitution. In this manner the troops were left in inaction—in the surest condition for catching the endemic disorder of Paris, or the epidemic which was common to France. The National Assembly, whose harangues were printed and distributed with astonishing rapidity, gradually accustomed themselves to sights which had at first filled them with dismay, and Mirabeau daringly declaimed against this army and all attempts at overawing or coercing the Assembly. "Every day," said he, "more and more troops advance; all our roads are intercepted; our bridges and our promenades are turned into military posts; we see more soldiers gathering around us, to threaten us, than would probably be collected to oppose a foreign invasion, and ten times more than would have sufficed to succour those martyrs of liberty, the Dutch, or to preserve that alliance with Holland which had been so dearly purchased and was so shamefully lost."* Mirabeau heaped reproaches upon the king's ministers, but spared the king, and even eulogised his virtues. He suspended the work of constitution-making, and proposed a motion for petitioning or demanding from the king the immediate dismissal of this army, and the substitution of a militia or burgher guard.† The speech he delivered on this occasion, and which had been composed for him by Dumont, was greatly admired; but the Assembly would not agree to the latter part of the scheme. A committee was appointed to draw up an address simply demanding the sending back of the troops (*le renvoi des troupes*). The committee appointed Mirabeau to draw up the address; Mirabeau employed the pen of Dumont, and Dumont's paper was enthusiastically adopted and cheered—of course as the production of Mirabeau. It was in good part nothing but a eulogy of the king, and a eulogy of the patriotic loyalty of the Assembly and the nation. It assured Louis that he had nothing to fear from the generous and kind-hearted French people, who loved him, and blessed Heaven for giving them so loving a sovereign! It was, in the taste of the people, very rhetorical. The conclusion of it was: "Sire, we conjure you, in the name of the country, in the name of your own happiness and glory, send back your soldiers to the posts from which your advisers have drawn them; send back that artillery to cover your frontiers; above all, send back those foreign troops, the allies of the nation, whom we pay to defend, and not to trouble, our domestic homes. Your majesty has no need of them. Ah! why should a monarch, adored by twenty-five millions of French, seek to surround his throne, at a great expense, with a few thousand strangers? Sire, in the midst of your children, be guarded only by their love." But there were passages in the address containing arguments, and a terrible logic. The king, for example, was told that this very army, brought so near the centre of discussion, and participating in the passions and interests of the people, might forget that an artificial engagement had made them soldiers, to remember that nature had made them men; that there was a contagion in all passionate movements; that, the National Assembly were but men; that the *fear of appearing feeble might possibly carry them beyond their object;* and, finally, that though they might do too much under certain circumstances, they were determined under no circumstances to do too little, but go straightforward in the work of regeneration, in spite of snares, plots, perils, or any other difficulty. When the address was presented, Louis, with pardonable insincerity, declared that the army had only been collected to maintain public tranquillity, and protect the National Assembly. He offered to send away the troops to Soissons or to Noyon, and spoke of going himself to Compiègne.* The Assembly were greatly dissatisfied

* If the democratic party in Holland had been reduced by Prussian arms and English alliances, those nearer neighbours of the French, the Belgians, were at this moment in a very consoling attitude of resistance. The reader should compare the events and dates of their insurrection with the events and dates of the revolution in France this year. There was a mutual action and reaction.

† The plan of this militia originated with Dumont, and his friend and compatriot Duroverai, who, between them, not only made plans for him, but at this time composed nearly all Mirabeau's orations. The two Genevese thought it might be possible to organise a burgher or national guard, resembling the militia which they had seen working so quietly and so well in England; and they proposed that the king should have the nomination of all the officers. Foreseeing as a certainty that the people would arm themselves, and sincerely wishing to prevent anarchy, they thought that, if the king could be put at the head of this new force, he might preserve his proper share of authority; and that a militia might be so framed as to serve the cause of order and moderation, without injuring the cause of liberty—prevent or check the growing spirit of insurrection, without causing jealousy or alarm to the liberal party. The scheme, like several others which originated in the same quarter, was well meant; but it may be doubted whether there were materials in France for constituting such a militia and such a safeguard.

* Compiègne, situated at the junction of the rivers Aisne and Oise, is about fifty English miles from Paris. Beyond the river Oise lay a

with this answer, and did not relish the notion of the king's removing from the neighbourhood of the capital to place himself between two armies. [Another man than Louis would have gone to Compiègne without intimating his intention; and, if he had gone, the Assembly must have followed him thither. The final result of all might have been the same, but the movement would have given him one chance the more.] Count de Crillon, though attached to the liberal party, thought that the word of the king, an honest man, ought to be relied upon. "The word of an honest king," replied Mirabeau, "is a bad guarantee for the conduct of his ministers. Our blind confidence in our kings has ruined us. We have demanded the retreat of these troops—not to fly before them,—and we must insist upon it without intermission." All this time Necker was dreaming over a project for establishing the British constitution in France, with some modifications, rendered necessary by the difference of situation, national character, and the very different natures of the aristocracies of the two countries. His doing nothing had procured him more applause than he could have obtained by doing everything; his not going with the king to the Séance Royale had made him again the minister of the people; and his name, with that affix to it, was shouted in Versailles and Paris from morning till night. When the queen showed herself at the balcony of the palace with a child in her arms, the people drove her in with tremendous cries of "Vive Necker! Vive le ministre du peuple!" not unmixed with hisses and curses for the aristocrats. The Genevese, it is said, tendered his resignation; and only stayed because the king, apprehending an insurrection, implored him to remain. His condition at court was sufficiently humiliating: he was accused of having ruined everything by inducing the king to summon the States General; and all that he could do was to make counter-accusations and reproaches, in declaring that the courtiers had ruined everything by preventing the king from implicitly following his advice as to the way in which the States were to be managed and dealt with when assembled. But, as the army was now collected, Louis became a little bolder; and on the morning of the 11th of July he wrote a note to Necker, telling him that his offer of resigning was accepted, but that he must request from him, as a personal favour, that he would conceal his departure. It was either expressed or understood that the minister of the people should take himself beyond the frontiers as quickly as possible. Necker, a most orderly man, dined as if nothing had happened; then proposed to his wife a visit to a female friend living in the neighbourhood, got post-horses, and was, before night, considerably advanced towards Switzerland.*

second army, under the command of the Marquis de Bouillé, a near relation of Lafayette, but a most decided royalist.

"This (the king's) is an artful reply. If he can get them far from Paris, he will weaken that impulse which at present creates such alarm; but the evil lies deeper than his counsellors are aware of, and the business now broached must have its complete course."—*Gouverneur Morris, Diary.*

* Necker, Révolution Française.—Madame de Stael, Considérations.—Gouverneur Morris, Diary.

But there was no keeping a secret of such moment; and in the forenoon of the following day, Sunday the 12th of July, it was known to all Paris that the minister of the people was dismissed, sent out of France, banished; that other constitutionally inclined ministers had been deprived of office; and that an entirely new ministry had been composed out of the most violent royalist or aristocratic party, with Marshal Broglie, the commander-in-chief of the army, for war minister. Before the fatal turmoil began, a wise American recommended the Marshal de Castries, a great friend of the king, to go out immediately to Versailles, and warn his majesty of the danger, which was greater than he expected, or could be aware of; to tell him frankly that his army would not fight against the people; to tell him that the sword had fallen imperceptibly from his hand; to tell him that the sovereignty of the nation had fallen into the hands of the National Assembly. The French nobleman, thus addressed by the sober republican, who clearly foresaw what sort of a republic the French people would make of it, said that it was of no use going; that the court must have taken all their measures before this moment; that it was too late.* And, in fact, everything was now doubtful, or too late. Since the accession of Louis, the qualification of noble birth had been insisted upon, even more than previously, both in the army and in the church. Instead of being relaxed, the rule that none but nobles should be officers had been rendered more binding; and even in the thirty-five articles of good intentions, which the keeper of the seals had wasted his breath in reading at the Séance Royale, there was not the slightest intimation that the promotions and honours of the army should be thrown open to all classes. If anything could have kept the soldiery steady, it would have been, not an intention, but a declared and avowed act of this kind; if there was one thing upon earth that would have flattered and soothed this military, war-loving people, it was the opening to them all the paths of military ambition, without invidious distinctions as to birth and classes. This, after a few short years of crime and blunder, was the greatest benefit they derived from their revolution, and with this benefit they were a happy and jubilant people; but it was now too late to try the effect of this grand experiment—perhaps it was too late even at the time of the first meeting of the States General; for the soldiers had been tampered with, and journalised into the belief that any concession or favour could only proceed from fear and weakness—could only be intended to serve the purposes of the moment, and that, so long as the real command of the army rested with the king, he would only promote aristocrats. If the reader will bear in mind these circumstances, and reflect on the temper of the French troops, and on the solemnly true proposition that the sword had fallen imperceptibly from the hand of the king, he will be the less disposed to wonder at the courage and the daring of the Parisians, about which so much non-

* Gouverneur Morris, Diary.

sense has been talked and written: he will see that the mob were in reality fighting with the odds in their favour. In the course of the afternoon, when, being a Sabbath-day, the Palais Royal was crowded and crammed even more than usual, a man of about thirty years of age, and of a wild and a picturesque aspect, leaped upon a table, and began an harangue so loud and enchaining as to silence all the minor orators that were holding forth on chairs and stools in the same great gathering-place. It was the old college companion of Robespierre: it was Camille Desmoulins, who, in set phrase, is described in French as "*a young man* known afterwards by his republican enthusiasm, born with a tender but

Camille Desmoulins. [From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

boiling soul," but whom we should characterise as a mad fanatic, ready to wade breast-high in blood for a dogma, being at the same time thoroughly sincere and disinterested, ever ready to lay his hand upon his heart, like Lafayette, in proof of the sincerity of his intentions. Camille had often been there before, but had not before found so fit audience or so open a stage. He had pistols in his girdle; and, drawing them forth, and holding one in each hand, he exclaimed, as a fitting conclusion to his harangue, "While we are here talking, the foreign troops are gathering around us to massacre us! To arms! to arms!" He tore a small branch from one of the trees, and stuck it in his hat for a cockade. The mob followed his example, until all the trees of the Palais Royal were left leafless and bare; and a notable woman, moved by the commercial spirit, or set on by some other agency, brought some enormous rolls of green ribband, and cut them up into cockades for the patriots, who then ran hither and thither, many of them in the evident belief that Camille Desmoulins' figures of rhetoric were real facts; and that the Swiss, the Royal Allemand, the Salis-Samade, and all the foreign regiments, were upon them, with the sabre at their throats, or the bayonet in their loins. The first movements of the mob seemed anything but terrible.*

A respectable Swiss gentleman, not long deceased, —a civilian, but one whose fate it was to witness the march of this revolution, and the marches of sundry revolutions that were the children of this—was accustomed to say—"If, on this Sunday afternoon, the respectable people of Paris—all those who were afterwards butchered or plundered and ruined—had gone out into the streets, every man with his umbrella, and with no other arm, they might have driven the rabble out of the city, and have put down this first considerable insurrection." But, with the exception of the decided royalists, whose number was exceedingly small, and whose fanaticism was just as unwise and extreme on the other side, the respectable people of Paris were inwardly rejoicing at the bright prospect of overthrowing the despotism of the crown, and had no forethought of the worse despotism that might follow; in their conception the first thing to do was to encourage the mob, and then, when the conflict was over, it would be time to think of checking the mob's excesses: their philosophes and journalists had taught them—in defiance of all history—that the French commonalty were a gentle, generous, moderate, and reliable race; and had not Necker, the people's minister, declared that the qualities of the people, the virtues of human nature, must be relied upon? Besides, in the uncermonious words of a spectator who was cool enough to observe what was passing, these respectable citizens were "confoundedly frightened." At an early stage of their proceedings the people broke into the shop or gallery of one Curtius,† who modelled great men in wax; and there seized the busts of the Duke of Orleans and M. Necker, covered them with black

* For some time in the afternoon it seemed more child's play, with throwing of stones, running away, &c.; and the quieter part of the citizens walked about the town, or amused themselves on the Boulevards, as if nothing was to come of it. Gouverneur Morris, who was paying visits, found himself in the very beginning of the beginning. His sober eye-witness account is exceedingly interesting. "He says, 'Paris begins to be in commotion; and from the invalid guard of the Louvre a few of the mobility take a drum, and beat to arms. . . . Those who rejoice inwardly at the change are confoundedly frightened at the commotion. . . . I depart, for Mr. Jefferson's. In riding along the Boulevards, all at once carriages, horses, and foot passengers turn about, and pass rapidly. Presently after we meet a body of cavalry with their sabres drawn, and coming at half-speed. After they have passed us a little way, they stop. When we come to the Place Louis Quinze, I observe the people, to the number perhaps of one hundred, picking up stones; and, looking back, I find that the cavalry are returning. I stop at the angle to see the fray, if any. The people take post among the stones, which lie scattered about the whole square, being there hewn for the bridge now building. The officer at the head of this party is saluted by a stone, and immediately turns his horse in a menacing manner towards the assailant; but his adversaries are posted on ground where the cavalry cannot act. (The mob had got among the stones.) He pursues his route, therefore, and the pace is soon increased to a gallop, amid a shower of stones. One of the soldiers is either knocked from his horse, or the horse falls under him. He is taken prisoner, and at first ill-treated by the mob. The soldiers had fired several pistols, but without effect. Probably they were not even charged with ball. A party of the Swiss guards are posted in the Champs Elysées with cannon. . . . The little affray which I have just witnessed will probably be magnified into a bloody battle before it reaches the frontiers; and, in that case, an infinity of *curés-bourgeois* will march to the relief of the capital. They had better gather in the harvest."—*Diary.* Morris went home quietly to his bed; and it was only on waking next morning that he learned the mob had grown bolder, and broken open a prison.

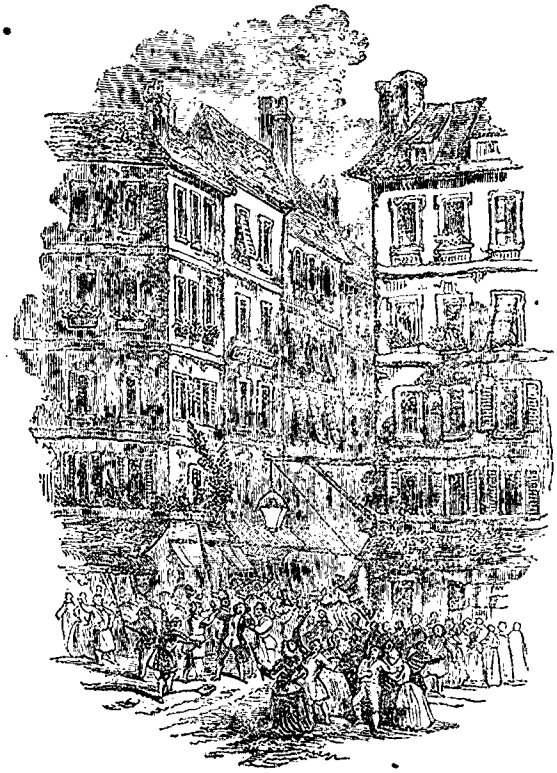
† This Curtius, a Swiss, and originally of the medical profession, was uncle to Madame Tussaud, whose exhibitions are so well known in London. The gallery into which the mob broke was open to the Paris public on payment of a few sous. Adapting himself to the taste of the times, Curtius afterwards modelled Marats, Robespierres, Callots D'Herbois, and other terrorists. His niece, Madame Tussaud, has published a book of reminiscences, dictated, or pretended to be dictated, in her old age; but unfortunately the old lady seems to have remembered a great deal more than ever happened, or her penman has evidently had recourse to sheer invention.

drape, and carried them processionally through the streets of Paris, crying "Hats off! Hats off!" Others ran to the theatres and interdicted all performance for that evening. Others, going more directly to the object, ran to the gunsmiths, broke open their shops, and seized whatever arms they could find; whilst others repaired to the Hôtel de Ville to demand the arms deposited there by a bourgeois guard, or *garde civique*, which had been formed in Paris notwithstanding the rejection of Mirabeau's motion, but which was *not* officered by the king. This civic corps was already very strong; and as for the Hôtel de Ville, it had already become what it long continued to be, a sort of head-quarters to the revolutionists; for the electors of Paris, after sending their members to the States General, had formed themselves into permanent committees, and, riding over the old municipality, had taken possession of that town-hall, from whence they had voted various addresses to the National Assembly, declaring that they adhered to all its decrees. This was as if the electors of the city of London should take possession of Guildhall and the Mansion-house; but such irregularities were considered as mere trifles in Paris. The mob not only got the arms that were in the Hôtel de Ville, but got at the great tocsin or alarum-bell, which was hung over that edifice; and towards evening they gave a peal, presently answered from many of the church-towers, that was loud enough to be heard miles off. That part of the mob that were carrying the wax heads and busts of Necker and Orleans met the *guet à cheval*, or mounted city police, who quietly joined them, and became a sort of escort to the procession. They advanced into the Place Vendôme and promenaded the two busts round the statue of Louis XIV., which then stood in that square on the spot where Napoleon's column of Victory and his statue now stand. Here a squadron of a German regiment of horse attempted to disperse them, but were dispersed or put to flight themselves by a tremendous shower of stones. From the Place Vendôme the bust-procession went to the Place Louis Quinze. Here they were attacked by the Prince of Lambesc at the head of some more German horse, and their two wax busts, together with a few of their own heads, were broken. After keeping their ground for some time among blocks of stone collected for building a bridge, and among which the cavalry could not enter, this mob, it appears, went off and joined another which had collected in the Tuileries. The Prince of Lambesc with his cavalry—a part of the regiment called the Royal Allemand, or Royal German—followed in that direction, and even penetrated into the garden. Terrible pictures are drawn of the ferocity with which the prince and these foreigners charged a peaceable crowd; but the simple truth appears to be that the multitude got behind iron railing, and strong trellis-work, and there pelted the troops with chairs, stools, stones, bottles, glasses, and coffee-cups; that Lambesc's men, only using the flats of their sabres, and not firing a single carbine or pistol, could hardly reach their assailants, and were soon very glad to withdraw. The only casualty reported on the side of the people was in the case of a poor old schoolmaster, who, not being nimble enough to get behind the iron railing in time, was knocked down with a cracked pate. It is asserted that the king and de Broglie, as commander-in-chief and minister-at-war, had sent strict orders to the general officers and colonels of regiments not to fire upon the people. As it grew dark, the mob became still more active; and then those pupils of the Pythagorean philosopher Valady, the French guards—the comrades of the eleven who had been delivered from captivity by the people—delivered their political opinions from the mouths of their muskets. About nine o'clock as the Prince of Lambesc, at the head of his cavalry regiment, was retiring along the Chaussée d'Antin towards barracks, some privates of the French Guard broke out from a depôt there situated, and ranged themselves in order of battle, and cried, "Who comes there?" The cavalry replied, in soldier fashion, "Royal Allemand."—"Are you for the Tiers Etat?" roared the French infantry.—"We are for those who command us," said the Germans.—"Then take that!" and the French Guards fired a volley. Three of the Germans were killed on the spot, and several more were wounded. The prince did not turn upon his assailants, but hastened his march to St. Cloud.* Paris was left all night in the hands of the mob, who finished breaking open the shops of the gunsmiths, and burned the barriers erected at the different entrances into Paris chiefly for the purpose of levying the octroi on duties on provisions. The Swiss guard, close at hand, remained under arms all night, but without orders. The harangners in the coffee-houses and in the Palais Royal kept up the effervescence, and encouraged a multitude already emboldened by the absence of any valid resistance.

On the following morning the tocsin sounded in every direction, and, from the peep of day, drums beat to arms in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine and in nearly every part of Paris. "In fact," says our American, "the city of Paris is now in as fine a tumult as any one could wish. They are getting arms wherever they can find any: they seize sixty barrels of gunpowder on the Seine; break into the monastery of St. Lazar and find a store of grain which the holy brotherhood had hid in. Immediately it is put into carts and sent to the market, and on every cart a friar. The Garde Meuble du Roi is attacked, and the arms are delivered up to prevent worse consequences. These arms, however, are more curious than useful."† But it was known that from 20,000 to 30,000 stand of arms were expected at the Hôtel

* *Mémoires de Weber.* The French guardsmen, after Lambesc's retiring, fixed their bayonets, advanced at pas de charge to the Place Louis Quinze, placed themselves between the Tuileries and the Champs Elysées (where the Swiss Guards were drawn out), and remained there the whole night, during which they were feasted and caressed by the people.

† Gouverneur Morris, Diary.



Street in the Faubourg St. Antoine. From an Original Drawing.

de Ville for the use of the new civic guard; and the people went thither and demanded from the trembling committees that all these weapons should be put into their hands, together with more ammunition. The committees, glad to save their own skin, referred the leaders of the mob to De Flesselles, the prévôt des marchands (then chief magistrate of Paris), who told them that he had been promised 42,000 muskets, 12,000 of which he expected every minute, and the rest in the course of three or four days. The barrels of gunpowder which had been seized in a boat on the Seine, with some powder collected in other quarters, were all deposited in the court-yard of the Hôtel de Ville, where the mob were smoking pipes; and, but for the care of a revolutionary abbé, who was doing military duty, an explosion must have taken place terrible enough to have satisfied a Guy Fawkes. At about five o'clock in the afternoon a number of great chests, ticketed "Artillery," arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, and were reported to contain the first 12,000 muskets promised by Flesselles. But lo! upon opening them they were found to contain nothing but rubbish, blocks of wood, old rags, and candle-ends! There instantly arose a terrible cry of treachery. The most ardent of the mob were for putting the prévôt to death; but some friend of his ingeniously turned off the blow for the present by shouting out that there was a regular deposit of muskets and bayonets in the monastery of the Silent Chartreux, or Carthusian monks. Then there was a general rush for the Chartreux; but, as not so much as a pocket-pistol could be found in that monastery, and as the patriots made free with the wine in the monks' cellars, they came back more wild than they were before, and shouting louder than ever "Treachery, treachery!" In order to appease them, the committees sitting in the Hôtel de Ville ordered that 50,000 pikes should be forged and got ready immediately, and next caused a distribution to be made of the gunpowder. In the mean while strong barricades were erected in the streets, deep trenches were dug, and the paving-stones with which the Réveillon mob had made such good fight were taken up and carried into the houses, to be used upon the heads of the troops if they should enter the heart of the town, of which, however, there seemed no appearance. The Baron de Besenval, the commandant, complains that the government at Versailles left him without any orders how to act, obstinately persisting in regarding 300,000 men as a mere street mob, and the revolution as an émeute.* Through some disgraceful and scarcely

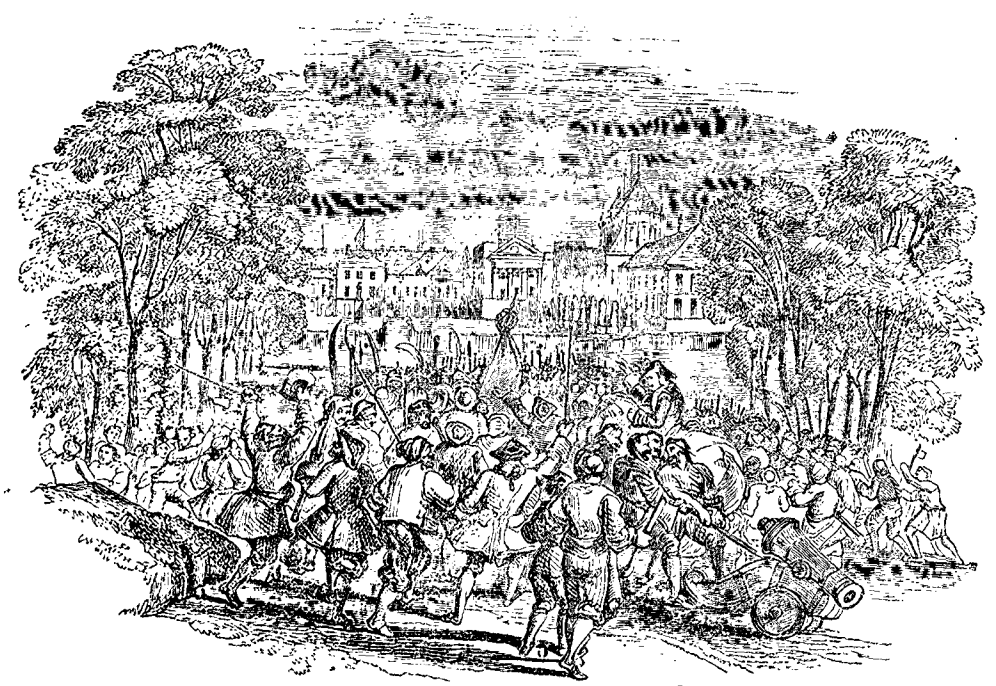
* This seems to have been really the case, and there are *no* good grounds for suspecting Besenval of purposely serving and favouring the insurrection, as many men holding the king's commission undoubtedly did. But Besenval is accused by *some* of the royalist party of a most culpable indolence and neglect; and of a very selfish regard to a house he possessed in Paris, and which he had recently furnished in a style of great magnificence, so that, with its baths, its saloons, and its looking-glasses, it was looked upon as one of the

conceivable mismanagement some of the troops were left nearly a whole day and night without rations. This was the case with a regiment of light horse, which after a long march was left to bivouac on the outside of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and then called off just as their services would have been of use in that most turbulent quarter of Paris. Camille Desmoulins was much more active than the commander of the king's troops: he induced the students of the University and the School of Medicine to form a militia of themselves, and he kept in motion from morning to night, and all through the night, troops of desperate fellows who seized everything that was convertible into a weapon. All the lawyers' clerks formed themselves into a volunteer corps; all the Guet, or police-guard, joined the mob. More gunpowder, descending the Seine from Versailles for the use of the troops, was seized by the people. Nothing seemed wanting but muskets and bayonets, and even of these they had already a good many thousands.*

During these troubles in the capital the National Assembly, sitting at Versailles, was greatly agitated, although not a few of its members were fully prepared for what was passing, and were looking to the triumph of the Parisians as their only safeguard and hope. Some members, however, thought that the insurrection was little more than an energetic expression of the people's desire for the recall of Necker, and that all would go well if that minister were instantly reinstated. Mounier, who had been concerned in the private consultations about transplanting the British constitution into the soil of France, and who really wished for a constitutional monarchy, was the first to rise on this Monday morning (the 13th) and condemn the abrupt dismissal of the Genevese. Lally Tollendal, following Mounier, moved an address to the king for the immediate recall of Necker, and of all the ministers who had been turned out with him. M. de Virieu, one of the noblesse deputies, proposed confirming all their preceding votes by a new oath. Clermont-Tonnerre opposed this last motion as useless, as the National Assembly had already sworn to obtain a constitution. At this stage of the debate intelligence was received from Paris, and the greatest anxiety was expressed, lest the disciplined troops, in the hands of despotism, should prevail over the undisciplined people, who were in the hands of nobody. With all speed they arranged and sent up a deputation to represent to the king the frightful disorder that reigned in the capital, to request him to withdraw all the troops, and consent to the establishment of the bourgeois guards—which, by the way, had been established without his consent, not only in Paris, but in many other large towns. The king replied to the deputation, that the good people of Paris were not in a state to defend themselves against the seditious; and he coldly declined both their propositions.

curiosities of the capital. If he engaged the people, the people, masters of nearly all the interior of the town, were sure to treat this splendid and luxurious mansion as they had treated the house of the paper-maker.—*Weber, Mémoires.*

* Besenval, Mémoires.—Humbert, Journal.—Dulaure, Esquisses.



VERSAILLES—THE PARIS AVENUE DURING THE INSURRECTION. From an Original Drawing.

On receiving his answer the Assembly passed a variety of resolutions, setting the king and his new ministers at defiance, threatening his advisers, *of whatever rank they might be*, with the responsibility of all the mischief that might happen, and rounded with other sonorous sentences which went directly to encourage the insurgents. Couriers of various kinds carried all this Versailles news into Paris, the distance between the two places being only about fifteen miles; and some three or four of the deputies themselves were almost constantly going and coming. The National Assembly, moreover, declared itself in permanent session, or, in other words, resolved to sit day and night, elected Lafayette to be vice-president, in order that the president might have some time for repose, and acted a vast deal more terror and excitement than they really felt. With the ordinary schoolboy parallels and comparisons about Roman senates and unflinching Roman senators, they began, about five o'clock on Tuesday morning—we are told, with an "imposing calm"—to take up again the project of the constitution and the ingenious reports upon it which had been for some time suspended.* They appointed a constitution committee consisting of Talleyrand, the Bishop of Bourdeaux, Clermont-Tonnerre, Mounier, Chapelier, Bergasse, and—that man of many constitutions—the Abbé Sieyes. But as the morning of the 14th advanced news arrived—false news as it proved afterwards—that the foreign regiments had made a general assault upon Paris in different columns and were carrying everything before them: men that had been watching about the palace at Versailles said that they had seen the king's brothers and the queen, with the Duchess of Polignac, walking in the orange-garden, flattering the officers and the soldiers, and causing refreshments to be distributed to them; and various other rumours were spread to suggest or confirm the opinion that a grand coup-d'état was to be tried that night. Some even saw so far into the dark secret as to designate the members of the Assembly that were selected as the first victims to offended royalty and an infuriated aristocracy. The road from Paris now seemed stopped; no intelligence arrived; it was an awful moment of doubt and uncertainty. At last the Prince of Lambesc was seen galloping to the palace at full speed, and the roar of distant cannon was faintly heard. Then there were pale faces, and men—patriotic deputies, new old Roman senators—down upon their knees with their ears to the ground, trying to catch the sounds that came from the side of Paris. At this moment of agony a gun fired from the Queen's Mews would have sent the majority of these deputies flying from Versailles. But, as matters had gone and were going in Paris, they had in reality nothing to fear, at least nothing at present, nothing from the court and the aristocrats: instead of being conquered and put down, the Parisians had achieved a conquest. Between night and morning an overwhelming multitude made a sudden rush at the Hôtel des Invalides, or military hospital, and not only made themselves masters of 30,000 muskets, but seized and carried off several pieces of artillery.* Thus furnished with arms and artillery, the mob set up a loud shout "à la Bastille! à la Bastille!" and marched off in that direction. Before their arrival at the odious old state-prison another great mob had collected in front of it. For the guns on the walls threatened the Faubourg St. Antoine, and a report had been spread that the governor intended to make use of them as soon as Besenval should bring some cavalry to the edge of the faubourg. But, in sober truth, no such intention was entertained; and, as for the French part of the troops collected in the neighbourhood of Paris, the officers had hard work to keep them to their standards. Instead of crying "Vive le Roi," they cried "Vive la Nation! Vive le Tiers Etat! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!" and in some regiments the men deserted, whole companies at a time, and went into the faubourg with arms and baggage to fight, not against, but with and for, the people. Not a regiment, not a single company or a squadron of horse, came in hostilely. The mob and the Parisians had it all their own way; and, with 40,000 muskets, cannon, and at least 100,000 men, it was not very wonderful that they should reduce a fortress defended only by some fourscore invalids. A deputy of the district of St. Louis de la Culture, named Thuriot de la Rosière, requested, to speak with De Launey, the governor, and was admitted into the Bastille. He demanded that the cannon on the walls should be removed or pointed in another direction. The governor replied that the guns were placed as they always had been, and that he could not remove them from the towers; but he showed the deputy that he had caused them to be hauled back several paces from their embrasures. Thuriot, who was anxious to see and report to the people the real condition of the place, contrived to get admitted farther into the interior of the fortress. Everything he saw was very comforting, except three murderous long guns which were directed towards the different avenues, and, apparently, ready to sweep them with grape-shot. He ascertained that the entire garrison consisted of thirty-two Swiss and eighty-two invalids, who

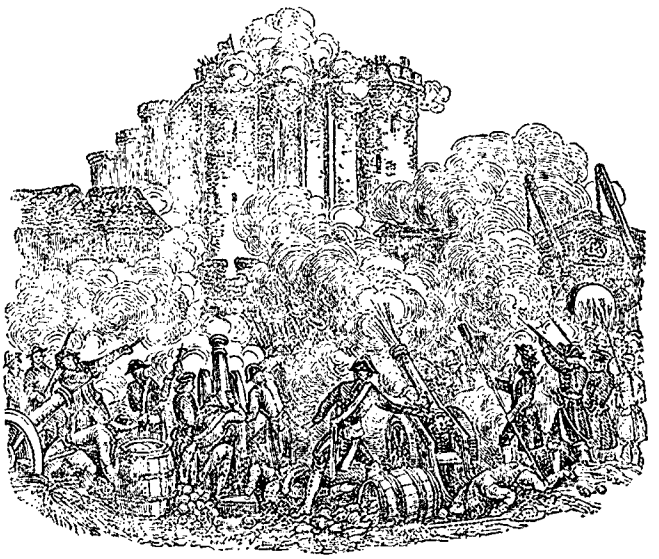
* Thiers; Mignet; Lacretelle.

* *Besenval, Mémoires.* This officer says that M. de Sombreuil, fearing the use that might be made of these muskets, had ordered the invalids to break or take off the locks; but that the invalid soldiers, being patriots themselves, would not do this work, so that only about thirty muskets had been disarmed when the mob broke in. According to Humbert, the rabble, in their impatience to get at the muskets, were very near *converting* the great cellar in which they had been deposited into a sort of a black-hole of Calcutta. They rushed down the steps with such impetuosity that they overthrew one another, and, as those behind would not wait, the rush and the falling was continued until the passage was blocked up with a living, screaming heap, enduring the agonies of suffocation. The cellar itself was so crammed that people were stifled. Shrieks and oaths rose from it as from one of the worst pits in Dante's Hell. Humbert, who was at the bottom of that infernal *bolgia*, goes on to say, "Many persons there were already senseless; when all those who were armed profited by an advice which was given to force back the crowd that was not armed, in facing right-about, and presenting our bayonets to their stomachs. This manœuvre succeeded. Taking advantage of a moment of terror and retreat, we formed in line, and forced the crowd to reascend."—*Humbert, Journal.*

seemed all disheartened and bewildered. Thuriot implored them and their officers, in the name of honour and of patriotism, not to fire upon the people; and they all swore that they would not unless they were attacked by the people. De Launey said that his honour as a soldier bade him defend the place intrusted to him, against all odds. The deputy was allowed to ascend one of the towers, and from its embrasures he saw the Faubourg St. Antoine almost covered with men, and long lines advancing towards it with muskets, pikes, ladders, and cannon. But the people now became anxious for his return; and, not seeing him, they took it into their heads that de Launey intended foul play, and was keeping him as a state prisoner. They cried out with hoarse and furious voices for their deputy. Making what haste he could, Thuriot descended from the tower and came out among them safe and sound; and, having pacified the mob and advised them to wait awhile, he hurried away to a committee sitting in the Hôtel de Ville, and consulting with some patriotic officers as to the best means of carrying the fortress.* But the multitudes were far too impatient to wait for any orders, instructions, or advice. They cried "We will have the Bastille! we will have the Bastille!" and two fellows more desperate than the rest climbed to the top of an old guard-house on the edge of the deep fosse, and with axes attempted to break the iron chains of the draw-bridge. The soldiers from the walls called upon them to retire, and presented their pieces; but the two men hacked away at the rusty old chains, and presently the drawbridge fell. The mob then rushed over the bridge; and the same two craftsmen were allowed to break the chains of the second or inner drawbridge in the same manner without receiving so much as a musket-shot from the weak and trembling garrison. Pêle-mêle, and firing off muskets and pistols, they now advanced across an open court, called the Government Court, towards a third drawbridge which gave access to the body of the fortress: but here the troops within met them with a fire in the face, which drove them back in terrible confusion. Some of the mob, however, ensconced themselves behind some grating in that court-yard and kept up a continual fire of musketry—wasting much powder and ball, without killing any of the Swiss or invalids. But at this moment a troop of respectable citizens with a flag advanced to the fortress, and were followed by a fresh host of armed people. The citizens were a deputation from the Hôtel de Ville, to summon the governor to surrender in the name of the patriotic committees of liberty, and of the whole French people. As they drew nearer it was seen that a considerable portion of their escort consisted of the French guard and the deserters from the other regiments outside. According to the report which these deputies made on their return to the Hôtel de Ville—a report entitled to little credit—the Swiss and the invalids were now pouring a murderous artillery fire on the people, and would not cease though they held up their pocket-handkerchiefs as a white flag, or flags of truce, and made all manner of signs.* The committee sitting at the Hôtel sent another deputation with a drum and a regular white flag; but the firing continued on both sides, the mob would not hear of delay or capitulation, and de Launey was not the man to capitulate except at the last extremity. There suddenly arose a cry—probably from some of the patriot mob who longed to get at a distance from the fire of the fortress—that the people were betrayed by the Assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, and more particularly by the prevôt des marchands, poor de Flesselles, who had sent rubbish and candle-ends for cannon; and anon a considerable number ran off to put more energy into the committee by calling for the head of the provost. They were scarcely gone when more of the French guards arrived and began to make use of the artillery, thundering at the parapets; and nearly at the same moment three cart-loads of straw were thrown down and set on fire near the gates, while others brought wood and fagots, and were preparing to bring oil, turpentine, and the like. To check these operations a cannon loaded with grape-shot was fired from the works, and it appears to have been the first and the last cannon of any kind used by the garrison. In the Government Court, where there were several offices and habitations, the mob surprised a young lady, the daughter of an officer of the garrison, and, mistaking her for the daughter of de Launey, they resolved to make preparations for burning her alive, as the most efficacious method of inducing the governor to surrender. The shrieking girl was put upon a mattrass, and the straw was gathered round her. Her real father discovered her from one of the towers, and was on the point of throwing himself from the battlements, when, in sight of his child, he was hit by two musket-balls

* Several of these officers were persons of high rank. The citizens had felt the propriety of taking the command of the masses out of the hands of the mob chiefs, and had offered the command in chief of the civic guard to the Duke d'Aumont. The duke hesitating, they appointed, provisionally, the Marquis de la Salle, with the Chevalier de Saudrai, an officer of experience, for his second. They also formed a respectable staff, and these officers took a civic oath in front of the Hôtel de Ville.

* The notorious Abbé Fauchet was one of these deputies. He joined in drawing up the report or *procès-verbal*; and, on the 5th of August following, he preached a patriotic sermon in which he gave his own account of the conduct of the deputation. "We lifted up," said he, "the pacific decree of the committee [*it is scarcely possible that the poor Swiss and invalids could have seen it in that horrible mêlée, or have understood what it meant*]. A jurisconsult, a priest [Fauchet himself], dressed in the livery of peace, ought to have been heard, even for the self-interest of the murderers of the country [*the thirty-two Swiss and eighty-two invalids*], but they answered us with all the fires of war!" In this same sermon, preached in a church with a very consonant name, St. Jacques-de-la-Boucherie (St. James of the Butchery), this revolutionary abbé exclaimed, "*It was the aristocrats that crucified the Son of God!*" From this it may be judged how small was the probability that he would act like a Christian priest under the walls of the Bastille, or give an impartial account of what passed there. We shall meet again this Abbé Fauchet, whom the French royalists accuse of fighting with the mob at the taking of the fortress, with sabre in hand. He remained a member of the self-constituted and tyrannical municipality of Paris, until he passed into the National Convention. He became constitutional Bishop of Calvados, proposed an agrarian law with an immediate division of property and an absolute equality; he denounced the queen, denounced Lafayette, published a newspaper called the Deux Amis, in order to prevent the guillotining of the king, and was guillotined himself soon after as a federalist and an accomplice of Charlotte Corday.

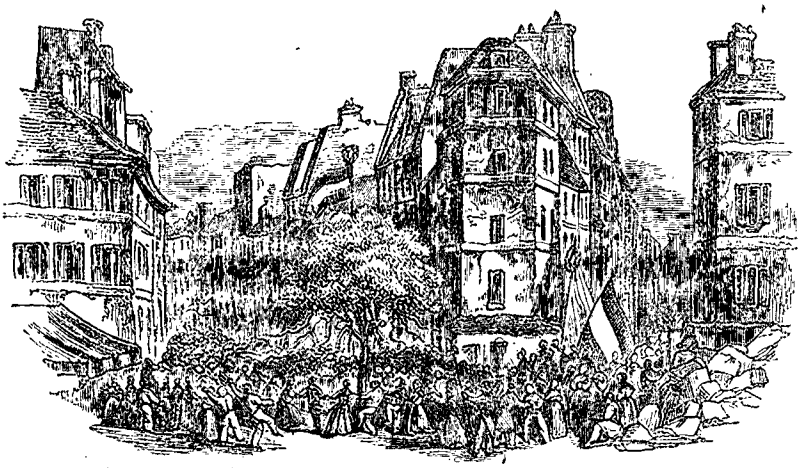


Attack on the Bastille. From a Medallion by Andrieu.

and killed. The poor girl fainted, and would have been burnt in that state, if a young man who knew her, and who had some humanity left to keep company with his patriotism, had not cut his way through the savages and carried her off in his arms. By this time de Launey, who had vainly strained his eyes by looking in every direction for some succour, relief, or diversion from Besenval or Broglie, or from some detachment of the army in the neighbourhood, perceived that he could no longer hold out against the swarms that beset him; and that seemed continually increasing in numbers, activity, contrivances, and resources. With the brave despair of an old soldier he resolved to blow into the air the whole fortress, which must have carried with it many, many thousands of his assailants, and a large part of the Faubourg St. Antoine. He rushed towards the powder-magazine with a lighted match in his hand, but his people seized him, stopped him, hoisted the white flag on the foremost platform, reversed arms, and cried for truce and quarter. The besiegers, though they could not hear the voices of the garrison in the infernal din they were making, could not misunderstand these signs, which, of themselves alone, rendered the lives of the enemy sacred: yet they blazed away with their muskets, and kept crying, "Down with the drawbridges! open your gates." At last, during a momentary lull, a Swiss officer of the garrison made his voice heard through a loop-hole; he demanded to capitulate, and to be allowed the honours of war. The mob roared "No! No! No capitulation! No quarter! The rascals have fired upon the people!" And they still pressed forward firing and screaming. The same Swiss officer then said that the garrison would lay down their arms if the people would only spare their lives. To this the reply was, "Down with your drawbridges, and no harm shall happen to you." Or, according to other accounts, the reply contained the promise of a safe and honourable capitulation, and was delivered not by the mere rabble, but by the French guards. A minute or two after the old chains rattled, the drawbridges were lowered, and the inner gates were all thrown open. The multitude rushed in: the Bastille was theirs!*

It was, or it had been for long ages, an infamous place, a detestable den, wherein despotism threw her victims to pine and to rot; it was a place to be destroyed and obliterated from the face of the earth; but the French people could not achieve this triumph over tyranny without committing atrocious cruelties, and deeds as savage and treacherous as any that had been perpetrated in old times under the worst of their kings. As soon as they were within the fortress they fell alike upon the Swiss and upon the invalids their own countrymen. Some endeavoured to save the invalids, but the mob cried, "Give them up to us; give them up; they have fired on their fellow-citizens, and they must be hanged!" Begnard, an old soldier, who had been the first to seize the governor when on his way to the powder, received two sword-cuts and had his hand cut off with a sabre. The people picked up the bleeding hand, and fixed it on a pike, which they carried triumphantly before the old man as they led him through the streets to be hanged. Several of the Swiss were wounded and most barbarously treated after they had laid down their arms. The invalids were driven like slaves to different parts of Paris. Twenty-two of them,

* Dulaure, Esquisses.—Humbert, Journal.—Besenval.—But for the most spirited and extraordinary—and on the whole the most correct—account of the taking of the Bastille, read chapter vi., book i., of Mr. Thomas Carlyle's French Revolution.

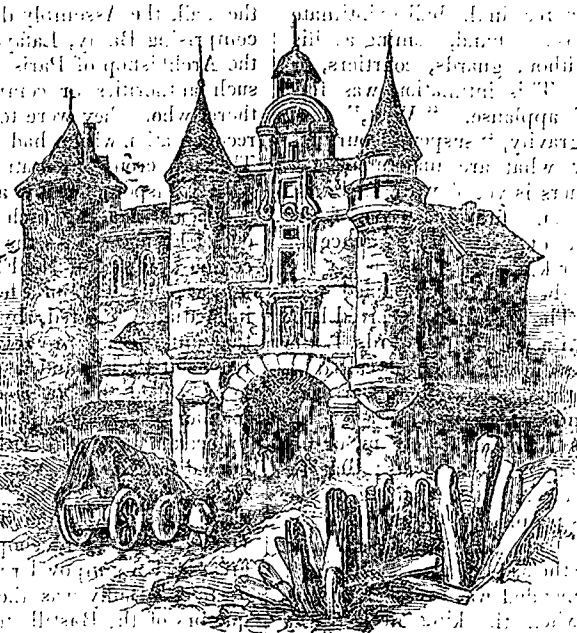


REJOICING IN THE FAUBOURG ST. ANTOINE ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BASTILLE. Designed from a French Medal.

after suffering insults and torments of all kinds, reached the Hôtel de Ville, where they saw the one-handed Begnard and another of their comrades hanging and dead. They were presented to an officer of the new municipality, who told them that they must all be hanged like their two companions; and while this officer was speaking the mob cried out, "Give them up to us, give them up." But the soldiers of the French guards, who had somewhat more respect for the rules of war, here interfered, and partly by entreaties, and partly by main force, they saved and took under their protection about twenty-two of the invalids and eleven of the Swiss. The Governor, de Launey, was dragged to the Place de Grève, was beaten, wounded, trodden under foot, tortured. The old soldier, who had been prevented from killing himself with his own sword, cried out, "O friends, for pity, kill me fast!" He was at last beheaded in a clumsily barbarous manner; and then the assassins put his head on a pike and carried it through the streets shouting, laughing, and singing. One ruffian had cut off the old governor's queue or pigtail, and this, besmeared with blood, he held up as a trophy, carrying it through the streets, and afterwards, presenting it with hellish glee to the municipal body. Poor de Launey paid dearly for the bad fame and horrible traditions of his predecessors. In his own person and character he was, though governor of the Bastille, a mild, humane, and honourable man. Three other officers of the garrison were butchered in the same manner; and a fourth, who was rescued and carried to an hospital, was covered with wounds. The prévôt des marchands was surrounded in a committee-room in the Hôtel de Ville, by bloodthirsty furious men, and was pale, haggard, and half dead with affright when the mob first arrived, shouting "Victory! Liberty! the Bastille is ours!" At these joyous cries and the sight of the keys and the flag of the Bastille, which they carried with them in great pomp, de Flesselles seemed to think that his life was safe; but the mob presently fell upon him like hungry tigers and dragged him out of the hall, crying "Treachery! treason! let us hang this one too." The poor provost repeated arguments which he had used when they wanted to kill him the day before:—"I have been deceived," said he; "you are deceived—we are all deceived." Some of the more moderate proposed that he should be committed to the Châtelet prison; but the majority cried out that he must be carried to the Palais Royal and be judged there. Remonstrance was vain, and flight or resistance impossible; de Flesselles, mustering up such courage as remained in him, said, "Well, gentlemen, be it as you wish: let us go then to the Palais Royal;"—but he had not gone many yards when a fellow put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains. In addition to the bleeding heads of de Launey and his officers the people carried in procession all the captives they had found shut up in the Bastille. The number and the quality of these prisoners afforded a proof that that state-prison was not what it had been: the people had expected to find a prisoner in every dungeon or cell; but all that they actually found were seven, and out of that number three were forgers or falsifiers of bills of exchange, and such notorious scoundrels that there was no exciting any sympathy for them. By this time it was night. There were two or three panics occasioned by rumours that Marshal Broglie had concentrated his whole army and was marching into Paris; and in each of these panics dreadful excesses were committed by the mob. But in reality they had no reason to be alarmed: Broglie and Besenval had thoroughly ascertained the fact that the French troops would not pull a trigger for the king, whatever they might do against him; the Swiss and the German troops were not in sufficient force to engage in a vast and crowded city, even if there had been no apprehension of the

French regiments falling upon their rear; and besides, by this time the court had given up its plan of prevailing by force of arms, and had abandoned itself to helplessness and despair. While the people of Paris were terrified at what might be done or ordered in Versailles, Versailles, or all the court and royalist part of it, were trembling for fear of Paris.

We left the National Assembly on their knees with their ears bent to the ground. But soon after the Prince of Lambesc had passed in full career to the palace, Mirabeau ascended the tribune and proposed a second deputation to the king. This deputation presently left the hall for the palace: they were to employ entreaties as well as arguments. Shortly after their departure two members of the National Assembly, who had been in Paris all that day and probably all the preceding night, arrived breathless among their colleagues, and announced that a fearful massacre was going on in the capital. Soon after the arrival of these two deputies or members two Paris electors were announced. It was dark night, and no lamps or other lights had been lit in the hall. The two electors, whose figures could scarcely be distinguished while they spoke, brought the joyful news that the Bastille was taken, that the distant roar of the cannon they had heard was that of the people's cannon; that the people were masters of all Paris, and only cutting off a few heads in the first enthusiasm of victory. Instantly another deputation was appointed to wait upon the king. As it went out of the hall the other deputation returned and reported the answer which it had received from his majesty. This answer was simply that his majesty had ordered the troops to retire from the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, and that, having heard of the formation of the bourgeois or civic guard, he had named officers to the command of it. On the arrival of the third deputation at the



Prison of the Chatelet (pulled down in 1802). From a Print by Clery.

palace, at about ten o'clock at night, the king appeared pale and much agitated. After expressing his great grief at the miseries which had befallen Paris, he said it was not possible to believe that they had been caused by any orders that had been given to his troops. For the rest, he had nothing to say, except that those troops were now recalled. This deputation must have returned singing in their hearts, "Le victoire est a nous." Not only was the king pale and agitated, but the whole court and everything about it wore an air of confusion and dejection. On their return to the hall a motion was made for another deputation to explain more fully to the king the perilous condition in which he and the nation stood. "No," said Clermont-Tonnerre, "let us give them a night to take counsel. Kings as well as other men must pay for their experience." The motion was therefore dropped, and the Assembly sat where they were all night, doing nothing beyond sending some messages into Paris. In the same nocturnal hours the constitutional Duke of Liancourt obtained access to the king, who was still only half informed of what had happened in his capital. Liancourt, who wished for a better form of government, but not for the king's destruction, gave a frank and honest narrative.* "Why, then," said Louis, "it

* "They (the court) took care, however, not to inform the king of all the mischiefs. At two o'clock in the morning the Duc de Liancourt went into his bedchamber and waked him. 'Told him all.' To

is really a revolt." "No," said the duke, it is a revolution!" Before leaving the bedside of the monarch, whom it is said he had found sleeping, Liancourt obtained a promise that he would go down to the National Assembly in the morning. At an early hour that morning the Assembly proceeded to business, and appointed a fourth deputation. This deputation was detained some time by a long speech from Mirabeau, who was telling it sundry hard things which it ought to tell to the king; as that—yesterday the foreign hordes that surrounded the Assembly had been visited and caressed by princes, princesses, and favourites of both genders; that during the night those foreign satellites, gorged with gold and with wine, had been invoking destruction on the National Assembly; that, even in the palace of the sovereign, courtiers had been dancing to the sound of that barbarous music, and acting as their predecessors had done on the eve of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.* And, before Mirabeau could get to the end of his harangue, a gentler voice rose in the hall to intimate that his majesty was close at hand, coming at his own suggestion, and without guards, courtiers, or attendants of any kind. This intimation was followed by a round of applause. "Wait," said Mirabeau with great gravity, "suspend your applause until we know what are his intentions. The blood of our brothers is yet flowing in Paris. Let a sad respect be our first reception of the monarch in this season of woe. The silence of the people is a lesson for kings."

Louis here entered the hall, accompanied only by his two brothers. The Assembly received him in profound silence. In a few simple words, Louis assured the National Assembly, which he called by that name for the first time, that all their fears and suspicions were unfounded; that it was never his intention to employ his troops against them, or his good city of Paris, or any of his subjects; that he was one with the nation; and that, counting on the love and fidelity of his people, he had ordered the troops not only away from the capital, but also from Versailles. Here the sad, silent respect which Mirabeau had recommended was broken by some joyous shouts; but, when the king desired the Assembly to be his interpreters and messengers to the good people of Paris, and when he had said, "Since you have feared to trust me, it is I that will trust you," there was shouting and applause of the most enthusiastic or loudest kind. Nearly all the deputies quitted their seats, surrounded the king, and escorted him on foot back to the palace. It was observed that tears stood in many eyes; but the deputies had been watching all night, and had passed more than twenty-four hours in an agonising suspense; and all sudden changes and surprises of the passions are apt to bring on tears or hysterical laughter. The queen, who was anxiously watching for her husband's return at a balcony of the palace, with the young dauphin in her arms, and her daughter standing by her side and playing with her brother's hair, came in for a share in the *tendresse* and sentimentality of the moment. But could this last? Was it possible that the National Assembly, which had been so hot before, should be circumspect and moderate now that the crown was prostrate at their feet? With no balancing or controlling power, they must not only not have been Frenchmen, but not men, if they could have made a sober use of their omnipotence. Returning to the hall, the Assembly deputed 88 of their body, comprising Bailly, Lafayette, Lally Tollendal, and the Archbishop of Paris, to the Hôtel de Ville, and such authorities or committees as they might find there, whom they were to inform fully of the happy reconciliation which had taken place with the king. This numerous deputation was received in Paris with transports of joy, and with some ceremonies and performances which can scarcely be admired out of France.* As the murder, only on the preceding evening, of de Flesselles had left the new municipality without a head, astronomer Bailly was immediately elected, by acclamation, to succeed that unfortunate provost, with the higher title of mayor of Paris; and, as the new civic guard, now to be called the National, was in want of a commander of good revolutionary repute, Lafayette, also by acclamation, and without any deliberation, was named to that post, which was soon to become the most important in the kingdom.† A grand *Te Deum* was then ordered in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The Archbishop of Paris officiated, and a great deal of gunpowder was burnt in making *feux-de-joie*. Bailly was then conducted by the conquerors of the Bastille to the different quarters of Paris, to be presented as their mayor. On passing the Pont Neuf he was saluted by a company of the French Guards, who occupied that bridge with several pieces of cannon. At these and similar honours the astronomer shed tears, and protested that he was unworthy of such distinctions, inca-

him that he pledged his life on the truth of his narration, and that, unless he changed his measures speedily, all was lost. The king took his determination. The Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand), they say, was called on to prepare *un discours*; which he did. The orders were given for dispersing the troops. And at the meeting of the Assembly, the king, accompanied by his two brothers, came in and made his speech. 'This produced very enthusiastic emotions of joy, and he was reconducted to the château by the whole Assembly, and by all the inhabitants of Versailles."—*Gouverneur Morris.*

* The queen, Count d'Artois, and Duchess de Polignac, had been all day tampering with two regiments, which were almost drunk, and every officer was presented to the king, who was induced to give promises, money, &c., to these regiments. They shouted *Vive la Reine! Vive le Comte d'Artois! Vive la Duchesse de Polignac!*—and the band came and played under her majesty's window. In the mean time the Maréchal de Broglie was tampering in person with the artillery. The plan was to reduce Paris by famine, and to take two hundred members of the National Assembly prisoners.—*Gouverneur Morris*, who gives this as club-talk in Paris on the 15th.

* The citizens, after hearing an harangue from Lally Tollendal, crowned him with flowers. Lally modestly took the crown from his own head, and forced it upon the head of Bailly. Bailly, with becoming modesty, would have taken it off, but the Archbishop of Paris put his hand on the astronomer's head, and made him keep it on. This imitative classical foolery spoils, to our minds, the effect of a truly striking dramatic situation. Lally Tollendal had pronounced his harangue upon liberty in the Place de Grève, opposite the very spot where his father had been executed with a gag in his mouth, and upon a most lawless sentence.

† The election of Lafayette is made more picturesque in French books. The citizens of the United States, soon after the war of independence, had presented to the city of Paris a marble bust of the marquis. That bust was now in the Hôtel de Ville. Moreau de Saint Méry extended his hand towards it, all eyes went in the same direction, and then a general cry proclaimed Lafayette commandant of the Paris Guard.—*Thiers.*

pable of bearing the great public burthen which his fellow-citizens had put upon him. The patriots walked him off his legs, and he was glad to get back to the committee-room in the Hôtel de Ville. Here he and Lafayette attempted to cool the ardour of the people, who, in their opinion, had done enough for the present; but the people, having, in these matters, an opinion of their own, continued their acts of violence, threatening with destruction all who had got the name of aristocrats, or that were suspected of entertaining anti-revolution principles. The Count de Saint Marc was nearly torn to pieces for having ventured to look into the Bastille; a female disguised as a man met with the same hard treatment; and several houses were broken open by a furious mob in search of arms, gunpowder, or aristocrats. At one moment Lafayette, in passing through the streets, found himself in the midst of a terrible hubbub. He asked what it meant? "It is nothing," said the mob, "but an abbé going to be hanged." "What abbé?" The people were quite sure it was the Abbé Roy, a great rogue, and one of their greatest enemies.* With great difficulty Lafayette got the priest, with the rope almost round his neck, carried to the Hôtel de Ville, where it was found that he was not the Abbé Roy, but the Abbé Cordier, a very zealous friend to the revolution. The mob, who had followed their prisoner to the Hôtel de Ville, were quite shocked at their mistake, and fell to embracing and hugging the abbé, who, but for a lucky accident, would have been by this time hanging on a lamp-iron. At night there was dancing and singing in all directions—not, however, without an occasional panic alarm. A considerable part of Paris is built over stone-quarries and subterraneous galleries; and a notion got abroad that the enemies of the revolution had deposited a world of gunpowder in these dark recesses, and intended blowing all Paris into the air. A deputation of electors waited on the new mayor and commandant to state these reasonable alarms, and Bailly and Lafayette ordered a thorough underground search. On the next day, the 16th of July, the permanent committee of the new municipality, which already seemed to assume a sovereignty separate from that of the National Assembly, decreed the immediate demolition of the Bastille. This order was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and in the name of Lafayette.

In these days the white cockade of the Bourbons entirely disappeared, and the tri-colour cockade was mounted by Lafayette, the National Guard, the French Guard, and nearly every man in Paris. News was received from Versailles that Marshal Broglie, and Barentin, the keeper of the seals, had sent in their resignations to the king; that the new ministers were scattered before they had time to receive their portfolios; that his majesty had sent to recall Necker, the people's minister, and intended, within a few days, to visit his good city of Paris in person. By this time many other large towns of the kingdom had shown a determination not to be left behind by the capital. The people of Lyons had insulted their military commandant, burned the guard-houses and custom-houses, fought with the troops in the streets, killed a considerable number of men, or thrown them wounded into the Rhone. The people of Metz, and the villages round about, partly impelled by want, and partly by the political clubs, rose in arms, and stopped all the grain that was passing through their territory. In Caen, the Duke of Beuvron, military commander of all Normandy, attempted to check the insurrection, which was bursting out on every side of him, by erecting three gibbets, and giving strict orders to the troops to fire on the people whenever they should be riotous; but the soldiers swore they would not fire, and then the people laughed at the duke and his gibbets, and made active war upon all custom-house officers and tax-gatherers. The castle of Caen was everywhere defenceless, and might be scaled on all sides; yet the Duke of Beuvron mounted some cannon on rotten carriages, which only served to irritate the people still more. The people of Rouen, on learning the capture of the Bastille, sent a deputation to Caen, joined the insurgents there, drove away the king's troops or officers, and created a burgher guard of their own. A number of emissaries from Paris arrived both in Rouen and Caen, and soon spread themselves through all the other towns of Normandy. It was no longer a mob, but an entire people up in arms. The governor of the province was compelled to assume the tri-colour cockade, and to distribute it to the troops of the line. There was no want of arms in these parts, and there were no means of keeping them from the people. In the magazines of St. Lô alone were 15,000 muskets. In the great seaports of Cherbourg and Brest the people rose almost to a man, hoisted the tri-colour, and formed a national guard. In Brest were found 20,000 muskets, a vast number of cannon, and a most abundant stock of powder. There was no blood spilt, because there was no resistance offered.* At Valance, a general officer who was "so imprudent as to resist the demands of the people, and point his guns against the town," was abandoned by his soldiers, and then murdered, together with two of his officers. In the Lyonnais, in Dauphiny, in Burgundy, in Upper Auvergne, and various other parts of the kingdom, the peasants were burning the châteaux, hunting the aristocrats, and trying their hands at a new Jacquerie. The mighty agency of fear gradually armed every town and village. To induce the masses to arm and form themselves a stratagem was employed, which was attended with wonderful success. At the same moment of time, on the whole surface of France, every inhabited place was purposely frightened by reports that troops of brigands were approaching to plunder and destroy all that they might find. These reports, once set going, grew in volume and velocity, and soon made an ava-

* For the Abbé Roy, see ante, note, p. 353.

* Dumouriez, Mémoires.

lanche of terror and suspicion that buried and blinded the popular mind. Every town and village was every moment expecting the arrival of these terrible bands of robbers, who were everywhere and yet nowhere. The cloud raised by a flock of sheep along a dusty road was quite enough to alarm a whole town. But under this alarm burgher guards and a rural militia were embodied with astonishing rapidity, and every musket thus brought into use was a musket for the Tiers Etat and National Assembly.*

Marshal Broglie felt, on quitting office, that his life was not safe in France. Although precautions were used, he was exposed to many risks before he could reach the frontier. He entered Verdun escorted by a detachment of hussars, and went to pass the night in the bishop's palace. The people rose immediately and threatened to set fire to the house. The militia or burgher guard were called out, but it was only to join the mob. When two battalions of Swiss arrived to reinforce the hussars he left the bishop's palace, traversed the town, where people were shouting for his head, and threw himself into the citadel, where he passed the night without fear of being burned alive. The next day, at the gates of Metz, the marshal was met by 500 armed burghers, who told him that he should not enter that town. These insults and dangers did not cease until he got upon the territories of the emperor and took refuge in Luxembourg. The marshal was not the only exile; and all the other exiles were exposed to the same hazards. The Count of Artois, the king's brother, was obliged to take his departure in a clandestine manner. The Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Polignacs, who were esteemed the chief advisers of the queen, were reduced to the same painful necessity. Condé was pursued by some fellows mounted on horseback, who, it is said, intended to drown him in the river Oise.† The Polignacs travelled disguised, with friends dressed as livery-servants sitting on their coach-box. The Palais Royal government had set a price upon the heads of all these fugitives. This was called the first emigration. The Count of Artois and the Prince of Condé crossed the Alps and established themselves at Turin, where they were soon joined by the ex-minister Calonne and by numerous emigrants belonging to the high noblesse and the church. These refugees seem never to have thought that there was any possibility of their returning to France, except through civil war and foreign invasion; they were as extreme and as mad in their way as were the triumphant party they had left behind them giving the law at Versailles, Paris, and throughout the kingdom. It is said, and by one of the best authorities on all matters connected with the interior of the court, that the queen had packed up her diamonds, and thought seriously of following the Count of Artois; that the king thought of retiring to the southward with a part of his army, and that it was only decided, on the night of the 16th, by a majority of the council, that his majesty should remain, and go into Paris to try the effects of a visit on the people.*

On the 17th of July, at ten o'clock in the morning, Louis left Versailles and the weeping queen, who expected that he would be murdered by the Paris mob. His majesty was attended by a hundred members of the National Assembly, and escorted by the National Guard of Versailles as far as the bridge of Sévres, where the Versailles men were replaced by detachments of the Paris National Guard. At the barrier of Passy his majesty found Mayor Bailly, with the enormous old keys of the city, and a municipal retinue which seemed to have no end. Holding up these keys, declaiming like an academician, and not deigning to doff his cap or bend his knee, Astronomer Mayor Bailly said, "Sire, I present your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris. They are the same keys that were presented to Henry IV. *He* had reconquered his people, but in the present case *the people have conquered their king;*" and this miserable insult he followed up with a miserable dribbling of commonplaces about basis of liberty and public prosperity, happy faces, memorable day, &c.† When the astronomer had done haranguing, M. Delavigne, a Paris lawyer, and president of the electors of Paris, read the king another long lesson. This ceremony over, the king, without any escort, without so much as a body-guard, drove through Paris to the Hôtel de Ville, through double and treble rows of National Guards, some armed with muskets and bayonets, some with pikes, and not a few with clubs and scythes stuck in sticks. Their total number, including the many thousands that had flocked in from all the suburbs, neighbouring towns, and villages, was estimated at 200,000. Instead of happy faces he saw dark and threatening countenances; and the only cries he heard were, "Vive la Nation! Vive le Tiers Etat!"‡ In those sullen, serried ranks were observed young women, monks, capuchins, abbés, and curés, with muskets on their shoulders or swords in their hands. On approaching the Place Louis Quinze several gun-shots whistled through the air: a lady was killed, and the Marquis de Cubières, who was riding close to the king's carriage, had his hat knocked off by a ball. Some of the more impatient patriots were evidently firing at the royal carriage.§ On passing

* Dulaure, Esquisses.—Toulongeon, Histoire de France depuis la Révolution. Sieyes, Mirabeau, Lafayette, and the Duke of Orleans are all accused of having employed agents and means to disseminate this terror, which completed the madness and ferocity of the people.

† Weber.

* Madame Campan, Mémoires.

† Bailly, Mémoires.

‡ Gouverneur Morris, who was a spectator, says that he waited in the street from eleven o'clock *in the morning till four in the afternoon*, when the procession arrived.

"It seems that his majesty was escorted by the militia of Versailles to the Point de Jour, where he entered the double file of Parisian militia, which extends from thence to the Hôtel de Ville, each line composed of three ranks; consequently it is a body six deep, extending that distance. The Assemblée Nationale walk promiscuously together in the procession."—*Diary.*

§ Dulaure, Esquisses.—Bailly, Mémoires.—Weber.

the Pont Neuf Louis observed that the statue of Henri Quatre was decorated with the tri-colour cockade. On alighting in front of the Hôtel de Ville Louis was again accosted by Mayor Bailly, who asked him if he would accept the distinctive badge of Frenchmen? He took the tri-colour cockade, put it in his hat, and then ascended the broad stairs of the Hôtel de Ville, under an arch of steel, formed by swords crossed over by one another. As soon as he was in the hall the king calmly desired that all those swords should be put in their scabbards. Moreau de Saint-Méry, the friend of Lafayette, and one that had essentially contributed to Lafayette's appointment to the command of the National Guard, then harangued his majesty, calling him a citizen monarch, and telling him that his subjects would love liberty all the better for having begun under his happy reign. When this orator was done another got up to propose that this memorable day should be consecrated by the votive offering of a statue, to be erected on the site of the Bastille, to Louis XVI., "regenerator of the national liberty, restorer of the public liberty, and father of the French people." A statue was decreed accordingly—never to be executed; and then Lally Tollendal made another oration to the speech-oppressed king, applauding him for having dismissed his late iniquitous counsellors, and for having recalled the people's minister, the great Necker; and concluded by declaring, with the emphasis of an inspired prophet, that, from that time forward, France would present to the universe the magnificent spectacle of the most beautiful of nations living free, happy, and triumphant, under a just, a beloved, and revered king. After being talked at in this fashion, Louis had nothing to do but to confirm all that had been done—to recognise the National Guards, and Lafayette as their commander; to recognise Bailly as mayor—and then to recommend order and tranquillity. He was next conducted to a large open window, and there made to exhibit himself to the people with the revolutionary cockade in his hat. At this sight the people roared "*Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!*"—"for the cockade he had adopted seemed to be an approval of the insurrection, a sign of reconciliation, and of the new alliance between the nation and their king." Shortly after this he got back to his carriage, which he found covered all over with tri-colour ribands, and was allowed to return through Paris without being shot at.* The queen did not expect to see him come back alive. In unfeigned agony she exclaimed, "They will never let him return to me!" and as the sun went down her worst apprehensions seemed to her to be confirmed. But at last a long line of dust was seen rolling along the Paris road, loud *vivats* were heard in the Avenue de Versailles, where the deputies of the National Assembly were ranged in rows; and, at about nine o'clock, Louis, unhurt in body, but wounded, humiliated, crushed in spirit, descended from his tri-colour equipage, and went hastily to his wife and children.*

During the whole day Lafayette had studiously kept out of sight of the king, but on his majesty's going to his carriage, to return home, he had presented himself, and, after a few brief words, had mounted his white horse, and escorted the sovereign as far as the village called Point du Jour. Like Mayor Bailly he had pledged himself for the immediate restoration of peace and tranquillity; but in so doing he had engaged for what was far beyond his ability. That very night there was firing and fighting in nearly every quarter of Paris: in more than one quarter his authority was set at defiance, his appointment criticised as improper and unpatriotic, seeing that he, too, was an aristocrat, and his name and character were held up to contempt. On the following day he was found by a friend perplexed and exhausted by an infinite variety of occupations. He had prepared no plan for introducing order into the militia or National Guard; and he said that he had already enjoyed the utmost power his heart could wish, and was growing tired of it; that he had commanded absolutely a hundred thousand men, had marched his sovereign about the streets as he pleased, prescribed the degree of applause which he should receive, and could have detained him prisoner had he thought proper—and that, therefore, he wished as soon as possible to return to private life!† Astronomer Mayor Bailly was scarcely more confident or tranquil in his civic chair, for the permanent committee or committees of the municipality dictated to him most imperatively, and the committees were in their turn dictated to and brow-beaten by the mob. On the evening of the 18th one of the Palais Royal orators informed the multitude that he had been to the Hôtel de Ville, and had had the door shut in his face; that patriots, real citizens and electors of Paris, had been refused admittance; and that, at the same time, there were many carriages of the aristocrats standing at the door. These, he said, were truly suspicious circumstances, and must be looked into. His harangue was followed by loud and angry shouts, and a precipitate movement towards the Hôtel de Ville. The movement was arrested by some detachments of troops, and the orator was given over to a commissary of police; but on the very next morning there was a fresh riot of the same kind in front of the Hôtel de Ville. On the 20th the Hôtel des Invalides was invested anew by an immense multitude, who pretended that there were still muskets and bayonets concealed in that edifice, and who were not dispersed without blood being drawn. The mob, who dreamed of nothing but of arms and combats, even took it into their heads that arms were concealed by the nuns of the abbey of Montmartre; and that quiet retreat was besieged by some 20,000 men,

* Dulaure, Esquisses; with Procès Verbal des Electeurs, quoted by Bailly, Mémoires.—Weber.—Lacretelle.

* Madame Campan, Mémoires.

† *Gouverneur Morris, Diary.* This conversation took place at Lafayette's own dinner-table, where were present, besides Morris, the Duke and Duchess of la Rochefoucault and several other persons. The report of it is worth a great deal, as enabling us to estimate what manner of man this hero of two worlds really was.

who accused the poor lady abbess of treason, and of dark plots against liberty, and who threatened the place and all in it with destruction.* On the 22nd, there was more decapitation, preceded by horrible torture. In naming his ministry on the dismissal of Necker (on the 11th), the king had appointed M. de Foulon, formerly a counsellor of stato, to an office under Marshal Broglie. This de Foulon is represented as the most unpopular man in France—as a man without bowels of compassion, who had declared in council, some time before this, when the people were complaining of having no bread to eat, that the canaille might eat hay, that grass and thistles were good enough for them. There is scarcely a shadow of a probability that he had ever said anything of the kind; but the people, who mingled with their daring unbelief a marvellous credulity, believed that he had said the words, and that was enough. They had launched their thunderbolts against Broglie, and every other member of the intended cabinet; but, as for de Foulon, they were resolved that he should not escape them, if he remained between earth and heaven. Knowing how intensely he was hated, the old man (he was in his 75th year) stole out of Versailles on the night of the 15th, fled in disguise to a country house he possessed in the village of Vitry, on the Fontainebleau road, hid himself there, and gave out that he was dead—dead of apoplexy; nay, dead and buried; for a servant of the house had opportunely expired, and a sumptuous funeral seemed fully to confirm the report. But the ingenious secret was betrayed by some living servant or confidant; and Rappe, the patriot syndic of the village, burst into the house with the patriot villagers, and seized the old counsellor. They tied a truss of hay on his back, put a garland of nettles round his neck, and a bouquet of thistles in his breast. They bound his feeble, rattling limbs with ropes, and they kicked and cursed him all the way to Paris, and all the way on foot; and the distance was four long leagues, and the road was stony, and the journey made by night. He was carried to the Hôtel de Ville, more dead than alive, and was there presented to Mayor Bailly, who knew not what to do with him, and who durst not tell the people that there was no crime recognised in law laid to his charge. The mayor called upon the permanent committee of electors; and the committee, after a very long discussion, frequently interrupted by the savage multitude, came to the decision that all persons arrested only on public clamour should be shut up in the prison of the Abbaye, and that over the gate of that building there should be an inscription, "PRISONERS PUT UNDER THE HAND OF THE NATION." † But the committee's master, the sovereign, bloodthirsty rabble, would not rest satisfied with this decision, or allow of any delay. About the hour of noon they threatened the Hôtel de Ville, the mayor, the committee, and all that were therein, demanding that de Foulon should be tried instantly, and then hanged at the memorable lamp-post which stood on one side of the Place de Grève, at the corner of the street de la Vannerie. The terrified mayor and committee-men, after making a very useless address to the people, on the beauties of order, law, and justice, sent to call Lafayette and his National Guards to their assistance. In course of time Lafayette arrived, and made another speech, which was characteristic of the man, but showed a little more address and ingenuity than was common to him in moments of crisis. "You wish," said he, "to kill this man without any trial. That is an injustice which would dishonour you—which would dishonour me myself, and blight all the efforts I have made in favour of liberty, if I were weak enough to permit it. I insist that the law be respected; the law, without which there is no liberty; the law, without whose support I should never have contributed to the revolution in the New World, or to this revolution in France!" ‡ He added that, no doubt, de Foulon was guilty; but that, the more guilty he was, the more necessary was it (here lay the ingenuity) to commit him to prison, to subject him to legal interrogatories, and to try him leisurely, in order to obtain from his own lips the confession of who were his accomplices. But the address was all thrown away; and, as for weakness, this hero of two worlds, in the face of that fierce and mighty mob, was weaker than a rush or a weed before the wind. His National Guards themselves were only a part and portion of the same yelling multitude. Nearly every man in those countless thousands was gasping for blood. That all may have their share, it must be stated that Necker, the people's minister, had unwittingly contributed to the maniac rage. He was returning to Versailles in triumph, and had recommended a general amnesty, which was to include de Foulon, together with all who had taken office with Broglie; and therefore the mob, apprehending that, if the prisoner was once taken out of their hands, he would escape unhurt, determined to sacrifice him then and there. The death-warrant was pronounced, not by one of the hungry, ragged rabble, but by a well-dressed, good-conditioned man, who stepped from the crowd and said, "Friends, where is the use of trying this man, who has been judged and condemned these thirty years?" ‡ Then there was a mad rush into the Hôtel de Ville; and, in despite of Lafayette's word of command and Mayor Bailly's oratory, and the cries and prayers of the victim—Lafayette

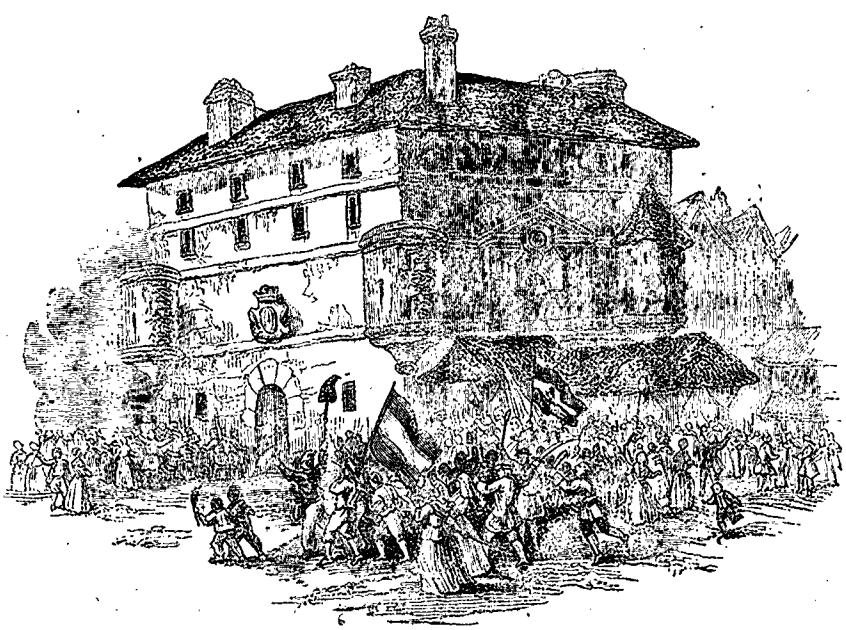
* The terrified lady abbess—a member of one of the noblest families of France—dispatched a note to the committee of electors sitting in the Hôtel de Ville, to certify, under her own hand, and seal, that everything imputed to her was false; that she was a citizeness (*citoyenne*), and zealous for the preservation of her fellow-citizens. The committee sent an elector to the abbey, in order to prevent, if possible, pillage, and the worse crimes that might accompany it, if the mob should break into the monastery. The elector induced the mob to choose two individuals from among themselves, to go into the abbey with him, and make a search. For six hours this trio visited and turned over everything in the building, searching halls, chambers, bedrooms, dressing-rooms, sideboards, trunks, cellars, garden, and summer-houses; but all that they could find in the shape of arms was one rusty old gun belonging to the lady abbess's gardener. A report made in conformity induced the mob to disperse, and so for the present the nuns were left quiet.—*Dulaure.*

† 'Procès-Verbal des Electeurs,' as cited by Dulaure, Esquisses.

‡ Id. id.

was nearly knocked down—they seized the white-headed old man, dragged him across the Place de Grève, tied a rope round his neck, and hauled him over the *lanterne*. The rope broke, and the half-strangled old man fell upon the pavement: but they spliced the rope and pulled him up again. Again the rope broke and let the victim fall upon the pavement, still alive and screaming for mercy. But a new rope was handed to these awkward but determined hangmen, and after kicks and blows, slow tortures, which lasted a quarter of an hour, de Foulon was hanged. They then cut off his head and stuck it on a pike; and, while some carried the bloody pike with the head aloft, others dragged the headless body through the streets.* De Foulon seems to be very generally described as a hard, avaricious old man, that had been disposed to overlook all other considerations when money was to be gained; but some of his countrymen who have painted the worst portraits of him do not guarantee the correctness of their delineations, or attempt to produce proofs of any one criminal deed. Not satisfied with the murder of de Foulon, the sovereign mob, which (we must keep repeating the fact in order to convey a correct notion of this people and this revolution) did not consist of the mere rabble, had made up their minds to hang his son-in-law, M. Berthier de Sauvigny, who had also been a counsellor of state and intendant of Paris, at the same lamp-post. The crimes of M. Berthier are still less determined than those of his father-in-law: it is probable that his greatest offence in the eyes of the people was his family connexion with Foulon, who had been made to say that they might live on the food of horses and asses. On the ministerial *débâcle* at Versailles Berthier withdrew to Compiègne, where he was arrested and thrown into prison under a pretended order from the Paris municipality, whose commands superseded all laws and established authorities. It might very well be that the order was real, and not pretended; but the municipality represented to the zealous patriots of Compiègne that, as M. Berthier was neither accused nor proscribed, there was no lawful reason for detaining him a prisoner; and they sent two Paris electors and 120 armed men on horseback to Compiègne to take Berthier out of the hands of the people there and bring him to *one of the prisons* in Paris. This was contradictory enough. It is said, however, that the municipality only wished to withdraw him quietly from the furious patriots of Compiègne. If this was really their intention they acted most unwisely;—the removing him to Paris was to increase his risks a thousand-fold. Berthier was allowed to travel in a cabriolet; but as he approached the capital he was brutally treated, not only by the people, but also by an additional mounted escort which the municipality sent to meet him. He was close to the faubourgs when the savage multitude were seizing Foulon and carrying him to the lamp-post. Some of the municipality, seeing clearly what would happen if he were brought at such a moment to such a place, dispatched a messenger with orders that he should be carried directly to the Abbaye prison, and not conducted through the streets of Paris. But the orders of this governing body were only observed

* Procès-Verbal des Electeurs, as quoted by Dulaure.—Bailly, Mémoires.—Annales Parisiennes.



Prison of the Abbaye. From a View by Regnier.

so far as suited the inclinations of the mob; and the mounted escort, with a host of people on foot, conducted the prisoner to the Place de Grève. On his way he met the ghastly head of his father-in-law, carried on a pike. On arriving at the Hôtel de Ville he was introduced to mayor Bailly, who, evidently alarmed for his own safety, asked him whether he had anything to say? Berthier, not aged and infirm like his father-in-law, but robust and courageous, replied, that, when he knew what he was accused of, he would speak in his own justification; and then he said, that, having passed three days and nights without sleep, he must request the favour of a short rest. Bailly and his associates were proceeding to read some nonsensical papers—the procès verbal drawn up by the self-appointed authorities at Compiègne—when they were interrupted and alarmed by tremendous cries of "Finish, finish with him! The Faubourg St. Antoine is coming! The Palais Royal is coming! They will have his head!" And in the next minute the guard which Lafayette had placed at the doors of the Hôtel de Ville was swept away, and the passages, hall, and rooms were inundated by the people, all roaring "*A la lanterne! à la lanterne!*—to the lamp-post with him!" The sole chance of saving the victim—a faint and uncertain one, yet such as a brave and generous man would have tried—was for Bailly or Lafayette, relying on their popularity, to have placed themselves between the prisoner and the people, to have made a rampart for him with their own breasts: but what Bailly did was to send Berthier out of the hall into the Place de Grève, into the very crater of the volcano, under the escort of some of the National Guards, who were told that they were to conduct him safe and sound to the Abbaye prison. This manœuvre cleared the hall, left the astronomer air to breathe on his civic throne, and relieved him and his colleagues from personal inconvenience and risk; but, without consulting the stars, must not Bailly have foreseen all that happened? As soon as Berthier was outside of the Hôtel de Ville, as soon as his foot crossed the threshold, he was clutched by the mob, whirled across the square, and thrown under the fatal lanterne. He was bruised, wounded, borne down by a mass of men; but, as they were trying to fix a *new* rope round his neck, he forced a musket from one of his murderers, and used the butt end of it with such effect, that not a few of them fell bleeding on the pavement, or retreated before him: but bayonets were fixed, the savages closed upon him, and the strong, desperate man fell, pierced through and through, bleeding from a hundred wounds. He yet breathed: but one of the cannibals plunged his hand into his entrails and tore out his heart. This bleeding heart was presently laid before mayor Bailly and the municipal body. A man, dressed in the uniform of a dragoon, and followed by an immense crowd, advanced to the very table at which these high functionaries were sitting, and, holding out his hand, exclaimed with hellish glee, "See here the heart of Berthier!" Bailly and his confrères are said to have been struck dumb with horror and affright. Another procession came from the lanterne across the square to present Berthier's head; but Lafayette met them as they entered the Hôtel de Ville, and prevailed upon them to save the mayor and the municipality this new horror and alarm. Both head and heart were then carried, in the midst of the exulting mob, through the streets of Paris, to the Palais Royal, there to be exhibited with the head of old Foulon.*

The French writers, not of the anti-revolutionary but of the liberal party, from whom, and from whom alone, we transcribe these atrocious details, cast about them for all manner of excuses and subterfuges: they say that these horrible deeds were alien to the character of Frenchmen; that they were loathed, even in the paroxysm of that madness, by all classes; and that they were perpetrated either by a few individuals, the hired agents of certain monsters whose aim was to stain the revolution with blood and crime, in order to render it odious to the nation, or committed by some personal enemies of the two unhappy men. But these efforts are ineffectual. Such deeds, unfortunately, were *not* alien to the character of the French; such excesses had constantly attended their insurrections and civil wars; such enormities could not possibly be executed by any hired ruffians, by any handful of men, among tens and hundreds of thousands of people, all about equally armed, equally active, equally daring; and the very documents quoted by these French historians, and in fact the very sentences written by their own pens, prove and establish the damning facts, that the great mass of the city of Paris participated and revelled in these and still bloodier crimes; that men, women, and children followed the bleeding heads for hours, shouting, applauding, and singing; and, in brief, that the crimes were not private or particular, or confined to a few, but the crimes of the majority of the population—essentially national crimes, and for which the national character will eternally be amenable.† And what did Lafayette after these signal proofs of his impotency and the people's execrable barbarity? Did he resign his command—his titular command—over the National guards of Paris, who rather joined in with the murderers than made any real effort to prevent them? No, he only pretended to resign, or, if his intention was sincere, it was but for a moment. One of his innumerable eulogists, a man that has

* Thiers.—Mignet.—Dulaure.—Procès Verbal.—Histoire de la Révolution de 1789, par deux Amis de la Liberté.—Bailly.—Lacretelle.

† Gouverneur Morris, who witnessed some of the horrors, certainly thought the whole people answerable for them. He was walking under the arcade of the Palais Royal waiting for his carriage.—"In this period the head and body of M. de Foulon are introduced in triumph; the head on a pike, the body dragged naked on the earth. Afterwards this horrible exhibition is carried through the different streets. His crime is to have accepted a place in the ministry. This mutilated form of an old man of seventy-five is shown to his son-in-law, Berthier, the Intendant of Paris; and, afterwards, Berthier also is put to death and cut to pieces, the populace carrying about the mangled fragments with a savage joy. Gracious God! What a people!"—*Diary.*

been called upon to exercise the science of government, finds everything right and everything commendable in Lafayette's conduct at this juncture. He says, that, filled with grief and indignation, Lafayette resolved to send in his resignation (not to the king, for the king was nothing—not even to the National Assembly, but to the mayor and municipality of Paris); that Bailly and the municipality, terrified at this proposal, made all the haste they could to turn him from it; that then it was agreed among them that he should send in his resignation in order to make the people feel how dissatisfied he was with their conduct, but that he should allow himself to be won over by the entreaties which the people would be sure of making to him; that the resignation was sent; that thereupon the people and the National Guard surrounded Lafayette, promising him the greatest obedience for the future; and that upon these conditions or promises the general resumed his command.*

Foulon and Berthier were murdered on the afternoon of the 22nd of July, five days after the king's visit to Paris. Necker arrived at Versailles on the evening of the 28th, after having traversed France in triumph, followed by one continuous mob, shouting and applauding, and receiving from him paternal nods, and paternal advice—not worth more than the nods—to be peaceable and orderly. The king received him with some embarrassment, but the National Assembly welcomed him back enthusiastically; for his triumph was their triumph, and they alone had brought him back. His best friends had endeavoured to show that France was now in a state not to be governed by any minister, or any system of administration whatsoever, and had strongly dissuaded him from returning or trying any more dangerous experiments; but Necker said in his sententious manner that it was better to expose oneself to danger than to remorse. He was elated by the mouth-honour he had received on the highways, elated by the equally hollow applauses of the Assembly, and experience and a duplicated failure had not weakened his gigantic confidence in his own puny powers and abilities. That his triumph might be complete, and the applauses of the provinces confirmed and heightened by the voice of the capital, on the morning of the 30th, when he had been only a few hours in Versailles, he set off for Paris, and for the Hôtel de Ville, wherein there resided more sovereignty—cramped and mob-controlled though it was—than in the palace of the king or hall of the National Assembly. The vanity of the man was gratified to the utmost: he was received with transports, and all the way from the bridge of Sèvres to the Place de Grève his progress was a triumph; his path was strewed with flowers; bouquets, garlands, and wreaths were showered upon him, and the air was rent with shouts of "Vive Necker! Vive le Ministre du Peuple!" He was affected to downright weeping, but the tears were of the sweetest kind; he felt even an increase of confidence that this generous, this enthusiastic people might easily be led by the hand.* In front of the Hôtel de Ville he was received by a deputation, for, except towards the king, the rules of etiquette were studiously attended to; and, being conducted into the hall, he was presented to the Mayor of Paris and a new provisory municipal body which had been composed by Bailly and Lafayette, and which consisted of 120 deputies from the different districts of the capital, instead of the 400 electors and deputies who had hitherto figured as the municipality. Bailly seated Necker by his side, and then made him an oration. The mayor told him, in rhetorical language, that his departure had afflicted France, and that his return had brought back life to France; that the past would answer for the future; that the *sensibility* and acclamations of the people were very fine things; that this people, who had always loved their kings, adored Louis XVI., &c. Necker responded with a long-winded discourse. He was then conducted into another hall, wherein all the electors of Paris were assembled, and where Madame Necker, his wife, and Madame de Staël, his brilliant daughter, were seated in the high places, with Madame Lafayette and other dames, all wearing the tri-color cockade, which had been sentimentally presented to them by Moreau de Saint-Méry, with the words—"These colours are dear to you; they are the colours of liberty." Here Necker, with as much modesty as he could assume, listened to two more eulogistic orations, one from Delavigne, the other from Moreau de Saint-Méry, who, between them, told the restored minister that it was the empire of his virtues, his glorious name, his genius, his vast plans of beneficence, which had enabled Paris to collect a force sufficient to *intimidate* traitors and put down the late iniquitous ministry; that it was from these virtues, this name, this genius, that France expected the *completion* of her happiness; that the destiny of that vast empire was visibly united with the destiny of Necker; that he must have seen with his own eyes that his return was a national triumph; that the love and confidence of the French equalled his genius; and, finally, that they all swore to unite their efforts in seconding the guardian angel of France—"*l'ange tutélaire de la France.*" Necker replied to these palinodiae by reading the same long-winded discourse he had just delivered to Bailly in the other room. The effect must have been soporific. The twice-told tale ended with the assurance that the king had received him with the greatest kindness, and with the prayer or conjuration that they, the electors of Paris, in whose hands now lay nearly all the powers of government, would exert themselves in re-establishing a perfect and a lasting tranquillity. "In the name of God, gentlemen," said Necker, "no more judgments, no more proscrip-

* Thiers.—Dulaure says that Lafayette was moved to tears by the congratulations and entreaties of the affrightened Bailly and municipality, and by the touching proofs of their confidence, esteem, and attachment.

* Marquis de Ferrières.

tions, no more bloody scenes!!? No man could more sincerely desire the cessation of these horrors, and one of his objects in coming to the Hôtel de Ville was to recommend to the Parisians—the only power capable of giving it with effect—a general amnesty, and the immediate release of Besenval, who had been denounced by the National Assembly, by the Palais Royal, by the municipality, who had been arrested on his flight towards Switzerland, his native country, and was now lying in prison expecting every moment to be his last. He had proposed this scheme of mercy to astronomer-mayor Bailly; but this gentle philosopher had disapproved of it as dangerous to the good cause, and to the champions of that cause, from its tendency to excite suspicions and discontents among the people. Bailly moreover thought that so great a subject as a general amnesty ought to rest, not with the Paris electors and municipality, but with the National Assembly: as for the king, with the ordinary royal prerogative of mercy, he seems never to have been thought of by Bailly, by Necker, or by any of them. Necker, however, in spite of Bailly's advice, introduced the subject in the Hôtel de Ville, and there was, this excuse for him;—*if* blood was to be saved, there was no time to lose; and, if the municipality and the electors had not the power *to carry and enforce* a scheme of mercy, there was no such power anywhere else in France. Besides, Necker saw there seated Lafayette, with all the outward shows of military authority and absolute command, and he did not fully know how the mob had played, and how they would still play, with the hero of two worlds, as with a puppet. There was, moreover, yet another and strong inducement: the Baron de Besenval, though the countryman, was known to have been *the constant* opponent or enemy of Necker; and would it not be magnanimous, great, glorious, in a moment of triumph, to secure the head of an old foe? Necker therefore demanded from the electors a full pardon for the baron. "I prostrate myself," said he, "I throw myself on my knees before you, to entreat that neither towards M. de Besenval nor any other person such rigours as I have heard of shall be practised. I demand grace for the baron and an amnesty for all others that are in the same situation." And at these words the national *sensibility* showed itself in a universal shouting of "Grace, pardon, amnesty!" When the enthusiasm had subsided Clermont-Tonnerre proposed that the amnesty should be embodied in a decree. The motion was carried without discussion, and the electors of Paris decreed, in the name of the people of that capital, that *they pardoned all their enemies*, &c.* Mayor Bailly, being called upon to sign this precious decree, positively refused. His refusal may have proceeded truly and conscientiously from the motives he assigned for his conduct; but it was nevertheless attended by two very apparent consequences—it increased Bailly's popularity with the mob, and it made the mob believe that, since the Mayor of Paris would not sign it, the decree was nought.* After the hollow or useless amnesty had been read in the midst of acclamations, it was proposed that the busts of Necker and Bailly should be placed by the sides of the American-given bust of Lafayette which figured in that hall; and that these two new busts should be executed at the expense of the Paris electors. And when this was agreed to with sensibility, enthusiasm, &c., they voted that medals should be struck in honour of Moreau de Saint-Méry and Delavigne. Necker, attended by the same triumphant procession with which he had arrived, and revelling in a mirage or bright Fata Morgana, partly of his own making, and partly conjured up for him by the great magicians in the Town-hall, returned towards Versailles. But this was the last day of his high triumph and popularity. By the morrow the vision was fled; it had burst like the mirage of the desert—it had faded away and become invisible more rapidly than ever Fata Morgana vanished on the Calabrian coast or the beautiful straits of Messina. Necker had left Paris, in the afternoon, an idol, a guardian angel, a god; but, before midnight, he was *suspect*; and, on the following morning, he was an aristocrat, a devil. "Necker, says the best French writer of his school, "did not know the people; he did not know with what facility they suspect their leaders and destroy their idols. The Parisians believed that he wished to withdraw their enemies *from* the punishments which they had merited; the districts assembled; the illegality of an amnesty pronounced by a civic assembly without mission or authority was attacked in a lively manner, and the very electors who had voted it in the Hôtel de Ville agreed to revoke and renounce it. Without doubt it was necessary to recommend calmness to the people, and to bring them back to pity and mercy; but the best means for obtaining this end would have been to have demanded, instead of the liberty of the parties accused, a proper tribunal to try them, and remove them from the murderous jurisdiction of the multitude. In certain cases that which is most humane is not what most appears to be so. Necker, without obtaining anything, unchained the people against him, and let loose the districts upon the electors; from that moment he began to wrestle with the revolution, which he believed he could master, because he had been, for a moment, the hero of it. But a man counts for very little in a revolution which moves the masses; the movement either drags him on or leaves him behind; he must either precede it

* Besenval.—Bailly.—Lally-Tollendal, Mémoires.—Madame de Staël, Reflections.—Dulaure, Esquisses.—Thiers.

* We give Bailly's reasons in his own words:—"They brought me the decree to sign. I refused. It was unconstitutional, out of place, and dangerous. Unconstitutional, because it belonged neither to the electors nor to the municipality of Paris to pronounce an amnesty in favour of the enemies of the nation; out of place, because this was not the moment, when hatred and the spirit of party were beginning, and when the enemies of the country were concealed and not known, for giving a general pardon; *dangerous*, because *it might render us suspected of weakness, or even of connivance.* ..... A great mistake was committed in this business. ..... The very next day it threw us into a terrible embarrassment."—*Mémoires.*

or fall. "Never was there a time that made more evident the subordination of men to things: revolutions employ many chiefs, but when they give themselves up it is to one alone."* Except Necker, who "saw everything in Necker,"† there was no one that could really believe that he was to be this one man—this revolution-absorbing unit; and even he himself never for one moment contemplated being anything more than prime minister to a constitutional king; never for one moment conceived that the present movement was not to be arrested except by a man of the sword. The Faubourg St. Antoine, nearly all the districts of Paris,‡ sent off a deputation to the National Assembly at Versailles, to complain of the attempt at an amnesty; to warn them against originating or sanctioning any such unpatriotic measure; to tell them, in short, more plainly than by words, that the people were and would be their masters and the sole lawgivers in France. The Assembly, partly out of jealousy of the high functions which had been assumed by the municipality and the electors, and partly from their own vile dastardly fears, received these vagabond, bloodthirsty deputies with respect, and assured them that there was no intention of subtracting the enemies of the country from the hands of justice. And they presently voted and decreed that a tribunal should soon be established to try the late ministers and other state delinquents; that a committee should be instantly appointed to examine into the accusations against them; and that the Baron de Besenval, instead of being liberated and conducted in safety to the Swiss frontier, should be confined under safe guard at Brie-Comte-Robert, the place in the provinces where he had been seized. The last decree was the best that could have been made for the old courtier and soldier of fortune, for if he had been liberated he would have been assassinated on the road, and if he had been brought to Paris no human power could have saved him. Thirty thousand frantic Frenchmen awaited for a whole day the arrival of the Swiss baron in the Place de Grève, having collected all the instruments or means of insult or torture, and a strong rope and a knife beside the lanterne for their finishing strokes. Besenval was saved; but the Parisians continued to administer the law in their own manner, indulging in personal animosities, and passing a *non fiat* upon every kind of privilege, and already on most kinds of property. There was much to redress, and there was no patience for the work, and in no one quarter a proper notion of doing the work gradually and so as to respect existing interests, and to grant compensation to sufferers from changes. We believe there is little exaggeration in the following picture of France at the moment of the revolution:—"The condition of the country, both political and economical, was intolerable. There was nothing but privilege—privileges vested in individuals, in classes, in towns, in provinces, and even in trades and professions. Everything contributed to check industry and the natural genius of man. All the dignities of the state, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, were exclusively reserved to certain classes, and in those classes to certain individuals. No man could take up a profession without certain titles and a compliance with certain pecuniary conditions. . . . . Even the graces and favours of the crown were converted into family property, so that the king could scarcely exercise his own judgment or give any preference. Almost the only liberty left to the sovereign was that of making pecuniary gifts; and he had been reduced to the necessity of disputing with the Duke of Coigny for the abolition of a useless place.* Everything then was made immoveable property in the hands of a few, and everywhere these few resisted the many who had been despoiled. The burthens of the state weighed upon one class only. The noblesse and the clergy possessed about two-thirds of the landed property; the other third, possessed by the people, paid taxes to the king, a long list of feudal droits to the noblesse, tithes to the clergy, and had moreover to support the devastations committed by noble sportsmen and by their game. The taxes upon consumption pressed upon the great multitude, and consequently upon the people. The collection of these imposts was managed in an unfair and irritating manner: the seigneurs or lords of the soil left long arrears with impunity; but the people, upon any delay in paying, were harshly treated, arrested, and condemned to pay in their persons in default of money or produce. The people therefore nourished with their labour, and defended with their blood, the higher classes of society, without being able to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves. The bourgeoisie or townspeople, or body of citizens, industrious, educated, less miserable than the people, could nevertheless obtain none of the advantages to which they had a right to aspire, seeing it was their industry that enriched and their talents that adorned the kingdom. Public justice, administered in some provinces by seigneurs, in the royal jurisdictions by magistrates who bought their places, was slow, often partial, always ruinously expensive, and, above all, atrocious in criminal proceedings. Personal liberty was violated by lettres de cachet, the liberty of the press by royal censors."† Each and all of these things were evils that called for

* Mignet.

† "Mallebranche," said Mirabeau, "saw everything in God, but Necker sees everything in Necker."

‡ It is not to be supposed that the districts merely employed arguments and representations to terrify the electors and the National Assembly; they scared them out of their wits by gathering in the Palais Royal by night, by sounding the tocsins, by threatening the Hôtel de Ville with siege and assault, by swearing that they would enforce the revocation of the amnesty though they should have to fight a battle a hundred times more bloody than the one they had fought at the Bastille. Almost from the moment of Necker's departure, to the revocation of the amnesty by the functionaries in the Hôtel de Ville, and indeed down to the return of the deputation from Versailles, Paris was up in arms and in open revolt.—*Lally-Tollendal, Mémoires.*

For the love of truth, for the love of Heaven! let us read no more, let us hear no more—at least not in English books, or from English lips—about the heroic courage of these Bailly's and Lafayette's, and of this National Assembly! Fear—dastardly, blind, uncalculating fear—was the spring that moved them *now*, and on nearly *every other occasion!*

* The Marquis de Bouillé tells this story. † Thiers.

redress: the necessity of a revolution we have admitted over and over again—it is only for the means employed, the blind, mad hurry, the fury for doing all things at once, the utter disregard of all vested rights whatsoever, the stone-blindness to the justice and political prudence of compensation or a life-allowance to men born and bred in the enjoyment of certain benefits, that we reserve our condemnation and regret. It is true that the privileged classes had clung to their privileges with a most unwise obstinacy; it is true that they had tendered concessions only at the last moment: but these concessions, truly important in their amount, had now been tendered; a more moderate people with wiser and better leaders would have made some allowance for the passions natural to the human breast, for the love of keeping what we have once got or what our progenitors have left to us through generations or through whole ages, and such a people, having secured the guarantees and safeguards of constitution and law—things within the reach of the French at this crisis—would have remained satisfied with reform without driving on for a universal destruction,—would have rested content with a proper limitation of rank, privilege, and distinction, without aiming at a visionary and monstrous system of equality—a system for which, if it were practicable, the French, with their national vanity and rage for distinction, would be about the worst suited of all the peoples in the world.

Convinced more and more every day that principalities and powers were at their feet, and that there was in reality no power in France except their own, the people proceeded to make that power felt in all directions. They could make no allowances whatever, they would hear of no compromises, they would show no mercy to their old oppressors, or to those who had in any way stood above them in the eyes of the world. In Paris and in most of the great cities they broke up in a single day all municipal corporations, all trade incorporations or chartered companies, insulting and terrifying out of their lives all the more conspicuous members of them; and with a very exemplary unanimity they not only refused to pay any taxes to government, but also refused to pay any rent to the proprietors of their dwellings, shops, and warehouses. Their philosophes and their patriots in the National Assembly had taught them to ascend to first principles in all things, and to doubt the propriety of any such artificial distinctions as those that regulate the possession and descent of property; and the revolution was especially a millennium in their eyes, *because* they saw in it the prospect and the certainty of a new division and distribution of property. The most original of all our English writers on the subject of the French revolution humourously calls these and other doctrines "The Gospel according to Jean Jacques:"* but it was rather the gospel according to Voltaire and Diderot, whose novels and tales must have been a thousand times more familiar to the popular mind than the cold, hard, dry, and difficult abstractions of Rousseau, whose *Contrat Social* never was or could be a truly popular book—a people's hand-book. The country people in the various provinces of France daringly set forth their right to the land which they tilled or upon which they dwelt; and their Jacquerie went on with still increasing ferocity. Even in the showing of writers who seem to have considered the rich and privileged classes as only fit for destruction, the violence and the cruelty was excessive—atrocious.* Not contented with refusing rents, services, and droits, they rose upon their seigneurs and hunted them out of their homes, districts, and provinces as if they had been wolves; they continued to set fire to their châteaux, and took particular care that their parchments and title-deeds should not escape the flames. Mixed with some modern refinements, which proved at least that these Jacques-Bons-Hommes understood the value of documentary evidence and of parchment titles to property in courts of law, were many traits and incidents of the ancient barbarity, and of the dark, quick suspicions which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had so sharpened the thirst for blood. With this suspicious turn of mind almost every accident might lead to carnage. De Mesmai, seigneur or lord of Quincey, and one of the judges of the parliament of Besançon, gave a fête in his park, or on the ground roundabout his château, for but very few French seigneurs had a taste for a country life, or were possessed of either what we call a park, or what we understand by a pleasure-garden. All the peasantry of the neighbourhood collected in their holiday dresses, and were apparently dancing very happily in their wooden shoes, when a barrel of gunpowder blew up and killed or wounded several persons in the crowd. The thing was accidental, or if there was malice and design in it they proceeded from parties very different from the lord of the château and giver of the feast. But a cry of suspicion and rage, preceded and sanctioned by cries in higher places,† was instantly raised by the peasantry, and the incident was laid hold of as a complete justification of whatsoever savage deeds they might commit upon seigneurs in general, or upon any person or persons belonging to the aristocracy or otherwise objects of envy or hatred. This 'infernal fable,' as it was not improperly termed, was industriously circulated in all directions, and was only consigned to oblivion at the moment when M. de Mesmai and his friends, backed by a cloud of witnesses, were ready to disprove and utterly discredit the horrible calumny. It is scarcely necessary to state that the château of de Mesmai, and those of his relations and friends, were reduced to ashes, and that all the excesses which most disgrace humanity were committed in that district. The flames spread rapidly through all parts of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Dauphiny, Champagne, Alsace, Britany, and other provinces; and it was soon observed

* Carlyle. * Thiers, Mignet. † In the National Assembly.

that they raged with a fearful impartiality. At first those seigneurs were attacked who had been proud and oppressive or for other reasons most unpopular; but soon all were assailed alike, the least proud and oppressive with those who had been most so, the most popular with the unpopular. *It was* quite enough to be a seigneur and to have a château—in this burning hell there was no distinction among persons. We cannot dwell upon these horrible particulars; but some few authenticated cases we feel ourselves morally bound to give, for truth has been overlaid by sophistry and declamation, and for half a century incessant efforts have been made—and they are still employed—to give a false colouring and character to these proceedings, in order that the national reputation of the French may be spared, and the true spirit that animated a people broke loose concealed, excused, or more than half justified. If these coverings and disguises are allowed to bury the facts, most of the great lessons derivable from them for the instruction and guidance of other nations and other legislatures must be lost. All that one of the most able and popular of the French historians of their own revolution has to say upon these frightful excesses is, that "it is very difficult for a people in the moment of victory not to make an abuse of their power."* Another native historian, certainly not so able as a writer, but still more popular with a numerous party, and whose pen has procured for him a name, and for some time the highest office among French statesmen, glides smoothly and complacently over all the dark pools and gulfs of iniquity, touching on no point that exhibits the native ferocity, sounding no depths where the blood is deepest, and holding, with a jesuitism surpassing that of all jesuits, that the end justified the means.† Not being able to deny the cruelties, he passes them over in the fewest possible words, and winds off his sentence by attributing them all to the former oppressions and long sufferings of their authors: he has not a breath of reproach or of grief to spare on such a trivial subject—the peasants were only "hardened by their miserable life and rendered ferocious by their long sufferings;" but then he emits a tornado-blast aguinst the remains of the feudal barbarities, followed by a mighty puffing upon regeneration—a regeneration begun with fire and sword and baptized in blood. There is even included in his few words a visible subterfuge: he speaks only of the cruelties of the peasants—*les cruautés de ces paysans;*—but the peasants, the poor, rude cultivators of the soil, did not sin alone; they had partners and companions in their crimes who belonged to very different and much higher classes of society; the farmers that rented the land were as eager for blood and fire as the fellows that laboured it, and far more anxious for the destruction of title-deeds; the lawyers in the towns shared in the desires and schemes of the farmers and small proprietors in the country; and the town rabbles, often set in motion by citizens of superior condition, were as savage and relentless as the country boors. The cruelties committed in the city of Paris quite equalled in atrocity, and far exceeded in amount, those perpetrated in the provinces, horrible as the latter were. No regard was paid even to the distinction of sexes: women, ladies noble by birth, and in some cases venerable by age, were subjected to all the horrors which a filthy, viciously inventive imagination can engender upon cruelty. The worst of the cases cannot be so much as mentioned to modern English ears, but a correct notion of them will be conveyed by any old chronicle relating what happened on the capture of towns by storm, or by the pages of any old French historian who details the abominations of the first Jacquerie. For cases that more readily admit of relation:—In Franche Comté, Madame de Battily was almost torn to pieces, and, in order to save her life, an axe being held over her neck, she resigned not only her title-deeds which the ruffians were calling for, but also her whole estate. Another lady in the same province was compelled to make a similar sacrifice, having a pitchfork at her throat, and her daughter lying at her feet in a swoon. The Countess of Montessu was seized with her husband on the high-road and kept for three hours with a pistol at her breast: she prayed for death as a favour: in the end both count and countess were dragged out of their carriage and thrown into a pond, where they must have perished but for the accidental passing of some of the king's troops who yet retained some sentiments of humanity. The Baron of Montjustin was suspended in a well for an hour and a half while the mob were deliberating whether they should end his torments by letting him fall into the water, or put him to death in some other way. The Chevalier d'Ambli was seized in his château, dragged naked through the village, and buried in a dung-heap, after having had his hair and his eye-brows plucked out by the roots; the mob dancing round him all the while like red Indian savages torturing their war-prisoners to death. In Normandy a gentleman afflicted with the palsy was thrown into a fire, whence he escaped with the loss of his hands; and a gentleman's steward was tortured and burned, until his feet were consumed, to make him deliver up his master's title-deeds, which apparently had never been in his possession. These title-deeds acted like the reports of concealed treasures in the East: all kinds of cruelty and of torture were employed to get at them or extract confession as to the places where they were deposited. M. de Belzunce, trusting to the generosity of an enemy, delivered himself up unarmed and helpless to a mob, who received him with bullets, and who were so eager for his death that they fired at him from different sides at the same moment, and actually killed and wounded several of their own party. The survivors cut his body to pieces, and some of them were even seen gnawing his flesh. In Languedoc M. de Burrus was cut to pieces in the presence of his wife, who was

* Mignet. † Thiers.

on the point of lying-in, and who died, together with her infant, in consequence of the shock; and, in the same sunshiny province, M. de Montesson was shot after seeing his father-in-law massacred before his face. Old fathers of families, matrons with their daughters, were sent flying through the night from their burning houses with nothing on them but their bed-clothes, and happy if they had not to endure in their flight the practical experiments of some low-born de Sades, ready, with hellish glee, to prove and test the fact laid down in in one of the most-read books in France, that the indulgence of cruelty heightens the relish of lust.* These deeds were perpetrated at a time when there was no resistance, when the nobles were consenting to everything, when a considerable part of them had devoted themselves to the popular cause, and when they had all renounced their privileges, and intimated, however tardily, their readiness to submit to a new order of things.†

It was in very few places that any attempt was made by the upper classes to resist their doom; they were so entirely abandoned by their dependents, and so outnumbered by the inferior classes, so actively assailed and borne down by furious, united masses, that there was scarcely a hope of even temporary success: but in several places, where the attempt at resistance was made with proper concert, intelligence, and courage, the mob were foiled and their atrocities checked. Thus the gentlemen of the Maconnois and Beaujolois, seeing no other means of salvation, united in their own defence, took up arms, armed their relations and friends or such of their retainers as they could depend upon, and advanced against a rabble some six or seven thousand strong, who were headed by a lawyer, and who had already spread destruction through the fertile valley of the Saone, where blackened walls and heaps of ashes were all that marked the spots whereon seventy-two châteaux had recently stood. The gentlemen, of whom many had served in the army, beat the rabble with their unwarlike leader, and committed a *great* slaughter—for these gentlemen were *French* gentlemen. And after the execution done in the field they erected a temporary tribunal at Macon to complete the work by legal executions. This court condemned some twenty or thirty of the ringleaders to death; but the democratic newspapers of Paris and the other great towns, which had not uttered a word of condemnation against the burning, torturing and murdering of the mob, cried out loudly against these active measures, and the National Assembly soon interfered and put a stop to the proceedings at Macon, where a number of the worst of the offenders still remained untried.‡ These gentlemen of the Maconnois and Beaujolois had certainly kept up in their brief hour of success the national character for impetuosity and proneness to blood, and these qualities would at any moment have made a counter-revolution all "one red;" but their example of alacrity in uniting themselves for self-defence was not followed, and when, in brief space of time, through the manœuvres chiefly of Lafayette, the whole of the royal army was made to *fraternize* with the National Guard, the whole kingdom was laid at the feet of the armed people under the designation of national guards or civic guards, and arms were taken out of their hands and for years put beyond the reach of all other classes. Except in the provinces, which became the seat of a protracted and most savage civil war, the nobles and gentlemen who did not fly their country, and who escaped the first slaughters, remained like sheep in a butcher's pen, and with the butcher's knife never far from their throats.

In these first ebullitions the people were as furious against the clergy as against the lay nobility, and they burned and destroyed as many churches as châteaux, mingling in these exercises every possible sport and device to show their utter contempt, not merely for the ministers of religion, but for religion itself—not only for the doctrines and the mysteries of the Roman form of Christianity, but for every part and parcel of the Christian creed and of all other creeds whatsoever. In the meanwhile the men who made thunder and lightning in the National Assembly kept themselves and their colleagues engaged in the metaphysical task of drawing up a Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was to stand at the head of the new constitution that was a-making. Some unmetaphysical people thought that such a declaration was altogether unnecessary; some cool, practical people thought that if it was to be made this was not the moment for it—thought that extreme care ought to be bestowed upon it, and the greatest precaution taken not to convulse men's minds, already so excited, by a sudden infusion of abstract rights and principles: but the Americans had begun their revolution, or had at least preceded their declaration of independence, by a declaration of rights; Jefferson recommended the measure, being

* This atrocious theory forms the sum and substance, the *morale*, of the popular novel (it is still popular in France!), '*Justine, ou Les Malheurs de la Vertu*;' written by the notorious Marquis de Sades—of whom more hereafter.

† Lally-Tolendal. Mémoires.

‡ *Ann. Regist.* Nothing is more certain than that the National Assembly alternately winked at and encouraged the châteaux-burning, the destruction of title-deeds, and the rest. "The Assembly," says an attentive and competent observer of all their proceedings, "were so afraid of offending the people, that they almost regarded as a snare every motion tending to repress the disorders or blame the excesses of the populace. It was still doubt mixed with fear (*la défiance*) that lay at the bottom of men's hearts. They had triumphed by means of the people, and could not be severe against the people; on the contrary, although the Assembly often declared in their preambles that they were profoundly afflicted, and even incensed, at the violences committed by the bandits and brigands that were burning the châteaux and insulting the noblesse, they enjoyed in secret a terror which they believed necessary." [*In short, they acted and felt much as Robespierre and his followers did, afterwards, during the more tragical 'Reign of Terror.'*] "They had put themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse or making the noblesse fear them. They condemned for decency, but they managed and conciliated the mob for policy: they gave *compliments* to authority, and *encouragements* to those who defied it. Their respect for the executive power was nothing but a formula of style; and when the king's ministers manifested their weakness and fears, and revealed the state of nothingness to which they were reduced, the members of the Assembly, who remembered too well the time when *they themselves* had feared, were not sorry to see that Fear had changed her lodgings. 'If,' thought they, 'you ministers were strong enough to make the people respect you, you would be strong enough to make us fear you.' This was the predominant sentiment of opposition. (*Côté gauche.*) It was a reaction of fear."—*Dumont.*

ready with his pen to assist in drawing it up; Lafayette considered it as an indispensable preliminary, being ready with his sword to fight for it; and all the vainest members of the Assembly, all the philosophes and system-mongers, were eager to try their hands at a work which, in their fond belief (for there was wonderful credulity in worldly matters mixed up with the universal incredulity about religious matters), was to enchant the whole world and to act like a revelation to the body of the people in all countries. But these metaphysical deliberations were insupportably tedious to many men condemned to listen to them, and the plan of making such declaration would have been rejected altogether by a considerable majority, if it had not been for the mean fear in which members stood of the clamorous gods in the galleries, and of the journalists and demagogues who wielded the fiercest of democracies out of doors. On the morning of the 4th of August the vote was carried that there should be a Declaration of the Rights of Man, to be completed forthwith and placed at the head of the constitution. But on the very same day an in-rushing and overpowering torrent of facts disturbed the labours of metaphysics: reports were presented from all parts of France showing that the kingdom was becoming one vast field of anarchy and blood without dykes, barriers, or outlets of any kind. To the ultra-revolutionists these must have been notes of joy, for most of that class always calculated that France must pass through that Slough of Despond before she could reach the bright hill-top of republican perfection; but the great majority of the Assembly, not desperate enough to wish, nor wise enough to foresee such extremities, went to their dinners that day with uneasy stomachs and minds; and this uneasiness was aggravated during the dinner-hours by a familiar interchange of opinions, doubts, and fears—for when men meet at dinner-tables and in coffee-houses they express more freely and more clearly what they think, feel, and fear, than when they mount a tribune with a written oration in their hand and the eyes of thousands bent upon them: in such scenes the actor was swallowed up in the man; but in the National Assembly, as in other places of the like nature, though perhaps in a less degree, the man was lost in the actor. At those dinner-tables and coffee-houses, where the members of the noblesse congregated, there was a startling recapitulation of losses and dangers; many of them had to lament the destruction of their châteaux with all their moveable property, and all of them had to complain of the refusal of their tenantry to pay any more rent, or to fulfil any of those customary duties which in many respects were little else than the substitution of so much service for so much money. If this refusal were persisted in by the people there would remain nothing for the nobles and great landholders to do but starve; and was it likely that the people would not persevere when they had everything to gain and nothing to lose, when they were becoming the only armed power in the state, with nothing to fear. We do not find the fact mentioned in memoirs or histories; but it seems at least probable that these bereaved and panic-stricken seigneurs took more wine at this sad repast than was usual with them. Assuredly their conduct immediately afterwards looked like a fear that had gotten drunk. They went to the evening meeting of the Assembly with a sudden conviction that only a voluntary surrender of a great portion of their rights and possessions could secure to them the quiet possession of what was left; and before business commenced they exhibited an extraordinary degree of agitation. Presently a report was read on the existing troubles in the provinces, and the means proper to make them cease. This paper was read by M. Target at about eight o'clock: it dwelt in good set terms on the sacred rights of property and of personal security, on the majesty of the laws and the inevitable necessity of paying rent and taxes; and it even ordained, in its impotency, that the landlords should receive their rents, and the government their taxes, as aforetime. When the reading was over the Vicomte de Noailles began the explosion of what has been styled "generous sentiments, an emulation in disinterestedness, which without constraint, without effort, caused a revolution a great deal more efficacious and lasting than that of the taking of the Bastille."* From the tribune he declared that it was vain to think of employing force against the people; that the people must be satisfied by the immediate redress of every grievance of which they complained, and the immediate surrender of all the privileges and distinctions which they had taken up arms to abolish; and he proposed as a beginning, 1. That it should be declared by the Assembly, as the representatives of the nation, that henceforward the taxes should be paid by all classes in proportion to their property: 2. That all public burthens should be equally borne by all: 3. That all the feudal rights should be made redeemable in money upon moderate and equitable terms: 4. That the corvées seigneuriales, the main-mort, and other personal services, should be abolished without any redemption or consideration. The Duke d'Aiguillon seconded de Noailles in a speech that was all over fear, and terror, and trembling, like a thick grove of aspen trees. The duke proclaimed that there was no help or hope save only in satisfying the people; that it was not a band of armed robbers seeking to enrich themselves in the national distraction and calamities, but the entire people that were forming a sort of league to destroy châteaux, ravage estates, and above all seize the title-deeds, patents, and pedigrees of all the feudal proprietors. He excused the nobility, who for the most part seldom resided on their estates, at the expense of their agents and factors. "The proprietors of fiefs," said he, "are very seldom guilty of the tyranny which their vassals complain of; but their men of business are often without pity, and the unhappy cultivator, subjected to the barbarous remains of feudal laws,

* Dulaure.

too often groans under their weight. These feudal rights, it cannot be doubted, are a property, and all property is sacred; but they are burthensome to the people, and every body now agrees that they are a continual restraint upon the people and their industry, injurious to agriculture and to trade." As if purposely to do away with the duke's pleading in favour of the modern mercy of his class, and to keep alive and reinvigorate the prevailing hatred against the aristocracy—as if to excite the peasants and their leaders to more burnings, and more and more blood—as if to proclaim, at the first enunciation of these self-sacrifices on the part of the noblesse, that the people could place no reliance on so accursed a race, a Breton deputy, named Leguen de Kerengal, who had put on a peasant's dress for the occasion, ascended the tribune and read a most fiery oration, which had probably been composed for him by Camille Desmoulins, or by some disciple or co-mate of that Demosthenes of the Palais Royal. This precious production carried out to their farthest possible extremes the practices of certain Assembly orators, of representing the aristocracy of the eighteenth century as the same tyrants and monsters as their ancestors who lived in the twelfth century; and it described not only as universal in the old time, but as still existing, numerous abominations which had never existed at all, except as monstrous exceptions to general rules of conduct, and numerous barbarities which had ceased and been forgotten of men for hundreds of years. The composer of the paper—whoever he was—had turned over a few old chronicles, and picked out all the atrocities he could find committed by the worst of the barons in the worst ages; and, putting a little of his own invention into the cauldron, he had mixed them up altogether, and had poured them out, scalding and scorching, as a proper representation of the essence of aristocracy in all times and under all circumstances. We cannot turn a page in these revolutionary annals without falling upon foul, obscene matter that will not bear repetition, and that would scarcely be tolerated even in the stews—in this country. But there is one passage in the oration read by this Breton deputy which may be cited, and which will convey some notion of its monstrous exaggerations. It affirmed that by one of the feudal rights the people were bound to pass the nights in beating the ditches of the castles, and the ponds near at hand, in order to prevent the sleep of their voluptuous seigneurs from being disturbed by the croaking of the frogs. The oration declared that the proper way of treating all these old and infamous parchments was to make a sacrifice and a blaze of them on the altar of the country. M. Lapoule, a deputy from Franche Comté, seemed determined not to be outdone by the Breton: he described as extant and in full operation in his province many barbarous laws and rights; and he announced as an indubitable fact that in old times the feudal lord in certain cantons of France was authorized to rip open the bowels of any two of his vassals, in order to refresh himself and warm his feet in their warm bleeding bodies whenever he returned fatigued and cold from hunting! Here the orator was interrupted, not by a loud laugh, but by cries of horror and indignation, by which the popular mind seemed to call for nothing less than vengeance on the heads of the representatives of these old barons of blood-and-bowel foot-baths. And even in this manner, and at this season of popular fury and madness, were the people urged on to fresh assassinations by the fables and flourishes of rhetoricians. Some members of the Assembly ventured, however, in spite of the frowning galleries, to accuse Lapoule of gross exaggeration and imposture, and to dare him to the proof; and, amidst a roar of voices, the chicken-hearted orator left his speech unfinished and slunk away from the tribune.* Then M. Dupont de Nemours, a moderate reformer, a constitutional-monarchy man, who did not think that earth would be made a heaven by a precipitate and unconsidered surrender of every feudal right and parchment, endeavoured to turn the debate into another channel by speaking of the absolute necessity of protecting persons and property; but M. le Marquis de Foucault ascended the tribune immediately after him to declare that he and the order to which he belonged were prepared for every sacrifice. "I only demand," said he, "that that part of the noblesse whose fortunes are derived from and increased by the favours of the court, shall be made to support the greatest part of the taxes which are going to be imposed upon us nobles." Though not quite disinterested, this discourse was received with acclamations; and it called up the Dukes de Guiche and de Mortemart, who held court places, and who both thought themselves bound to declare, as well for themselves as for other nobles similarly situated, that it was but just that they should lighten the tax-burthen of such of the nobility as lived in an honourable independence without partaking in the bounties of the king. Another noble deputy, the Vicomte de Beauharnais, then the husband of the woman that was destined to be an empress as the first wife of Napoleon Bonaparte, demanded for all Frenchmen an equality of pains and punishments, and an equal admission to all posts and employments whatsoever, without any of the old distinctions as to rank and birth. The Duke du Châtelet recommended that the tithes of the church should be made redeemable as well as the feudal rights; and the Vicomte de Montmorency proposed that all the motions of that evening should be passed at once, and embodied in decrees without further discussion. The president—not now Bailly, who had so much business as Mayor of Paris, but le Chapelier, the present leader of the famed anti-monarchical Breton Club—slyly hinted that none of the members of the clergy had delivered their sentiments upon these great questions of sacrifice and surrender; and

* Dulaure attempts—what the orator himself did not—to prove the credibility of Lapoule's beastly story! His reasonings and equivocations on the subject may be found in the last Paris edition of his 'Esquisses Historiques,' bearing the recent date of 1825.

that it would be delicate and proper to hear some opinions from that reverend body before coming to a conclusion. This instantly called up De la Fare, Bishop of Nancy, who had preached the sermon in the church of Notre Dame to the States General when first assembled, and M. de Lubersac, Bishop of Chartres, the most amiable and the most sincere of all reformers, who, for his own part, was ready to sacrifice all he possessed in the world, and to go forth like a primitive apostle. De la Fare said that he had been accustomed to a near view of the miseries of the people, and that the members of the clergy could have no more ardent wish than to see them ended; that the redemption of feudal rights was indispensable to a nation establishing its liberties; and that tithes ought to follow the same course. The poor bishop of Chartres, who was so soon to be chased himself like a wild beast, recommended that the game laws and all the laws of the chase should be instantly sacrificed, together with the other feudal rights; and he drew a touching picture of the mischief done to poor farmers by the Nimrods of France and the beasts and birds harboured and encouraged to make them sport. These discourses excited a lively enthusiasm—*un vif enthousiasme*—and several clerical deputies, cheered and applauded to the skies, ascended the tribune after the bishop of Chartres, and supported his propositions. Next, the Count de Custines, who had served in America with Lafayette, demanded, as Montmorency had done before him, that *all* the propositions should be instantly accepted and decreed. M. de Castellane thought that it would be enough for one night to declare the feudal rights to be redeemable, according to tariffs which should be prepared as soon as possible. The Duke de Mortemart demanded that all the decrees which had been suggested should be passed before any adjournment—*sans désemparer*. M. le Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau said that they were only giving hopes to the people, whereas they ought to be giving them realities. Another noble deputy demanded that justice should be administered throughout the kingdom gratuitously, and that judgeships and other offices should no longer be sold. Another proposed abolishing the feudal right of the dovecote or pigeon-house, saying that he regretted, like Catullus, the having no better sacrifice to offer than a little bird! The Duke of Liancourt demanded the immediate enfranchisement of all the serfs in the kingdom, and kinder treatment for the black slaves in all the colonies. A deputy of the Tiers Etat pronounced sentence of annihilation upon all pensions obtained without service to the country; and another recommended the immediate destruction of all and every privilege claimed by provinces, cities, boroughs, corporations, trading companies, &c. &c. Every thing was adopted, for the nonce, in the crude shape in which it was proposed, without examination, without debate. "A sort of intoxication," says Thiers, "took possession of the Assembly; rejecting superfluous discussion, all orders, all classes, all who were possessed of any privileges, hastened to renounce them. After the deputies of the noblesse and clergy had done sacrificing, the deputies of the commons began to make their free-will offerings. Not having any personal privileges to sacrifice, they gave up those of provinces and towns: the same equality of rights already established between individuals is now established also between all parts and portions of the French territory. Some of the deputies surrendered pensions which they enjoyed; and a member of the old parlement, having nothing to surrender or to give, gave up, with Roman phraseology, his own body and soul to the commonwealth. The table was covered with acts of surrender and renunciation. For the present they contented themselves with drawing up a list of the patriotic sacrifices, and put off till the next day the drawing up of the articles (*la rédaction des articles*). The force of example seemed general; but in the midst of that enthusiasm it was easy to perceive that certain members of the privileged orders, not very sincere, wished to drive things to extravagant excess. Every thing was to be feared, from the effect of night and from the violent impulse which had been given, when Lally-Tolendal, perceiving the danger, passed a pencil-note to the president saying, 'Every thing is to be feared from this emulation: adjourn the Assembly' (*levez la séance*). At the same instant a deputy sprang towards Lally, and, squeezing his hand with emotion, said, 'Give us the royal sanction to what we are doing, and we are friends.' Lally, feeling the necessity of attaching the revolution to the King, then proposed that Louis should be proclaimed 'Restorer of French Liberty.' The proposition was received with enthusiasm, and a *Te Deum* was decreed."* But there was even more enthusiasm and acclamation than this historian tells of. In the course of the night the Duke of Liancourt proposed that a medal should be struck to *consecrate* the memory of this nocturnal sitting; and this was adopted by acclamation. The Marquis de Goury proposed instituting a national fête to celebrate in all ages the anniversary of this night of the 4th of August; and this also, together with many other propositions, was adopted by acclamation. In short, outwardly and visibly, there was nothing but enthusiasm and acclamation. Much that was done might be good to do; but was this the way to do it? Could any man in his senses entertain a hope of such legislation, or a sentiment of respect for such legislators? At about two o'clock in the morning they separated and went to their beds, some of them with the self-comforting conviction that they had regenerated France, restored tranquillity, secured a lasting happiness for all classes and conditions of men, by removing the grounds of jealousy and contention, completed their glorious work, and all in one short night, and introduced the Millennium, wherein all Frenchmen would attain to the perfection of human virtues

* Hist. de la Révolution Française.

and a happiness greater than that of the gods.* Others, however, thought that they had done a great deal too much, and in too great a hurry; that they had thrown up property and rights without the slightest security for compensation; that they had justified or sanctioned every popular outcry against the superior orders, and every attack on the *châteaux* and record-rooms of the noblesse, and on the churches, abbeys, episcopal palaces, and cartularies of the clergy; that they had openly proclaimed to an infuriated people, almost everywhere up in arms, that the National Assembly was afraid of them, and ready to make such laws or decrees as they might choose to dictate; and, in fine, that this night of the 4th of August, 1789, was the Saint Bartholomew of property! We believe that one of the great, if not the greatest, of the original impulses on the part of the privileged classes was FEAR—sheer fear and consternation, but mixed up afterwards with a little vanity and not a little spite. In the following reflections we recognise the thought, if not the hand, of Burke:—"An opinion has been adopted by some, that the business of this celebrated night was neither more nor less than a game of *cross purposes*, played by the contending parties; that the sacrifices made were mostly dictated by a spirit of revenge, when one party, incensed by the losses it had been made to suffer, proposed to the other acts of generosity by way of punishment; and that they mutually dared each other to concessions, of which those who suggested them expected to enjoy the honour without feeling the inconvenience. Whether this opinion may be considered as too refined or not, it is, however, certain that, under the mixed operation of fear, hope, policy, emulation, enthusiasm, vanity, and impetuosity of temper, several things were done on that night which were afterwards, upon cool recollection, sorely regretted; and it is positively asserted that several of the nobility, who had from the beginning been eminent for their patriotism and for the share they had taken in forwarding a reform in the old government, were, notwithstanding, so much disgusted by the proceedings of this night that they immediately abandoned the popular side and party, and ranked from thence among the most violent aristocrats."† In effect, as soon as the intoxication of the moment was over, a very numerous body was found ready to complain of the precipitate sacrifices which had been made. The cool part of the noblesse perceived that their lands would soon go with their privileges; and the beneficed part of the clergy saw no prospect of any compensation for their surrendered tithes. The very abolition of the old game-laws excited alarm, even among men who cared little for the pleasures of the chase, for it tended to put a gun in the hands of every peasant, and the peasants, judging from their present humour, were likely to use their guns more against nobles and priests than against ordinary game. On the morning of the 5th of August innumerable objections were taken to the proceedings of the over-night; and, as the resolutions had not been embodied or redacted in decrees, it was thought not too late to modify several of the articles. But while those who had to bear the sacrifices conceived that they had given up too much, the men who had nothing to sacrifice—and these continued to form an immense majority—thought that they had not given up enough, and that more ought now to be demanded from them. This was in the natural order of things, and would have been foreseen, if not guarded against, by rational men. Last night the Assembly had declared by acclamation that tithes should be made redeemable: this morning it was coolly proposed to abolish them altogether without any redemption or equivalent of any kind; but the clergy were to take the word of the Assembly that a comfortable provision would be made for them by the nation. The most simple-minded, credulous priest among them could hardly put faith or trust in such promises; and there arose from the clerical body a general murmur of disapprobation and alarm. They urged that this new scheme was an entire departure from the substance and spirit of the former proposition. Garat, an active journalist, and at this time a hot republican, told them that the two propositions amounted to the same thing; that the State would buy up the tithes in charging itself with the pay and maintenance of the clergy. This doctrine stirred up the bile of abbé Sièyes, an atheist indeed, a foe to all churches, but a considerable recipient of church-money, as vicar-general of the bishopric of Chartres, canon and chancellor of Chartres cathedral, &c. He declared that the present proposition was an attempt at a wholesale robbery. "'You wish to be free,' said he, 'and you know not how to be just!'" The caustic *mot* made an impression, and occasions were not wanting afterwards to recall it to men's minds. It became one of the most frequently quoted of all the smart sayings of the revolution, whose whole history, in a manner, it contained. Other philosophic abbés, some of whom were aiding the revolution in the Assembly, and some of whom were advocating its principles out of doors by means of pen and press, were not less dissatisfied than Sièyes at the project of converting them all into pensioners of the state. The economist, philosophe, free-thinking abbé Morellet, one of the best of his class, saw little to commend in the march of the revolution from this moment; for he too enjoyed some of the good things of the church which had been so frequently distributed without the slightest attention to belief or unbelief, to decorum of life and manners, or its opposite, and which had not rarely gone to support literary men who must otherwise have starved. But all murmur, opposition, or remonstrance was fruitless; and these clerical philosophes were made already to feel that

* "*It seemed*," says Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, the Protestant advocate and divine, "that in one night France was going to be regenerated; so true is it that the happiness of the people is easy to be made when those who govern them think less about themselves than about the people." Poor Rabaut-Saint-Etienne!

† Ann. Regist.

though they had essentially contributed to put the car in motion, they could not stop it, nor even regulate its speed. Other classes of philosophes felt this a little later: all the reformers and constitution-makers were destined to feel it in their turns, though, down to the very last of them, each appears to have indulged in a momentary illusion of power and control over the huge machine. In the Assembly, although his *mot* told so well, the great Sièyes himself was all but hissed and hooted for his unphilosophical discourse upon tithes; and all the consolation that his friend Mirabeau could give him was—"My dear abbé, you have let loose the bull, and now you are complaining of his giving you a touch of his horns." The abbé vented his spite, in private, by heaping terms of contempt and opprobrium upon the National Assembly; but in their hall he was constrained to sit mute and helpless, and witness the entire abolition of tithes, without any stipulation concerning the amount of the salaries or pensions the nation was to pay the churchmen in lieu of them. But Sièyes and the rest knew that any stipulation would be altogether useless as security; that the people would not pay the tax either as tithes or in any other shape, and that the all-commanding majority in the Assembly entertained very parsimonious notions as to what would be a proper compensation or allowance. There were now blank visages even among the unbeneficed, who, receiving but a modicum themselves, had been very willing the preceding night, and indeed all along, to reduce the amounts paid in tithes to the great dignitaries of the church. These country curés hoped for a more equable distribution of it, but wished for no destruction, or absorption into the state, of church property. Many of them could complain with a better grace than the Sièyes or the Morellets, for they believed in the doctrines of the church and performed the most laborious of its duties. They were, however, given to understand that in regard to *them* the justice and the generosity of the Assembly and nation would show themselves conspicuously; and they were induced to concur even in the total abolition of tithes without compensation. The Assembly after this compliance left the curés as poor as they had found them; and a few more turns of the wheel would either crush the greater part of them or drive them into exile and absolute beggary. And this too might have been foreseen by these unbeneficed priests. In the course of this debate—if debate it could be called—very little respect was shown to any of the clergy; their objections were met with banter or ridicule, and they were asked whether they would oppose a majority of five to one? They were made to feel that in joining the Tiers Etat, and consenting to form a part of one house or chamber, they had abandoned and given up everything to a despotic majority, that had no toleration, no mercy or consideration whatsoever, for any minority. One of the country vicars exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart—"Was it then to devour us that you invited us to join you in the name of the God of peace?" But it was even so; and when priests joined philosophes, unbelievers, reformers, levellers, anarchists by taste or by necessity, what could they expect but to be devoured? The crowded galleries as usual took part in the discussions, and hissed the priests who had courage enough to speak up for their order. The eloquence of fear at length convinced the most obstinate, and on the 6th of August the Archbishop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, surrendered all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation. In so doing the prelate uttered a few sentences that might have touched the hearts of a more religious or more generous and considerate people:—"Let the Gospel," said he, "be preached; let divine service be performed with decency and dignity; let the church be provided with virtuous and zealous pastors; let the poor be succoured. This is the true destination of our riches; these are the objects of our ministry, and of our wishes: for ourselves personally we rely, without bargain or reserve, on a just and generous nation." Within a few short months the only Gospel preached was a cold and withering atheism, the churches were all destroyed, shut up, or converted into barracks, storehouses, or club-rooms, and the best and the most conscientious of the clergy were butchered or scattered over Europe. The National Assembly took only six more days to digest and frame into laws or decrees all the other resolutions passed on the night of the 4th. Few of the aristocracy ventured to oppose the torrent, and those who did were accused of monstrous inconsistency, and of a selfish design to retract their promises and engagements. Besides, all argument was stopped by the appeal to vote by head; and, in all instances, towards nobles as well as towards priests, the majority proclaimed by their manner that minorities were only things to be trampled under foot and spit upon. On the 13th of August all the articles, logically dressed and drawn up, were presented to the king for the empty form of his royal assent. At court the same potent agency of fear still prevailed, and Louis, though disapproving of several of the sweeping measures, and though abhorring the war which the Assembly had declared against the church, dressed his face in smiles, thanked the Assembly for the glorious title they had conferred upon him of 'Restorer of French Liberty,' and invited them to join him in rendering thanks to Almighty God for the generous sentiments which now prevailed. And this most royal Bourbon, having at his right hand Chapelier, the republican president of the Assembly, walked in procession with the deputies and joined in a Te Deum, which in reality celebrated the destruction of the monarchy. The king, however, did not at once accept or sanction all the decrees: on the contrary he endeavoured to gain time, and laboured to show that many parts of the reform were either too extreme or too precipitate; but the majority of the Assembly had declared that they would admit of no modifications, and, impelled by the universal eloquence and logic of fear, he gave a hollow assent to all the

decrees before a month had elapsed. Louis had been assured that this conduct would fully satisfy and tranquillise the people; but the decrees, so far from putting an end to the brigandage and violence of the people, gave them new vigour and audacity, by convincing them that all assaults made upon the noblesse would meet with impunity, if not with reward. "I again repeat it," says Dumont, "whatever men do through fear fails in its object: those whom they fancy they will disarm with their timid concessions only become the more bold and confident."* Acts of atrocious violence continued to be committed in all parts of the kingdom; the châteaux continued to be burnt as before; and fields, woods, copses, parks, not excepting even the royal chases, some of which the Assembly had considerately thought ought to be preserved for the recreation of the king, were inundated with rustic sportsmen, who committed terrible havoc wherever they went, and who exercised their new craft with so much eagerness and so little skill that travellers could not pass along the highways, or townspeople quit their streets, without running the risk of being shot. Paris was as stormy as ever. On the night of the 6th of August, while the National Assembly were finishing the confiscation of tithes, an immense multitude collected in the Place de Grève, in front of the *Hôtel de Ville*, to murder the Marquis de la Salle and others for being suspected of sending gunpowder out of the capital. Lafayette hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, but in spite of his presence and harangues, the mob forced the doors of that building, scattering his national guards, and demanding La Salle with terrific cries. At the same time a fellow was seen bestriding the fatal lamp-post with a candle in one hand and a rope in the other, all ready for the victim. La Salle was not in the Hôtel de Ville, and being warned in time he succeeded in escaping out of Paris; but Lafayette was there in all his impuissance, and he was compelled to accompany the mob from room to room, from the cellars to the garrets, and to witness their dexterity in breaking open doors and cupboards, overturning furniture and everything else, which they did in the hope of finding La Salle concealed in some sly corner; for they would not take Lafayette's word for the fact that he was not there. This was surely a humiliating position for the hero of two worlds: there was no escaping from it, however, until eleven o'clock at night, when, according to one account, the mob was scared out of the Hôtel by the sudden apparition of soldiers in Place de Grève; but when, as we believe, the the rioters retired of their own accord, having fully satisfied themselves that the sacrifice they had chosen for that night was not to be found there. Other riots succeeded: there was, in fact, no occupation but rioting, no law but mob-law. A few days after, the king's ministers presented a report on the state of the kingdom to the National Assembly, calling upon them to co-operate in devising some means to check this fearful anarchy;

* Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.

and at the same time Necker, quite crest-fallen, with his popularity worth no more than an old ballad, was obliged to reveal the deplorable state of the finances, which no cobbling of his could any longer conceal. With regard to the anarchy the Assembly issued a decree calling upon the municipalities, who were all either revolutionists and anarchists themselves, or far too weak to check the anarchy of others, to maintain public order by dissipating all seditious mobs. The Assembly also declared that the national guards and the regular troops should be placed under the orders of the municipalities after they had all sworn to be true to the nation, the king, and the law. But these oaths, and the gradual intermixture of the troops of the line with the militia and armed burghers, destroyed the little discipline that remained in the royal army, and made the soldiers all one with the people. The National Assembly, municipalities, national guards, and troops of the line, all agreed in believing that the aristocracy was not yet sufficiently terrified and humiliated; that the court was still plotting for a counter-revolution, and was still *to be dreaded*; and they all concurred, in various ways, in spreading extravagant tales, wild terrors, and maddening suspicions. As to poor Necker, with his empty treasury, the Assembly told him that they were forbidden by their constituents to consent to any new taxes or loans until the constitution should be finished and set a-going. But, for some months past, no taxes or duties had been paid in any part of the kingdom; those who had attempted with any energy to collect them had been murdered, and their books and registers were all destroyed. The treasury was as empty as it was when Loménie de Brienne quitted it. At last the Assembly relented so far as to consent to a new loan for 30,000,000 of livres; but they reduced the rate of interest proposed by Necker, upon the fanciful assumption that French patriots could, would, and ought to lend their money to their country at four and a-half per cent. But French patriotism was very poor—so poor or diffident that it could not raise a sum of money which a London parish would have furnished in four-and-twenty hours; and in the present state of the country not four and a-half, but forty, per cent. would have seemed proportioned to the risk in the eyes of foreign speculators. It therefore happened that Necker's loan remained unfilled, and his coffers empty. In other respects also the banquier-philosophe had grounds for lamentation: the Assembly went over his accounts as if they doubted his probity; and it was easy for him to perceive "that the spirit of the nation could no longer accommodate itself to the slowness and timidity of the minister."*

Having, in the fustian language of the time, "discharged their duties with respect to the finances and the maintenance of public tranquillity," Assembly returned to the higher function of the drawing up the Rights of Man, for Lafayette was

* Thiers.

anxious above all things for the completion of this great work. They rubbed up their logic and their metaphysics, and sat again disputing whole days and nights about words or the vaguest of ideas. "I remember that long discussion which lasted for weeks," says an ear-witness, "as a season of mortal ennui: there were empty disputations about terms, there was an accumulation of metaphysical rubbish and an overpowering loquacity; the Assembly seemed converted into a disputatious school of Sorbonne, and all the apprentices in legislation made their essays on these puerilities. After many models had been rejected, a committee of five was appointed to draw up a new one. Mirabeau, one of the five, had the generosity, which was ordinary to him, to take the whole task upon himself, and then give it to his private friends to perform it for him. Here then we were, Duroverai, Clavière, Mirabeau, and myself, composing, disputing, writing a word, and scratching out four words, exhausting ourselves over this ridiculous task, and producing at last a piece of patchwork, a miserable mosaic of the pretended natural rights of man, which had never existed. During the course of this triste compilation I made reflections which I had never made until then. I felt the falseness and the absurdity of the work, which was nothing but a puerile fiction. The declaration of rights, said I, may be made after the constitution, but not before it; for rights exist by laws, and cannot precede them. Such maxims, besides, are dangerous. We ought not to bind legislators by general propositions which we may afterwards be obliged to modify and limit: above all things we ought not to bind them by false maxims. It is not true that 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL.' They are not born free; on the contrary they are born in a state of helplessness and necessary dependence. And where are they born equal? Where can they be so born? Do we mean equality of fortune, of talent, of virtue, of industry, of condition? The falsehood is manifest. Volumes would be required to give an appearance of sense to this equality which you proclaim without any exception." * But Rousseau had proclaimed in prose, and Voltaire before him in verse, that all men were equal; and Sièyes, with all the philosophes and the great majority of the Assembly, had made up their minds that this dogma, this untrue truism, should stand at the head of their Declaration of the Rights of Man. Dumont, however, succeeded in making Mirabeau heartily ashamed of the whole production; and, when that mighty roc, dressed out in plumage not his own, but brightened and set off by his manner of wearing it, perched on the tribune with the world-manifesto in his claw, he told the Assembly that the thing would never be more than an almanac for a year—that they were losing their time in abstractions and generalities—that they ought first to make the constitution, and then, if they would, the declaration of rights. But unfortunately Mirabeau, before getting his lesson from Dumont, had spoken on the other side: he was now violently assailed and abused for his own inconsistency; and not being prompt at debate, or at all prepared to argue a question without written materials in his hand, he soon receded and gave up the question altogether, just as a considerable number of deputies were preparing themselves to support him. We cannot, however, believe that any perseverance, boldness, or ability in Mirabeau, and a score or two of supporters, could have prevented the birth of the wretched abortion: the galleries, the journalists, the pamphleteers, who were all working so fast as to have doubled or trebled the price of printing in Paris, had all taken the Declaration to their hearts' core; and the great mass of the people had by this time been taught to consider it as the great *sine quâ non* in their treaty with chance, fortune, or fate, for their political regeneration and maximum happiness.* Several of the more moderate deputies did indeed declare their opinion. Malouet demonstrated the inconveniences which must inevitably arise from such a declaration; and represented that it would be much better to endeavour to restore tranquillity than to loosen and break all those artificial ties that bound society together, by metaphysical definitions, which were sure to be vague or incorrect—that what the Assembly ought now to do was to labour with all their might to devise means for restoring order and subordination to the laws, so as to induce the people to respect property and pay the taxes, without which the state could not exist for many months longer. He also treated the proposed Declaration of the Rights of Man as a cruel deception, calculated to do more mischief to the people themselves than to princes and governments. "Why," said he, "should we transport men to the ideal summit of a mountain, and show them the wide domain of their rights beneath, when we shall most assuredly be obliged to make them descend from that fanciful elevation, and compelled to bring them down to the real world, where they will find every step fettered with necessary restraints?" After much cobbling and alteration, a Declaration was adopted and published to the world, though without the royal assent, at the beginning of September. It did as little honour to the logic as to the common sense of those who concocted it: it was full of contradictions and inconsequences; it proclaimed that all men were free and equal—were not only *born* free and equal, but *remained* so—but at the same time it imposed restraints which were necessary indeed, but which overset the whole theory of perfect liberty and equality. What had been seen and predicted happened immediately: the people regarded only the crude dogma, and utterly disregarded the comment and the limitations; their pride was flattered, and all their evil passions were encouraged to dissolve the ties of social order, and work out the doctrine by seizing the property and

* Dumont.

* The Marquis de Bouillé says decidedly that the Declaration of Rights was carried merely through the interference and dictation of the galleries.—*Mémoires.*

destroying the persons of all who were richer or greater than themselves. Having accomplished this promising introduction to their great work, the Assembly endeavoured to put the finishing hand to the constitution. Mounier, Lally-Tolendal, Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, and a few others—we believe their entire number did not exceed a dozen—constantly recommended as a model the constitution of Great Britain, which was also honoured by the approbation of Necker and two or three of his brother ministers. But the old national prejudices rose up in arms, and the majority not only felt, but declared in language more or less plain, that it would be dishonourable and disgraceful for free and enlightened Frenchmen of the eighteenth century to adopt a constitution which had grown up in the ages of barbarism, and which still smelt of feudalism; and as for the philosophes and writers out of doors, who were ever dictating to these legislators, they asked how Frenchmen could possibly follow the example of a dull people, that were slavish enough to respect a king, and superstitious enough to believe in a God? But without copying the whole of the English constitution, they might have seen that no constitution could march without two chambers; and here they had even republican precedents, for the Americans had, at an early stage, felt the necessity of having a senate, and no republic had ever flourished without a senate or some sort of body to check and control the direct representatives of the people. Even Jefferson had hinted to them that twelve hundred men in one chamber were too many, and that for good legislation two houses or chambers were necessary: nay, at one time, this thorough-paced democrat had even thought that it would not be amiss to place the privileged classes in one house, like our peers and bishops in the House of Lords, and the unprivileged in another, like our members in the House of Commons. But his disciple, Lafayette, thought any such scheme improper or impracticable; the general feeling was decidedly hostile to any separation of the legislative authority; Sièyes chopped logic and split straws in order to demonstrate the monstrous absurdity of any such *scheme*; and, except Mounier and Lally-Tolendal, scarcely a man in the National Assembly would so much as listen with patience to the name of an *upper* house. A CHAMBRE-HAUTE would indeed have been a preposterous anomaly after their Declaration of the Rights of Man, with its perfect-equality dogma. Besides, was not the entire people let loose, like a hundred thousand packs of famishing hounds, to destroy all privileges and distinctions? Was not the name of noble, aristocrat, bishop, or priest a cry to arms and cutting of throats? And was there any wisdom, or moderation, or political experience in the upper classes who might have been made to compose this upper house? And, if these qualities had existed in the high aristocracy, could the Tiers Etat, who had denounced the whole body of the noblesse as blood-suckers and traitors to the people, believe in their existence, or rely on the exercise of them when collisions, which were inevitable, should take place between the two chambers? Men most hate and fear those whom they have most injured and insulted: the last thing we forgive in an enemy is the wrong we have done to him. Dumont in a few words tells the whole story, and shows the impossibility of any accord or co-operation—"*The Tiers had placed themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse, or of making the noblesse fear them.*" Nor was there any agreement among the noblesse themselves, or any clear conception of what an upper house was or ought to be. A very large portion of the aristocracy now assuredly looked to nothing less than a counter-revolution, to be effected not parliamentarily, or by debates and words spoken in chambers, but by steel and gunpowder and the assistance of foreign armies; and of those who still attended the discussions in the hall, and looked to some more pacific settlement of the revolution, all that belonged to the inferior nobility (*la petite noblesse*) detested the idea of an upper house, in which they could not hope to find a place. Cooler and wiser men, even in rejecting the hereditary claims of the *Pairs de France*, and of an aristocracy (as such) altogether, might yet have hit upon some plan for forming, if not an *upper*, at least a *separate* house or chamber, and might have profitably followed the example of the Americans, who had placed the senate between congress and their president. But they were all convinced that they knew how to manage "these things better in France;" and they were captivated by the syllogisms and logical definitions of abbé Sièyes, who laid it down as matter more indisputable, unchangeable, and true than all the gospels ever written,—that society was one great whole—that the mass, without distinction of classes, ought *to will*—that the king, as sole magistrate, ought *to execute* what the mass *willed*. As a corollary to this absolute maxim, Sièyes affirmed that a monarchy or a republic would be the same thing, with no other difference than the less or greater number of magistrates charged with the execution of the national will. The vast majority of the Assembly indeed wished and willed a thoroughly democratic republic, with a nominal king at its head—a *roi de fève*, or twelfth-night king, with no more power over the Assembly, with no more faculty to control its proceedings, than the king of sugar and flour has power to eat the cake it is stuck upon. The intention of establishing the nullity of the sovereign power was fully developed in the discussions or harangues on the royal prerogative.* Mirabeau,

* "*It* must not be imagined that there was any regular debating on the *veto* like what takes place in the English House of Commons. As soon as the lists were opened orators were chosen *pour et contre*, and these orators, armed with their manuscripts, mounted the tribune one after the other, each reading his dissertation, which had nothing whatever to do with the dissertations which had preceded it. I cannot imagine anything more wearisome than this *sort of* academical sitting, than this reading of pamphlets filled with repetitions, and having no connexion with one another. The form of a debate, where every one speaks to answer or to attack, excites all the faculties of the mind, and keeps attention awake; but these French discourses, composed beforehand in the closet, refuted objections which had never been made, and did not refute those which were made. One was eternally at the same point with them, for every orator recommenced the

who had rejected the scheme of an upper house, partly out of hatred and spite to the aristocracy which had cast him off, and partly through a conviction that any such scheme at the present moment was impracticable, was induced by various circumstances and considerations to venture to recommend that the executive power should be made respectable and considerable. Among the innumerable theorists of the day there was a certain Marquis de Caseaux, who had written a book which nobody had ever read, and which was scarcely intelligible, entitled 'The Simplicity of the Idea of a Constitution.' Mirabeau, who had almost worn out his old friends in making them write out speeches and draw out plans for him, seized upon this new "Apocalyptic friend," who indoctrinated him in the mechanism of political societies, and furnished him not merely with arguments but with a manuscript speech of his own composition, to prove that there could be no law or government in France unless the Assembly granted to the sovereign the absolute *veto* or prerogative of rejecting all such votes, bills, or decrees as he might think proper (or, in the more constitutional language of England, the assent of the sovereign was to be held necessary before any bill could become a law). Mirabeau, without giving himself the trouble to correct the oddities of thought and phraseology, read this oration from the tribune, to the astonishment of a few friends and to the complete bewilderment of the house and galleries. For once his indolence did him good service: the speech was so obscure that people could not make out what it meant, and as the orator introduced a few impromptu flourishes of his own against tyrants and despots, Mirabeau escaped being hissed and hooted there, and being denounced to the Palais Royal and the clubs at Paris. Possibly it was not indolence, but a sly calculation, for Mirabeau well knew that all those who should propose leaving any prerogative to the king would be held up as traitors to the people, and have their names published all over France in black-lists and furious newspapers. He had said, indeed, in a more private manner and at an earlier period that, if the absolute *veto*, or the king's right of sanction, were not allowed and secured, he would rather live in Constantinople among the Turks than in Paris among free Frenchmen: but it was very necessary to him that he *should live;* he had no taste for martyrdom, no principles for which he would either die or suffer; and therefore he determined not to resist openly the sovereign will of the sovereign people. Henceforward he spoke as little upon the subject, either privately or publicly, as was possible; and, notwithstanding Caseaux's unlucky ideology, he contrived to keep his popularity in that bureau of proscription the Palais Royal, and to make the people believe that he was against the *veto*. Mounier, who acted with more honesty and boldness, was openly threatened with death and damnation, from popular opinion, from the Palais Royal, from all Paris; and such was the state of liberty, that this man, one of its earliest and best champions, was in danger of losing his life for having expressed a political opinion. How well public opinion was prepared for such constitutional matters, is explained in sundry little anecdotes. "What is the meaning of this veto?" asked one countryman of another. "I will tell you: you have got your spoon full of soup; the king says, spill your soup, and you must spill it; and that is veto." Even the townspeople, the *cultivated* Parisian populace, took the word veto as a synonyme for tax or tyrant, and immediately began to call the king *Monsieur Veto*. When Mirabeau went into Paris to settle accounts with Madame Jay, who was his mistress and his publisher's wife, he was surrounded by crowds of people, who conjured him, with tears in their eyes, not to suffer the king to have the absolute veto. They cried, "Ah, Monsieur le Comte, you are the father of the people; you must save us, you must defend us against those wretches who wish to give us over to despotism! If the king has the veto, where is the use of the National Assembly; all is lost, and we are slaves!" Monsieur le Comte took good care to conceal the tendency of those abstractions of Caseaux which he had read to the Assembly; he amused the mob with commonplaces about patriotism, and then dismissed them with patrician politeness.* He valued his popularity, upon which depended life or death, too much to attempt to explain or recommend the veto to the mob.

The capital was now divided into sixty sections or districts, which represented so many independent republics or anarchies, for each had its committees with executive power, and each attributed to itself a legislative power. "Everybody," says a French writer, "wished to act and command, for in France the love of liberty is rather apt to be a taste for power."† These sixty sections or districts not only dictated to Mayor Bailly in the Hôtel de Ville, but also assumed the right of controlling the twelve hundred deputies sitting at Versailles. As they had their logicians and definition-makers as well as the Assembly, they laid it down as something incontrovertible, that the power of those who delegate must be superior to the power of those who are delegated; and that the people could in no sense be bound by the votes of their deputies or their delegates in the Assembly, if such votes were opposed to their wishes. Every district, every class or profession, formed in fact constituent and legislative Assemblies of their own, wherein they accepted or allowed the votes and decrees passed at Versailles. The soldiers discussed state matters at the Oratory, the journeymen-tailors at the Colonnade, the peruquiers, whose trade was to be annihilated by this democracy, debated in the Champs Elysées, the footmen and

question as if nothing had been said upon it until he had opened his lips. Nothing but enthusiasm could enable a man to support the mortal *ennui* of these sittings."—*Dumont.*

* Dumont. † Miguet.

other classes of gentlemen's servants harangued, voted, and divided at the Louvre.* Of clubs above-ground, and clubs under-ground, there was no end. There was one incessant and universal roar about Veto, veto; and every explanation seemed to make the monster blacker than it was before. Camille Desmoulins, and other orators still more fervid than he, kept up the excitement in the Palais Royal without explaining the true meaning of the word, which many of them were incapable of doing. Their general topic was, that the National Assembly was not going fast enough for the good of the people, and was allowing itself to be duped and undermined by the court and aristocracy. Instead of talking about veto and chambers, why did not the representatives of the people go straight to their object and obtain bread for the people? The favourite or most influential of these orators, and one who had more power over the mob than the great Camille himself, was a certain Marquis Saint Hurugue, who, after wasting his fortune and marrying a common prostitute, had been shut up in half the prisons and mad-houses in France, but who had recovered his liberty in these universally free times. He was old and mad, but his manners were popular, as he would drink and smoke with the mob, and the loud and rude inspiration of madness was well suited to the popular taste. The people called him Father Adam, and were always ready to undertake mischief of his recommending. Mounted on a chair or a table, he was constantly telling the patriots of the Palais Royal that they must go in a body to Versailles and demand an account as well from the Assembly as from the king, for their shameful hesitation in working out the happiness of the people. On one occasion he put himself at the head of the mob and marched out of Paris by the Versailles road. This time he was headed back by Lafayette and some detachments of the national guards, for which good office Lafayette got the name of Cromwell, and the national guards no small share of unpopularity. Saint Hurugue, Camille Desmoulins, who was only a few degrees less mad, and all the loud-tongued demagogues complained that the national guards were becoming aristocrats; and demanded that the National Assembly should expel every deputy that opposed the will of the people by voting or speaking for the veto. They actually denounced Mounier, and sent a deputation to Lally-Tollendal to engage him to separate from the bad citizens who defended the veto, and to tell him that 20,000 men were ready to march from the Palais Royal to the hall of the Assembly. The municipality of Paris mustered up courage enough to put the maniac marquis under arrest; but this did no manner of good; they durst not keep him in confinement, and, when in a very few days he was released, he was only more furious than before. Other places followed the example of the capital: all Paris was becoming a Palais Royal. The people of Rennes sent up an address to the National Assembly, declaring that the veto was inadmissible, and that all who voted for it were traitors to their country. The galleries of the hall, which, on a moderate estimate, were capable of containing 3000 people, became still more furious and impatient, interfering with every proposition, and cursing and threatening every member of the House that either recommended two chambers or the king's prerogative. The more timid of the deputies now absented themselves altogether; and many who remained trembled and were silent. The president was more than once driven from the chair by gross insults. Lally, Mounier, and one or two others, were hooted out of the tribune. The one chamber, or the unity of the Assembly, as it was termed, was finally decreed by 490 voices against 89 who voted for two chambers. To moderate the fury against the veto it was resolved, by those who wished for some degree of kingly authority, to change its character or name, and call not for an absolute but suspensive veto (*veto suspensif*). That is to say, the sovereign was to have the power of withholding his consent or sanction for a certain time. Louis consented to this alteration, and Necker went down to the Assembly with a mémoire, proposing a veto which should only have the power of suspending laws during one or two assemblies or sessions of the legislature. Mounier and Lally have been accused of a serious political blunder, and of a lamentable imprudence, very injurious to the king and to the whole monarchy, in opposing this modification and in insisting that the veto ought to be absolute; but, as every kind of veto was abhorrent to the imagination of the people, we think that Lally's regrets and Mounier's denunciations could have produced very little effect one way or the other. All that they said was that the king ought to have more prerogative; all that the people and the majority of the Assembly said, and had been saying all along, was, that the king should have no prerogative at all. But, while Mounier and Lally contended for the absolute veto, the majority affected to feel that some power of sanction or of rejection ought really to be vested in the sovereign; and they declared that the suspensive veto was the just medium between too much and too little. By it the king was to have the power to suspend a law during two assemblies; but if a third Assembly persisted in the law and sent it up again for the royal assent he was then to be bound to give his sanction. They took care, however, to explain the term *sanction* or assent, and to limit the operation of the thing itself. It was asked whether this sanction or royal assent was necessary to the constitution itself? And not merely was this question answered in the negative, but the negative was accompanied by specifications, that the constituent power was superior to the powers constituted; that the royal sanction could be exercised only upon legislative acts, and not upon constituent acts, which must be promulgated by the Assembly. With these limitations the *veto suspensif* was carried by 673 voices,

* Mignet.

against 325 that voted for the *veto absolu*. Mirabeau again showed his craft by not voting at all. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal instantly withdrew their names from the constitution committee, and declared they would have nothing more to do with constitution-making. The constitution committee nevertheless continued their labours, admitting of no obstacle, allowing no opposition, or even expression of opinion contrary to the will of the majority. Study and meditation went for nothing in committees or in the House; all the decrees continued to be passed as if at the point of the sword: there was no interval of repose, no truce allowed for men's passions to cool themselves. Everything having been thrown down and destroyed, everything was to be re-made, and all at once; but the Assembly entertained so high an opinion of their own genius and ability, that they would readily have undertaken to make codes and constitutions for all the nations of the earth. "The most dominant trait in the French character," continues the Genevan historian and philosopher, "is self-conceit. Every member of that Assembly believed himself capable of everything: never were so many men seen that imagined that they were all great legislators, and that they were all collected to repair the faults of the past, to remedy all the errors of the human mind, and to secure the happiness of mankind for centuries to come. Doubt had no place in their minds: a proud infallibility reigned in all their contradictory decrees. In vain a numerous minority complained, implored, remonstrated, and protested; the more the minority attacked them, the more satisfied they were with themselves. When the king ventured to send them some gentle remonstrances on the wording of the sweeping decrees of the 4th of August, and on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, they were astonished that ministers should have the audacity to write critical notes on their labours, and M. Necker, the real author of those notes, was lost with them from that moment."* But all this could not well be otherwise: the French, in no time, in no class, and in no circumstances, had been able to tolerate a minority: if the minority was strong enough to fight, it fought; if too weak to fight, it fell to the earth and was trampled upon, and every attempt to rise again was punished as rebellion and treason. And now the strength of the majority, with Sièyes's one and indivisible mass on its side, was so immeasurably superior! The victories it had gained had been so numerous and so rapid! They had swallowed up the noblesse and clergy by the bold proceedings at the Tennis-Court and by getting them to sit and vote as one body with the commons; they had destroyed not merely their privileges but their property by the resolutions of the 4th of August and by the Declaration of the Rights of Man; they had debarred them from the only faint chance—and a most faint one it was—of recovering some portion of their weight, by refusing the second chamber; and by all their proceedings united they had brought down the royal authority—they had cast the crown to the same dirt in which they had thrown coronets and mitres.

In the mean while the financial distress had kept on the increase. The Assembly consented to a second loan proposed by Necker; but, though this time they did not meddle with the rate of interest, hardly any money could be procured. The troubles of the country had finished the destruction of public credit; the incessant emigration of the upper classes carried off a large amount of specie; the rich who remained buried their money for fear of being robbed of it by the practical illustrators of the Equal Rights of Man; travellers who annually brought large sums into France now shunned the country, and foreign speculators would not risk their capital in so frail a bottom as a National Assembly loan. Necker, who had long since wished himself back at his pleasant quiet home at Copet, was harassed, and could do nothing more nor less than harass the Assembly. He beset them with his eternal complaints, he reproached them with having done nothing for the finances and public credit in five long months; and then the Assembly, wearied, disgusted, irritated, declared in substance that Necker was wholly deficient in statesmanlike talent, a wearisome, pedantic, old fool, that was very probably playing fast and loose with them and with the court, and that ought to be got rid of. *Sic transit gloria.* Alas for the people's minister! Alas for the man that had trusted so much to the people's virtue and moderation! Mirabeau, who had always despised and hated the banquier-philosophe, very principally because he was a man of decorous life, now held him up to contempt while pretending to serve him and to save the country from a national bankruptcy. Some romantic patriots in the Assembly fancied that the present necessities of the state might be supplied by appealing directly to the patriotism and generosity of the people, and by inviting them to make gifts (*dons de patriotisme*). The idea was seized in a moment, for it was very favourable to orations and comparisons with the self-devoting virtues of antiquity. As specie was so rare, silver spoons, forks, all things were to be taken, and the names of the donors were to be registered in an imperishable book. In a fit of enthusiasm nearly all the members of the Assembly took their gold and silver buckles from their shoes, and offered them up on the altar of the country. Following this glorious example, numbers of men, not delegates, but makers and masters of delegates, came to sacrifice their buckles: women brought their spoons and their forks, their wedding-rings and nick-nacks, so that the National Hall was made to look like a pawnbroker's shop. The donors were far from being of the richest or most respectable orders; conspicuous among the number were the prostitutes of Paris and Versailles, who, with a frank, plain-speaking patriotism, offered a share of their earnings, and had their obscene offer accepted: nor

* Dumont.

was it unfitting that such a liberty should be nourished by such donations. The epidemic, like other novelties, raged for a time, and then was over. On the 26th of September Gouverneur Morris went to Versailles to see what was doing, and found the Assembly occupied in receiving "trifling matters of presents, called the gifts of patriotism, but more properly the sacrifices to vanity." Except one landed proprietor, who gave up a whole forest, and Necker, who presented 100,000 livres, we hear of no important gift. The patriots who had plundered the châteaux and churches do not appear to have come to offer up any part of their *spolia opima*. On the whole, patriotism would no more give than it would lend. The necessities of the state were not to be met by silver buckles and wedding-rings. For a time, no doubt, as Mirabeau had said, the poverty of the court and government was the safety of the National Assembly :—the deficit was a rock, but not unfavourable to the growth of liberty. Like the profitable inertia of the Tiers Etat, it could not, however, be further prolonged, for all classes were feeling the effects of it, and thousands of desperate men, who had been employed in public works, must be paid, and, as there is already a talk of foreign interference and invasion, the frontier fortifications must be repaired, and stores and ammunition purchased. Besides, the deputies themselves, who are living on their twelve shillings a day per man, will not be able to get their pay many days longer, if some means are not adopted for putting money into the coffers of the state. The king and queen had already sent some of their plate to be coined into money for the relief of their own immediate necessities. It was in vain to look to the receipt of taxes; the people would pay none. Necker, therefore, with the courage of despair, laid before the Assembly a scheme for a supply which the boldest minister of the most despotic government might have shrunk from proposing. It was simply this :—that every man should make an extraordinary contribution to the state of the fourth part of his annual income, to be paid at different times during the course of three years. It left, however, a large margin for all those that might consider the exaction as excessive, for the estimate of each man's income was left to his own honour, and the poor industrious classes were to be wholly excepted.* The Assembly appointed a committee, and the committee, after passing three days in examining the project, made their report. "Vast respect," says the Transatlantic republican, who was watching their puerile proceedings, and marvelling at them, "is expressed for the *Premier Ministre de Finance*, and then sundry details and combinations, which show that the committee understand the business much better than the minister. At the close of the report there is a feebleness which they are not perhaps aware of. They appeal to patriotism for aid; but they should in money matters apply only to interest. They should never acknowledge such want of resource as to render the aid of patriotism necessary."* After the report was read the Assembly were for taking it into consideration, but this would have occupied three or four days more, and the necessities of the government were so urgent as to admit of no delay. Mirabeau insisted that they should take up and adopt Necker's proposition without any discussion. "He is called to the tribune," writes Morris, "and in a style of fine irony urges the immediate adoption of the plan as proposed by the *premier ministre*, from the blind confidence which the Assembly have in him, and from the unbounded popularity which he enjoys! These, says he, in our dreadful situation, which he has exposed, and in the imminency of danger, which precludes debate, urge, nay, command us to adopt, without examination, what the minister has devised for our relief. Let us then agree to it literally (*textuellement*), and, if it succeeds, let him, as he ought, enjoy the glory. If it fails, which Heaven forefend, we will then exercise our talents in trying to discover if yet there remain any means to save our country." This bantering course had been cunningly calculated. "To my great astonishment," continues our American, "the representatives of this nation, who pique themselves on being the modern Athenians, are ready to swallow this proposition by acclamation. The President, Clermont de Tonnerre, who perceives its tendency, throws into a different form the style of its adoption. Mirabeau immediately rises, and very adroitly parries the stroke, by showing that this form is not consistent with his view, which the Assembly appear willing to comply with; that certainly a subject of such magnitude should not be carried by acclamation, without having the specific form before them; and, if he were to propose a form, it would require at least a quarter of an hour to consider and prepare it. He is immediately (by acclamation) ordered to *redact* his proposition, and, while he is about it, the Bishop d'Autun (Talleyrand) retires. We remark it. My friend acknowledges that they are in league together. The world already suspects that union. During their absence there is a great deal of noisy debate on various subjects, if, indeed, such controversy may be dignified with the name of debate. At length Mirabeau returns, and brings his motion forward in consistence with his original idea. The Assembly now perceive the trap, and, during the tumult, Lally-Tollendal proposes that the motion be sent to the committee of finances to frame an act (*arrêté*). Here again Mirabeau manœuvres to avoid that *coup*. And while the House are hung up in their judgment, or rather entangled from the want of judgment, d'Espréménil makes a motion co-incident with that of Mirabeau in substance, though contrarient in form. There is not sufficient confidence in him, and therefore his proposition drops. But it would seem from thence that he is in the faction with

* "Every citizen," says Mignet, "was to fix the sum himself, employing this simple form, which paints so well these early times of frankness and patriotism :—'*I declare with truth.*'"

* Gouverneur Morris.

Talleyrand and Mirabeau, or that the same principle of hatred to Necker has operated a coincidence of conduct on the present occasion. After this, tumult and noise continue to reign in the hall. Mirabeau at length, in another speech, openly declares his disapprobation of Necker's plan. It is moved to postpone the consideration of the subject at three o'clock; but that motion is lost. "At about four I retire, extremely fatigued, in the belief that Mirabeau's motion cannot possibly be adopted, and that they will postpone at last the consideration."* But Mirabeau had tickled his trout in the way they liked to be tickled; and, all the speakers condemning or sneering at Necker, the Assembly inclined to accede to Mirabeau's original proposition that the extraordinary contribution plan should be adopted before any adjournment. At the decisive moment the bold orator re-ascended the tribune, shook his long black locks, and thundered out a speech which was compared to the grandest and most passionate orations of Demosthenes. In concluding, he exclaimed, "Vote this extraordinary subsidy, and may it prove sufficient! Vote it, because, if you have doubts on the means, you have no doubts as to the necessity, and our inability to supply its place with any other plan. Vote it, because the circumstances of the country allow of no deliberation, and because we shall be held accountable for any delay. Be careful not to demand time: misfortune never grants time! . . . . You heard not long ago mad words from the Palais Royal—'*Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and the Assembly deliberates!*' and yet there was then around us neither Catiline nor dangers, neither factions nor anything like Rome: but to-day bankruptcy, hideous bankruptcy, is here among you; it threatens to consume you, your property, your honour; and you deliberate!"† At these words the Salle des Menus Plaisirs was shaken in all its parts by a far-resounding acclamation, and with this roar of voices Mirabeau's motion and Necker's plan "were carried hollow."‡ An address to the patriotic part of the nation was then passed, stating the necessity of making great sacrifices in cases of great emergency. It was soon found, however, that no momentary enthusiasm in-doors could render palatable out-of-doors a scheme which proposed nothing less than taking *exclusively* from the superior classes of society a fourth of their annual revenue. Those classes, already attacked, despoiled, or soon to be so,—those classes, delivered up, bound hand and foot, to the people, very naturally considered this decree as proceeding from a combination, made by men without property, to strip those who still retained any of the last farthing they possessed. For, the example being once set of taxing a part of the community, and condemning them to bear all the burthens of the state, there was no possibility of seeing to what extent the process might not be carried under the sanction of such a precedent, and by an Assembly that had usurped all the powers of government, and that were likely to maintain their usurpation by other acts of the same kind. The state necessity was a common plea of tyrants, and might be brought forward as long as it should suit these unscrupulous legislators, or as long as any gentleman in France should have any income or revenue left. If the total failure of the customary taxes was to be alleged as an argument, why had the people been aroused and armed to resist their payment, until better, or, at least, other taxes had been provided to supply the deficiency? At this moment the landed proprietors had sacrificed a vast amount of rights and property to the public good; another great amount of their property had been totally destroyed by the horrid burnings and devastations of the unbridled people; altogether they were in a state of humiliation and distress; and, being in this state, were they alone to be called upon for the means of preventing a national bankruptcy?* With such feelings as these the honour of men was not implicitly to be relied upon: many, in going through the prescribed formula—*I declare with truth*, &c.—declared what was *not* true, and underrated their incomes very materially. But could any minister of finance except Necker, or any legislative body except this National Assembly of France, have expected any other result from such a plan? As for patriotism, as we have shown, she was a beggar that wanted to get, and not to give. The extraordinary subsidy, therefore, was scarcely more productive than the loans. It ought to have been evident to every thinking man that the next step would be some wholesale confiscation—not a call upon the superior classes for the fourths of their incomes, but the violent seizure of the estates from which their incomes were derived. "The finances of a revolution," says a truly revolutionary historian, "must depend upon more daring and vaster measures: the Assembly had not only to feed the revolution (*faire subsister la révolution*), but also to fill up the immense deficit which retarded its march and clouded its future prospects."†

In the mean time a terrible cry was continued at the Palais Royal, in all the sixty sections of Paris, throughout the whole kingdom, against the very limited prerogative granted to the king by the suspensive veto. By the furious populace, whose

* Gouverneur Morris, Diary. This unornamented account of a most important debate is curious and interesting, and lets in no inconsiderable light on the general procedure of these novices in parliamentary business. The native French accounts, one and all, disguise the absurdities with the pomp of their language and the complex texture of their paragraphs.

† Mignet.

‡ At dinner that evening Gouverneur Morris met Necker's celebrated daughter, Madame de Staël, who was in raptures, and fully convinced that her father's plan would yet save the country. She was greatly pleased with the conduct of Mirabeau; which, she said, was, perhaps, the only way of bringing such a wrongheaded body as the Assembly to act rightly! She thought that the blockheads had nothing to do but to comply with her father's wishes. The poor American had been very nigh telling her, before he knew her close relationship to the minister, that he considered her father's plan as a very bad one! The mistress of the house, Madame de Tessé, took Madame de Staël to task for the approbation she had given to that *immoral* man, Mirabeau: the de Staël replied, and the ladies became at length animated to the utmost bounds of politeness. These little familiar glimpses show the feelings and passions of the time.

In her published *Considerations sur la Revolution*, the de Staël says, with some naïveté—"The day on which Mirabeau displayed his highest eloquence was when he astuciously defended this finance decree, proposed by M. Necker, and painted the horrors of bankruptcy.

* Ann. Regist.—Bertrand de Molleville. † Mignet.

gross ignorance was now the dominant philosophy, and whose words were laws, all the calamities of the country, the distress and want of employment which proceeded from the anarchy the regenerators had made, the scarcity of bread which resulted from the hail-storms and the bad harvest of the preceding year, were all attributed either to the veto or to the plots of the aristocracy. An orator haranguing a Paris mob was heard to say, "Gentlemen, we are in want of bread, and here is the reason of it. Only three days ago the king got that *veto suspensif*, and already the aristocrats have bought up the suspensions, and sent all the corn out of the kingdom." To this sensible and profound discourse his audience gave a hearty assent, ejaculating "*Ma foi, il a raison. Ce n'est que ça*, (By my faith he is right; it is nothing but that)."* Other haranguers swore that the aristocrats had been throwing the wheat and flour into the Seine, had been burying it in the earth, had been burning it in their châteaux, in order to starve the people; others were equally confident that the queen was sending it all to her brother Joseph! Necker had done what he could to procure corn and bread for the people; but his all amounted to little or nothing. A few months before this, and only a few days before that brief dismissal from office which had hurried on so many strange events, he had written a somewhat fulsome letter to Mr. Pitt, calling him a minister of rare virtues and sublime talents, the most eloquent of men, and the most virtuous of orators, and praying that he would permit the exportation to France of 20,000 sacks of English flour.† Pitt, who was not liable to sudden, romantic emotions of generosity, called the corn-factors of Mark-Lane together, and consulted them on the subject. These factors were of opinion that the sending out of the kingdom such a quantity of flour, though it did not exceed a week's consumption in London, would probably raise the price of wheat. As the price of corn, at this time, in Great Britain actually exceeded the price at which exportation was allowed by law, the application was safely submitted to Parliament, then sitting. The Commons appointed a committee, who reported "that, from a comparative view of the prices of wheat-flour in France and in England, they were of opinion that 20,000 sacks of flour ought not to be exported;" and upon this opinion Pitt coldly informed the French ambassador that the request could not be granted. And when he found, soon afterwards, that private individuals were supplying the half-famishing French with corn, he, by royal proclamation, prohibited the exportation of corn in any way or to any country. The French did not give much credit to the sincerity of his apprehensions of a bad harvest next year, and scarcity at home; but rather attributed the refusal to English hatred, malice, and uncharitableness. It was a new twig of rue put into the old cauldron of sourness and bitterness. Pitt, who had taken the responsibility upon himself during the recess of parliament, was covered, as soon as the Houses met, by a bill of indemnity. The scarcity in Paris and its thickly-peopled neighbourhood kept on the increase, and, by the end of August it approached, in numerous cases, very nearly to absolute famine. It appears that, at least in some instances, efforts were maliciously made, or measures foolishly adopted, that had the effect of rendering the government—if the king and his ministers could yet be called a government—more and more hateful to the people. The Marquis de Bouillé says, that, having at Metz, and in the provinces under his command, corn sufficient to subsist the troops, amounting to 20,000 men, for eighteen months, on being pressed by the people, whose provisions were almost totally exhausted, and still more by the administrative bodies, who could not possibly supply them, he proposed to the government to distribute the half of this grain among the towns and villages, upon condition of receiving the same amount of grain from them after the ensuing harvest. He adds, that this might have been done without any inconvenience; that he presented the plan to ministers, who rejected it; that, notwithstanding this refusal of the ministry, he resolved at last to carry his project into execution; and that he was afterwards thanked for so doing by Necker himself, though he had refused his consent to the measure.* Purveyors appointed by the commune or municipality of Paris to procure grain, or find out where it was hidden, performed their office, some in so violent, and some in so corrupt a way, as to increase the distress. Matters were not mended by the appointment, in the Hôtel de Ville, of a committee of subsistence; for these committee-men did not go to work in the wisest way, and could not furnish bread where there was no corn to make it. The monstrous absurdity, moreover, was committed of fixing by proclamation the maximum price of corn. Government, or public bodies of any kind, could obtain no credit from farmers, factors, or holders, of corn; for there seemed to be no security, no certainty of payment anywhere. The Paris corn-market, constantly beset by a desperate mob, required six hundred of the national guards constantly under arms to protect it; and this frightened away many dealers and producers who might otherwise have carried their grain to market. The bakers' shops were assailed from morning till night, and the bakers abused, ill-treated, and threatened with the lanterne, as if they were the cause of the scarcity, or could sell loaves cheap when corn was dear. Mayor Bailly and the philosophical heads of the commune decreed that rye and other *cereales* should be mixed with the wheaten flour; and rye and millet and what-not were mixed with the bread in increasing proportions, until at last the Paris loaf was black. This gave rise to

* Gouverneur Morris, Diary. The astonished American adds, "Oh rare! These are the modern Athenians! Alone learned, alone wise, alone polite, and the rest of mankind barbarians!"

† Tomline, Bishop of Winchester, Life of Pitt. The date here given to Necker's letter is June 25, 1789.

* Mémoires.

new fury, and to a suspicion, very generally entertained, that there was an intention of poisoning the people, and that *slow* poison was mixed in all the loaves. In the little town of St. Denis, a few miles from Paris, the mob rose upon their mayor, and hanged him on a lamp-post, for allowing such black bread to be sold to them. The ultra-revolutionary journalists and pamphleteers—the Marats, the Dantons, the Camille Desmoulins—artfully and industriously propagated the belief that there was a fixed design on the part of the court and aristocracy to poison or starve the people: they told stories about the noblesse cutting down the young corn, paying millers for not grinding, and bakers for not baking, throwing all the flour they had or could get into ponds and rivers, &c.; and no lie, however absurd and monstrous, seemed incredible to the people, who pretended to be the most civilized and enlightened nation in Europe. To keep the more desperate and utterly destitute portion of the population of Paris quiet, and yet to have them at hand for any emergency — for even now these triumphant revolutionists were constantly haunted by a dread of royalist plots and counter-revolutions —Bailly and Lafayette got twelve thousand employed in digging trenches on Montmartre, at a livre, or about tenpence, a man, per day, which was all paid out of the city funds. But this resource could last only a very short while.*

At the same time the people were exasperated by reports that Bouillé was seizing all the corn he could lay his hands upon, and that the king, with all of the royal family that had not yet fled across the frontiers, was going to join Bouillé at Metz, and there raise the standard of civil war, while the emigrant princes and nobles, at the head of various foreign armies, were preparing to invade France on every one of its frontiers. From sentiments very different from love, the populace had for some time desired that the king should be made to reside in Paris; and ever since the 30th of August, when the mad Marquis Hurugue tried to march to Versailles, the idea had been entertained of bringing the royal family by force to the capital. Nor was this desire or settled plan entertained solely by the mob and the Palais Royal orators; it had been suggested frequently among the civic authorities sitting in the Hôtel de Ville, and it had been whispered among the deputies of the National Assembly, who thought that they should be safer in Paris, with half a million of patriots around them, than at Versailles, where they still fancied themselves overshadowed by the court. Lafayette has himself confessed, in more places than one, that he had "all along been of opinion that the Assembly would be more quiet, and the king more *secure*, in Paris;"† and when this opinion was so strongly entertained by one with his power, or, for the moment, very commanding influence, we may reasonably question whether any delicate regard to the acknowledged right of the sovereign to choose his own place of residence would prevent the wish from being realized by force. All the journalists, with all those that loved the excitement of oratory, had long been clamouring for the removal of the Assembly to the capital, it being a long journey to Versailles and back, and expensive too. It is certain, indeed, that several weeks before the unlucky fête given to the regiment of Flanders in the Palace of Versailles, that palace would have been invaded, and the king compelled to come to the Tuileries, but for exertions made by the more respectable part of the national guards, who possibly cared very little about the sovereign, or any rude treatment he might receive, but who were bound by their own interests, by their own instinct, to check such perilous maniacs as Saint Hurugue, and curb the rabble who threatened a universal plunder or overthrow. This portion of the civic militia, composed of reputable bourgeois, lawyers, merchants, shopkeepers, and others who had some property to lose, did not wish the revolution to go much farther, and were eager to cast off the desperate bands who, in the hour of danger, had placed themselves in the van, and with whom they had hitherto co-operated and fraternized. It was all very well to pull down every thing to their level, but there they thought the levelling ought to cease: it was proper, in their eyes, to throw the crown in the dirt, to plunder the noblesse, and squeeze the fat church; but, notwithstanding the new gospel of the Rights of Man, they could see no moral or political propriety in being humbled, plundered, and squeezed themselves. Their time was not yet come—the Revolution was too young for it; and for the present they were enabled to exercise an irregular and very uncertain control over the rabble. They assumed a uniform, took the oaths, as administered by Bailly and Lafayette, to be true to the nation, to the law, and to the king, took their arms from as many of the poorest classes as they could, and turned no inconsiderable number of rapscallions, not merely out of their regiments, but out of Paris. The national guards, being thus purified, might to some extent be depended upon for the preservation of order, but they were not strong enough to make head against any great popular rising in the districts and faubourgs, and they were not wise and cool enough to be exempt from the passions, the suspicions, and panic-fears of the times. As soon as they established their supremacy in Paris, which they were the sooner enabled to do by incorporating with themselves the regular troops of the French guard, who were to be paid by the city, they manifested the national character in a very decided manner: they patrolled the streets incessantly with drum and fife and fixed bayonets; they hectored over the unarmed part of the population as if they had been all their lives gens d'armes; they did all

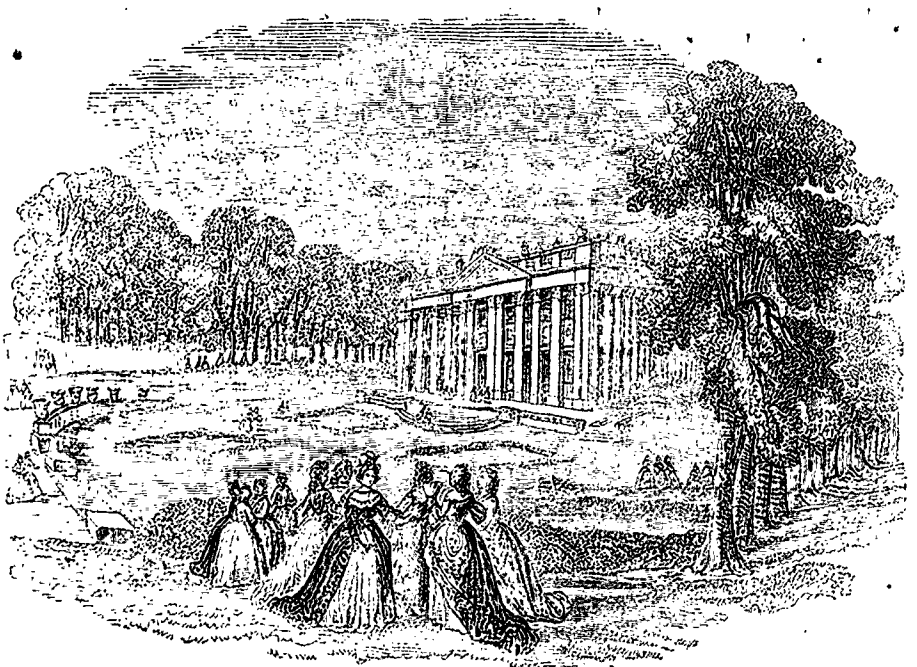
* "This multitude of men," says Bailly, "would have become a formidable army if they had been left without bread; so we were obliged to exert ourselves in order to obtain funds to provide them with bread, and to prevent their mutinying, which they frequently threatened to do."—*Mémoires.* He makes the number of men paid by the municipality amount to 17,000, but we very much doubt whether the number given in our text be not grossly exaggerated.

Lafayette reviewed these desperadoes more than once.

† Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by Lafayette's family.

the duties of police in an ultra-military fashion, so that nothing was seen for a time in the streets and squares of Paris but levelled bayonets and waving swords. Instead of looking like a city that had overthrown despotism, conquered its king, and achieved the perfection of liberty, Paris looked very much like a town that had recently been taken by storm, and that was still in the hands of a pestilently unquiet garrison of conquerors. Bailly and Lafayette, who, as mayor of Paris and commander of the National Guards, took upon themselves the chief direction of affairs, endeavoured to purify the press as well as the militia. This too was but a part of a very intelligible whole, and nothing but another proof of the national spirit. They and the party to which they belonged had hallooed on the journalists and pamphleteers to a certain point, but now they pretended that beyond that point they should on no account go. The National Assembly had indeed decreed, with their usual solemnity, that the entire liberty of the press was one of the unalienable rights of man; but Bailly, Lafayette, and their compeers seemed to understand by this that the press might be free to *print* what they *thought*, but nothing more. They arrested the printers of several patriotic journals, and suppressed their papers as dangerous to the morals and peace of society; they prohibited the hawkers of newspapers from exercising their noisy calling in the streets unless previously provided with their civic licences, and every man of them with a badge. For a time the Marats and writers of that class, who in a future day were to be Baillys and Lafayettes, only with infinitely more power, were driven to hide themselves in by-places, and to write and print in dirty cellars, in butchers' shops, and deserted churches; and Lafayette boasted that he had arrested anarchy—stopped the revolution precisely where it ought to stop. Poor man! he might as well have pretended to drink up all the waters of the Seine that flow by Paris on their way to the ocean; or, between two thunder-claps, he might as reasonably have said, "This stillness is my making!"

We return to Versailles. Ever since the capture of the Bastille, and the consequent overthrow and flight of Marshal Broglie, there had been scarcely any troops in or near to this royal residence. The national guards did duty at the hall of the National Assembly, and even mounted guard at the palace. The king's body guard, about four *hundred strong*, and composed entirely of noblemen and gentlemen, did duty in the interior of the château, and had their quarters close at hand. There were, besides, the body called "Cent Suisses," or Hundred Swiss, a portion of the Swiss guard, and some chasseurs à cheval; and these were all. As the intention of the Palais Royal demagogues was perfectly well known, as the court was still more afraid of the Paris mob than the mob were afraid of the court—and with much reason—as there had repeatedly been a talk of sending fifteen, or twenty, or *thirty* thousand patriots to Versailles, there had arisen a very natural anxiety to obtain a more considerable military force; for what could four hundred gentlemen of the king's body guard, a squadron or two of chasseurs, some Swiss, and a few hundred Versailles men—supposing them even to be depended upon, which they were not—do against the whole rabble of Paris, led on by a Saint Hurugue? Assuredly the National



MARIE ANTOINETTE AT VERSAILLES—GARDENS AND PALACE OF THE PETIT TRIANON.

Assembly had never been in half the danger of Broglie's army, for half that army were on their side from the first, and they were backed by the whole people; yet the Assembly had given many a token of being ill at ease, and had, at least once or twice, been on the very verge of a flight. To increase the not irrational alarm of all that inhabited the palace, intelligence had been received, about the middle of September, that the grenadiers of the old French guards, now incorporated with the Paris militia (under the name of Centre Grenadiers), intended to rendezvous in the place Louis Quinze, and to march thence by night upon Versailles, in order either to bring the king to Paris or to make him their prisoner, by doing the duty of the château, and dismissing both body guards and the Versailles national guards. The name alone of these Gardes Françaises was enough to give the court an ague fit! On the 17th of September Lafayette wrote to M. de Saint Priest, one of the king's ministers, to deny that there was any danger of the kind; but his letter was ambiguous, and the court had no confidence in the writer.* The letter was communicated to Count d'Estaing, commandant of the national guard of Versailles, who agreed that it was not satisfactory, and that there was not force sufficient in that town to resist the Gardes Françaises, and the multitude that would be sure to join them. D'Estaing (a soldier and a sailor, who had served with distinction in the late American war, and who had fought Howe and Byron), a decided enemy to all counter-revolutionary projects, wished yet to reconcile an affection for the king, a regard for monarchy and the established rules of society, with a love for liberty and reform: he had undertaken the very dangerous and difficult task of advising the court, or rather the queen, who appears at this moment to have been the only person in the palace capable of forming any project, or of comprehending the real extent of the danger. With the best intentions, d'Estaing consulted with his staff, with the superior officers of the Versailles national guard, and with the municipality of that town, who were as yet composed of men that wished well to the court. They all agreed that, for the sake of the town itself as well as of the palace, some more regular troops ought to be brought up; and the municipality made, in form, an application to the minister at war for one regiment of two battalions. Saint-Priest, in a very constitutional manner, notified to the National Assembly the demand of the municipality, and informed them that ministers proposed bringing the regiment of Flanders to Versailles. The Assembly neither sanctioned nor condemned the proposition; they declared that it was not their business.† On the 23d of September the regiment of Flanders arrived, bag and baggage, and with all their appointments and appurtenances. They were met at the entrance of the town by detachments of the Versailles national guard, and by the municipality, who, to pacify the suspicions of the Assembly and people, administered to them the new oath, which put the nation first, the king last, and the law between the two. But suspicion was too susceptible and irritable to be soothed in this way; and the arrival of this single regiment seemed to fill all the patriots of the town and the majority of the Assembly with alarm and consternation. Terrible things were said of the long train of tumbrils and waggons that had come with the troops; and it was confidently reported that this particular regiment of Flanders had been selected because it was composed exclusively of fanatic royalists. Mirabeau now thundered from the tribune. If he had raised his voice two days before, when Saint Priest delivered his message, the regiment would not have been called to Versailles. Ministers now justified the measure by referring to the demand of the municipality. The arrival of the regiment was instantly communicated, with the addition of many well-invented aggravating circumstances, to Paris, where the sections instantly assembled to discuss the matter in their emphatic way. Again a mad panic seized them, and prepared them for a ferocious desperation. There was going to be a counter-revolution—of that they were certain; and the army of Bouillé was coming to Paris to murder them all in their sleep! Those who were more capable of making calculations than this mad rabble conceived that one regiment brought to Versailles could not endanger even the Assembly sitting there, and that all the regiment of Flanders could possibly do would be to facilitate and cover the escape of the court. But then the king would go to Metz and put himself at the head of Bouillé's army; and, as that army had not been proselytized by Pythagorean philosophers, as Bouillé was known to be a decided royalist, and a brave and able officer besides, what risks and perils must not follow? These were the doubts and calculations of Lafayette, who, for some ten days at least, had been thoroughly convinced in his own mind that the king was contemplating a flight to Metz and an appeal to the stern arbitrement of the sword. A man with a little more perspicacity would have seen that poor Louis XVI. was by habit and by character incapable of so bold a step, so long as there remained a hope or a chance of safety and of future security to his family and himself.* Lafayette's suspicion was, however, confirmed by a report which had been for some days confidently propagated, at first among the upper classes of Paris, and then among the populace, that an association was in course of being signed by the high noblesse and clergy, who engaged to defend royalty and to supply the king

* Bailly, Mémoires.—Lafayette, Memoirs and Correspondence.
† Dulaure, Esquisses.

* The king was declaring at this moment that not a drop of blood should be spilt upon his account if he could prevent it. This declaration was so often repeated, and to parties with whom there could have been no need for deception, that we are disposed to believe in its perfect sincerity. Louis was capable of twisting and turning, but incapable of boldly facing the consequences of a civil war. He has been compared to our Charles I.; but Charles was a man of infinitely more ability and decision—was of a nature far less gentle and considerate. If Charles had found himself in the same circumstances as Louis XVI., he would have been with Bouillé and his army long before this.

with money to the amount of one million and a half of livres per month. According to some accounts, this association had been got up by the queen and her advisers without the concurrence, and even without the knowledge of the king; according to others, the king was as deeply in the project as the queen. Lafayette spoke of these things at a dinner party in Paris to Count d'Estaing, who had been sent by the queen to ascertain the real state of the public mind in the capital. Though Lafayette spoke in a low tone of voice, the count was thrown into an agony of alarm lest some of the servants might overhear the conversation. The domestics of the great were become the greatest retailers of political news; and even the servants of the royal household, converted for the most part by the journals and by the Declaration of the Rights of Man into very decided patriots, diligently plied the office of eaves-droppers, and, patching together the disjointed sentences they chanced to overhear in the palace, they made their reports out-of-doors, and furnished staple materials for coffee-houses and public places. Not a few of them, it is said, were in the pay of the National Assembly. The prevailing morality was and had been long before the revolution lamentably low; and now patriotism justified not only the breaches of trust, but the rude infraction of every feeling of honour, of every virtue. D'Estaing whispered to Lafayette at this dinner party, that he should be careful what he said about such unproved rumours, as a word from *his* mouth might become a signal of death. "He is *coldly positive*, this M. de Lafayette," adds Count d'Estaing: "he replied to me that at Metz, as everywhere else, the patriots were the strongest; and that it was better that one man like Bouillé should die than that all should perish."* The Marquis de Bouillé was Lafayette's near relation; but that little circumstance only gave a more Roman turn to Lafayette's patriotically constructed sentence. The Scipio Americanus—this was one of the numerous names which Lafayette had obtained from his admirers in France—was evidently alarmed at the idea of the king's flight to the army; and his own letters prove that he stood in awe and fear of Bouillé. Whatever share, direct or indirect, he may have had in the brutal movements of the populace, it is proved beyond the reach of a doubt that he considered that neither the revolution nor himself was safe so long as the king resided out of the capital. In the Tuileries Louis could be watched day and night by thousands of eyes, and any evasion would be difficult in the extreme, if not impossible. The eagerness of the Palais Royal had explained itself in overt acts; and, without any imprudence on the part of the court, Versailles would assuredly have been invaded a few days sooner or later. But the court committed follies which hastened the attack. The body guard and the courtiers, from the moment that the regiment of Flanders arrived, paid unusual attention to its officers. This might proceed from a very natural feeling of joy and security, for they had passed some anxious days and nights when they were left almost alone to defend the palace and the royal family; but the patriots suspected that such flattering attentions could only be meant as a preparation for some coup d'état, in which the regiment of Flanders was to be chief agent. The officers were not only presented at the levee, but were admitted in the evening to the queen's drawing-room, and to several other favours or honours "which French vanity prizes so highly." All these things were represented to the people as so many criminal seductions employed against liberty.* The Gardes du Corps determined upon giving a grand dinner to welcome the arrival of the new regiment. This was common, or at least not unusual; but what was a very alarming innovation was that permission was granted by the court to hold the military banquet within the palace, in the Grande Salle de Spectacle, or theatre. The feast was given on the 1st of October; and, besides the officers of the regiment of Flanders, the officers of the Swiss Guards, of the Cent Suisse, and many of the officers of the Versailles national guard, were invited to it. The tables were tastefully arranged on the stage, and covers were laid for three hundred guests: the *loges*, or boxes of the theatre, were partially filled by ladies and gentlemen curious to see the *beau spectacle*, and who were admitted by tickets. When the performers sat down to dinner, the officers of the regiment of Flanders were mixed in brotherly fashion with the Gardes du Corps, the Swiss, and the militia officers; and the band, instead of *Ca Ira*, or other new liberty tune, struck up some old loyal air. This alone was considered as a very heinous sin by some of the spectators in the boxes. It seems, however, to be admitted by the severest of these censors that the officers themselves behaved with sufficient decency during the first course, or down to the moment at which the champagne corks were cut loose; but when this brisk wine had circulated a little, all decency, all respect to liberty and patriotism were, it is said, audaciously thrown off. The bands of the Gardes du Corps and regiment of Flanders were ordered to play, and they played with great expression the air

"O Richard! O mon roi!
L'univers t'abandonne." †

This appeal to the feelings was too much for the sensibility and enthusiasm of the royalists; and, while some wiped their eyes, others set up a shout of "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" The devil could not have been more irritated by exorcism and holy water than were the patriots present at the tune the bands were playing and the loyal shouting. Two little girls, related to persons in the queen's service, joined in the cry of "Vive

* Letter from Count d'Estaing to the queen, as given in Histoire Parlementaire. The date of the letter is September the 14th.

* Marquis de Ferrières, Mémoires.

† "O Richard! O my king! all the world is forsaking thee." The words of this opera song were supposed to be sung by Blondel, the faithful minstrel, on discovering our Richard Cœur de Lion a prisoner in the Emperor's dungeons. In many respects they were applicable to the case of Louis XVI.

le Roi!" with all their little force of lungs, and were happy in that exercise, when a starch deputy of the Tiers Etat, sitting in the next box, took them severely to task: "It afflicted him," he said, "to see young and pretty Frenchwomen brought up to follow such vile usages; to cry out, enough to split one's head, for the life of a single man, and to place the king's image in their heart, by a veritable fanaticism, even above that of their dearest relations: he painted to them the contempt such conduct would inspire in brave American women, if they could see French women corrupted in this fashion in their tenderest youth."* But worse was to follow; and, though he could silence two young ladies, the starch Tiers deputy could not stop it. The grenadiers of the regiment of Flanders were admitted into the pit; and, after such a favour had been granted to these new-comers, it was thought but fair and proper to extend it to the common soldiers of the other corps that had been longer at Versailles; and in a few minutes the body of the theatre was almost filled with soldiers. By this time the champagne must have gone round very briskly, or the manners of the common soldiers must have become wonderfully free, for the grenadiers of the regiment of Flanders begged that they might be permitted to drink to the health of the king, the queen, the dauphin, and the rest of the royal family; and wine was given to them in goblets, and they gave out their toasts with good loud grenadier voices; and as they drank them off officers and spectators made a deafening chorus of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!" &c. At this happy, delirious moment a door was thrown open, and the king, and the queen leading the little dauphin by the hand, entered upon the stage and walked down between the long ranges of tables *smiling graciously, and (the* queen at least) nodding and bowing most gracefully.† This carried enthusiasm to fever-heat and above it: such a clapping of hands and such a straining of voices all pitched to one key, all crying God save the king, the queen, and the dauphin! had never been heard before; the bands again struck up "*O Richard! O mon roi;*" and when that was finished they played an equally pathetic and applicable air, "*Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime?*" (Can one afflict what one loves?) Tears and audible sobs were now mingled with the subsiding acclamations. The gardes-du-corps, the officers of the regiment of Flanders, and all the other officers bidden to the feast stood up with their swords in their hands—three-hundred good blades shining and pointing heavenward,—and in that martial attitude, and with faces reddened by wine and loyalty, they drank to the king, the queen, and the dauphin. Their majesties then bowed and withdrew, being followed by peals of applause which resounded through every part of that vast and magnificent palace. The epauleted and cordoned performers remained on the stage and at table passing the wine with a rapidity and profusion rare in their country. Whosoever has had the misfortune of witnessing the effect of wine upon these excitable people—of seeing at Very's, the Rocher de Cancalle, or other place where feasts are given, a party of twenty or thirty Frenchmen, soldiers or civilians, elevated by drink—may form some notion of the *furor* of two or three hundred officers far gone in Burgundy and Champagne. Not distinguished by self-restraint in any circumstances, a Frenchman in drink is a madman, playing tricks most fantastic and alarming to behold. According to the most moderate accounts all moderation was lost as soon as the king and queen had retired from a scene upon which they ought never to have entered.* The bands played royalist airs, the officers singing the words, and the common soldiers joining chorus; the trumpets sounded a charge, and some of the officers escaladed the boxes as if they were taking a place by assault; and it is said —but the facts are very doubtful—that a voice arose crying "Down with the tri-color cockade! Long live the white cockade! That is the good one! (*c'est la bonne*)"—and that in the twinkling of an eye a great many patriotic cockades disappeared. It is even said that some arch-traitors were seen trampling the tri-color underfoot; and that in the course of the evening the toast of Vive la Nation, being proposed by one of the National Guard officers, was refused by the other officers with very contumelious language that will not bear translation; but these two facts seem as apocryphal as the two preceding ones.† When the party broke up some of them went and danced, and did worse things, under the windows of the king's apartment; and a soldier of the regiment of Flanders—for men and officers appear to have been mixed throughout these orgies—climbed up to the balcony of his

* Madame Campan, Mémoires sur la Vie Privée de Marie Antoinette.

† This visit to the scene of festivities, though represented, like all the rest, as a premeditated design, appears really to have been a sudden thought, an inspiration of the moment, and to have been adopted by the king in mere easiness and compliance of temper. Madame Campan says, that she was astonished beyond measure at their appearing; that, as she herself was going to the theatre to see the sight, the queen told her that the court had been advised to appear, but that she thought under the circumstances such a step might do more harm than good, and that neither the king nor herself ought to have any direct part in such a fête. Madame Campan adds that it was the Duke of Luxembourg who induced the queen to change her resolution. The king had been out hunting and had only just returned to the palace when the proposal was made to him. The simple truth appears to be that the court were labouring under a moral vertigo, and, reeling among doubts and uncertainties, and catching at straws and shadows for support, scarcely knew what they were doing. If there had been a premeditated design there must surely have been a little more caution. When the queen's dying brother, the Emperor Joseph, heard of the events of this night, and of the fearful tragedy which followed them, he said to the Count de Segur, who was about returning to Paris: "*I know not what to say or think of people who allow feasts to be made for gardes-du-corps, without being sure of their army.*"

* Marquis de Ferrières, Mémoires.

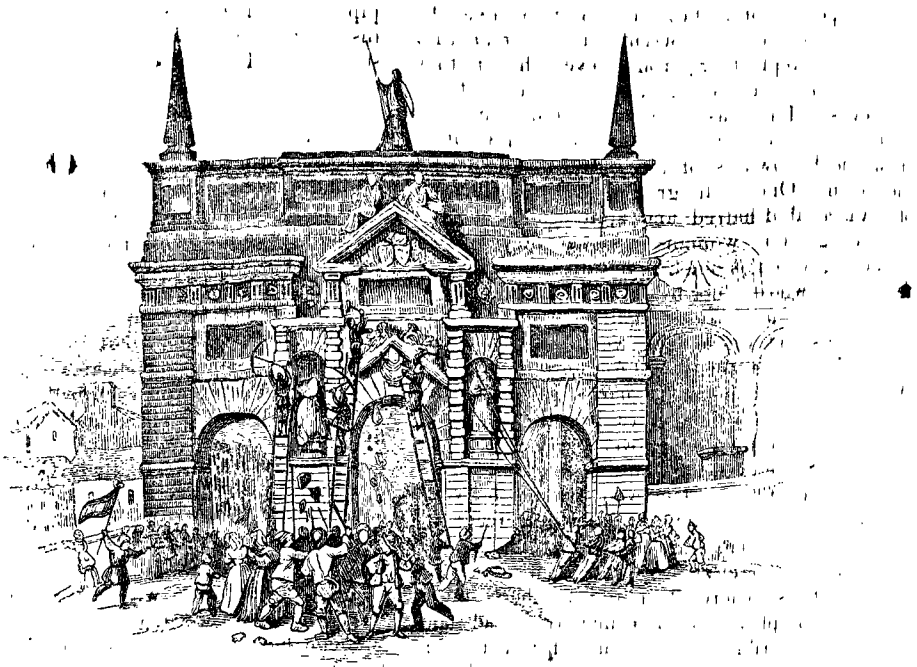
† Madame Campan says, "It was reported that white cockades were mounted. The story is false. It only appears that some young fellows, belonging to the national guard of Versailles, turned their tri-color cockades, which were white underneath." This lady did not remain to see all the extravagances that were committed later in the night. But a great number of the officers themselves afterwards deposed upon their honour and upon their oaths, that no insult whatever was offered to the tri-color or national cockade. The gardes-du-corps had all along retained the white cockade. According to the same evidence the toast of Vive la Nation was never proposed by any one. They may have been too far gone in wine to retain any distinct recollection of what had passed; but Bailly and other authorities of that party do not seem to have known whether the toast was insolently refused, or only purposely omitted—*omis à dessein.*

majesty's bed-chamber to cry out Vive le Roi. This fellow, so enthusiastically or drunkenly loyal, became in four days one of the most dangerous of the mutineers—one of the first of his regiment to declare for the Paris mob. On the same night another soldier of the same regiment committed suicide in an access of loyalty and remorse, quickened by intoxication. One of the queen's chaplains found him lying on the ground with his own sword covered with blood near him. To the priest who offered his spiritual succour the fellow confessed that he had let himself be corrupted by the enemies of his king, and that, since he had seen his majesty and the queen and dauphin, his regret and remorse had turned his head.* From this it should appear that in the course of seven days, which was all the time the regiment of Flanders had been at Versailles, proselytizers and propagandists had been at work to induce the men to attack rather than defend the palace. On the following day, before the fumes of the wine drunk in the theatre were out of their heads, the gardes-du-corps, collecting the fragments of the feast and four hundred bottles of wine which had not been drawn, gave a grand déjeuner in their own hôtel or quarters. Nearly the same scenes were repeated; and the folly and extravagant loyalty were maliciously promoted by agents of the revolution who were there as guests. The national guards, both of Paris and of Versailles, were, it is said, spoken of very disrespectfully. Some gentle voices lisped, "Long live the white cockade? That is *the only true one!* That is the badge of honour and of glory!" Fair dames and damsels, in the service of the queen and princesses, distributed some white cockades, telling the officers that that was the only good one. The dames exacted from their chosen knights a vow of fidelity—a vow to be true to the Bourbon white—and the knights, mostly young officers, trebly drunk with wine, vanity, and gallantry, obtained the favour of kissing the dames' fair hands.†

All this was the farce before the tragedy—an inversion of the usual order of our dramatic representations. Laurent Lecointre, recently a draper in that town, but now lieutenant-colonel of the Versailles national guard, raised his voice against this wicked knight-errantry, and anathematized the white cockade, which led to a fierce quarrel with an old chevalier of St. Louis. This said draper-colonel, who subsequently ran the full lengths of Jacobinism, and became one of the most active of accusers and terrorists, published everywhere the most provoking accounts of these two unhappy festivals, inventing many circumstances, and monstrously exaggerating others. The feast in the theatre was held on the Thursday: by Friday morning early everything that had happened, and a great deal more, was known in Paris: on Saturday morning came the news of the déjeuner—insults upon insults not to be borne—and by Sunday the 4th of October all Paris was up in arms against white cockades and black cockades, and every knot of riband that was not the true tricolor. The reported insults to the national or patriot cockade—*ce mépris pour des signes chéris*—made, most of all, the Paris blood boil. Woe to the man that day that ventured abroad in any unpopular uniform, or with any cockade but *their* true one. One such daring individual was nearly hanged at the lanterne, many were beaten. Lafayette doubled the patroles; but even the *respectabilities* of his national guard now looked sullen and savage, as if events had occurred that called for and justified fresh insurrection. The madness of the mob was increased by the non-arrival of some boats that descended the Seine daily with corn for the capital. A cry was raised and repeated in ten thousand places at once, that while the aristocrats were faring sumptuously, and giving profligately extravagant feasts to insult liberty and the nation, the people, who were the nation, were left to starve. Cries of "Bread! Bread! Give us bread!" had been mixed, even on the Saturday, with cries of "To Versailles! To Versailles! Let us go to Versailles and get bread! Let us grapple with the conspirators before we are quite starved!" Among the many republics within a republic, or anarchies within an anarchy, was one composed principally of the market-women of Paris, the Dames de la Halle, a class for which we have no representative in England, the nearest approach to it being the fish-fags of Billingsgate. These dames had been distinguished in the olden time by their noisy and outrageous loyalty; and their proudest boast was a privilege they possessed of presenting to the king at some festival an enormous bouquet or nosegay, and of sending up deputations to the court on the birth of a Dauphin or other happy event; but all this loyalty was now an exploded faith, a scorned superstition; the market-women were converts to the new philosophy, and championesses for liberty and equality. They felt, too, the hardness of the times, and believed that their trade was spoilt and their stomachs pinched by the horrible machinations of the queen and the aristocrats. For a long time they had never alluded to the queen except in the most outrageous and obscene language. They had also been declaring for some time that the men were too slow and timid. On the preceding Saturday even-

* Madame Campan, who says that the priest was her own relation, and was on his way to sup with her in the palace when he found the dying soldier. This lady, who was première femme de chambre to the queen, says, that she had returned from the Grande Salle de Spectacle, delighted with all that she had seen (she had not stayed long enough to see the most extravagant parts of the ultra-loyal performance), that she found a good deal of company in her apartment, and that she related to them all that she had witnessed. She subjoins: "M. de Beaumetz, deputy of Arras, listened to my recital with a frozen air, and when I had finished he told me that what had passed was horrible; that he knew the spirit of the National Assembly, that he knew that the greatest misfortunes must follow close upon the scenes of that evening. He begged permission to retire, in order to deliberate calmly, whether on the morrow he should emigrate or join the extreme party (the côté gauche). He made up his mind to the latter course, and never again appeared in my society."—*Mémoires.* This case may serve as a specimen of many sudden political conversions. It came to this with many of the deputies—Shall we fly our country and lose our all? Shall we stay, preserve our honour and our principles, and perish? Or, shall we save ourselves and our property, or our means of obtaining a living, by joining the strongest party?

† *Marquis de Ferrières.*



Port St. Antoine. From a View by Legrand.

ing a woman of this class had delivered an oration in the Palais Royal, of the most spirit-stirring or stomach-stirring description. Other females had harangued in narrower circles; and it seems to have been agreed among a very considerable number that there should be an insurrection of women on the Monday. The scheme offered many advantages. Though the respectabilities of the national guards might possibly be inclined to put down poor men, they could not possibly make use of their arms against poor women. At the dawn of Monday—a cold drizzling October morning—a crowd of women collected in the Faubourg St. Antoine, whence they soon marched in the direction of the Hôtel de Ville, pressing every female they met into their ranks, and forcing them to march, shout, and shriek with them. At the same moment a girl belonging to the Quartier de St. Eustache, ran into a guard-house of the national guards, seized a drum, beat it through the streets, collected all the poor women of that quarter, and marched away to form a junction with the Faubourg St. Antoine women in the Place de Grève. Some of them took their brooms and mop-sticks with them; some their fire-irons, some the ropes on which they dried their clothes, to make halters for aristocratic necks. Other columns soon came posting from other parts of the town, and every woman seen stirring at that early hour, the poor milliner going to her daily work, the old devotee going to matins in her parish church, the housemaid risen betimes, was forced to join and march. It was a universal press of women; and all these columns concentrated in the great Place de Grève, "uttering cries relative to the dearth of grain." * Early as they were, the van of this strange army found a male mob already in the square, endeavouring to hang a baker. The baker was rescued by some of the national guards, and his executioners coiled up their ropes and joined the women; and presently greater mobs of men, many of them armed with pikes, or with their pockets filled with stones, formed in the rear of the women and pushed them forward. The tocsin was now sounding from every steeple, and in every quarter the drums of the national guards were beating to arms. A detachment of cavalry or mounted national guards was charged by the women and driven back as far as the corner of Sheep-street (*la Rue du Mouton*). The demon-possessed rabble then returned to attack the gates of the Hôtel de Ville, crying "Bread! Bread! We will speak to the mayor! We will see father Bailly!" All the infantry of the national guards that were on the spot formed in order of battle in front of the gates, levelling their bayonets and beseeching the women to keep off them. There were two or three cannon, but they were not loaded. For a few minutes the women halted; but then the men in the rear, throwing stones over their heads at the national guards, pushed them forward, and then the national guards shouldered arms, separated into two wings, and left an open passage between them up to the unbarred gates of the Hôtel de Ville. We believe, and circumstances justify the suspicion, that if the heart of these civic heroes had not been more than half

* Carlyle, French Revolution.—Dusaulx, l'Œuvre des Sept Jours.

with the people, or if they had not been awed by the great multitude of pikemen in the rear, they would have kept their ground, even though they had used their bayonets against the breasts of these she-devils. This was not a time of delicate distinctions, and the whole story of the revolution shows the hollowness of the vaunted gallantry of the nation. One of the greatest moving principles of it was a rabid hatred and spite against one fair and most graceful woman—a savage fury against the queen, which astonished and disgusted a frank republican, who did not belong to a people making any particular pretension to gallantry and woman-devotedness, but whose veins were filled from the milder and better tempered Anglo-Saxon fount.* As soon as these national guards gave way the women precipitated themselves into the building, and soon spread themselves over every part of the interior. Some of them, whose manners and dress seemed to testify that they were not of the very lowest orders, entered into the different bureaux or offices of the municipality, and engaged in a conversation with the clerks who had been roused out of their beds before their time: others, more ragged and plain-spoken, demanded bread and arms with terrible oaths, saying that their men were not bold enough; and they seized the books and papers, and swore that they would burn them all, as they were the work of the members of the commune, who were all traitors and all deserving of the lanterne, and Bailly and Lafayette more proper to be hanged than any of them. Other divisions of these female stormers tried to break open the magazine of arms: their efforts were fruitless, but, in a short time they were joined by some of the male mob, who brought crowbars, axes, hammers, and who presently broke open those doors, and made themselves masters of seven or eight hundred muskets, a proportionate number of bayonets and swords, and two small cannon. They next broke open a strong room which contained the weights and measures, and three sacks of money. Crying out for the mayor and the heads of the commune or municipality, the women rushed up to the belfry or clock-house that surrounded the lofty edifice, and there they found, seeking to conceal himself, the abbé Lefevre, a member of the commune, an enthusiastic revolutionist at the beginning of the revolution, a priest braver than artillerymen, one that had distributed gunpowder in the Hôtel de Ville amidst drunken men with pipes in their mouths at the time of the Bastille insurrection, but who had now incurred odium and suspicion. The she-devils gripped the abbé by the throat, passed a rope round his neck and then over a beam, hoisted him up and left him hanging. The worldly salvation of this abbé Lefevre is accounted for in two ways—I, me say a woman, or two women, touched by compassion, cut the fatal cord; others say that the rope broke, and let the abbé plumb down some twenty feet or more.* Certain it is the abbé survived his hanging or half-hanging many a year, living to be a member of the National Convention, and to publish the complete works of that driest and most dogmatizing philosophe or atheist, Helvetius, *only* suffering (as was not unnatural after such half apoplexy) a continual shaking in the head and limbs. If in their first fury these Dames de la Halle and demireps had found astronomer Bailly or General Lafayette, it is by no means certain whether they would not have tucked them up in the same manner. But the mayor and the commandant-general were luckily at their own houses. The officer in command of the national guards, who had served under Lafayette in America, knew not what to do, except to summon his general, who was evidently very slow in coming: his alarm increased upon seeing some of the furies preparing to set fire to an enormous heap of papers, which must have ended in the burning of the whole edifice; he was completely lost; but Stanislas Maillard, a dealer in skins, a *huissier à cheval*, or riding messenger, and one of the volunteers at the taking of the Bastille, stopped the women, put out their lights, and told them that the proper thing to do was to go at once to Versailles, and that he would be their leader. This saved the Hôtel de Ville. Maillard asked for orders from the superior officer of the national guards, explaining to him how that the first thing to be done was to get rid of these she-devils. The officer would not take it upon himself to order a march upon Versailles; but he told the *huissier à cheval* that he might go wherever he chose, provided only he did not *disturb the public tranquillity*. This was delicate. Maillard thereupon took a drum, went out into the Place de Grève, drumming with all his might, and calling upon the women to follow him to Versailles. Horses were procured to draw the cannons, some carts and coaches were roughly pressed into the service, and the Dames de la Halle, and the rest of that strange army followed Maillard and his drum. He led them across the Louvre, and through the gardens of the Tuileries, to the Champs Elysées, where a halt was called to wait for recruits. These recruits were not all of the softer sex; for when the petticoat column was put again in motion, there was a large body of armed men in its front, and all the volunteers of the Bastille in its rear. Some nonsensical stories are told about a speech from the

* Gouverneur Morris.—His generous feelings were excited long before matters had reached their present height. In describing the procession of the States General and court to the church of Notre Dame on the 4th of May, he says in his Diary: "I cannot help feeling the mortifications which the poor queen meets with, for I see only the woman; and it seems unmanly to treat a woman with unkindness." And afterwards in the hall of the Assembly, when the king was interrupted in reading his opening speech by loud and joyous acclamations:—"The tears start from my eyes in spite of myself. The queen weeps or seems to weep, but not one voice is heard to wish her well. I would certainly raise mine if I were a Frenchman; but I have no right to express a sentiment, and in vain solicit those who are near me to do it." He seems to bless some one "imbued with the milk of human kindness, who originated a stint *Vive la-Reine!*" at the end of the ceremonies of that day. But since that day of promise or of extravagant hopes, the public mind had become far more inflamed against the unhappy Marie Antoinette!

* Another story is, that the abbé Lefevre was let down, in a senseless state by men who kicked him about on the leads of the building until he recovered his senses, and then permitted him to crawl home as best he could.

riding-messenger Maillard, telling the ladies that they ought not to appear in arms, but as petitioners to the National Assembly; and about the promptitude with which the ladies deposed their mop-sticks and broomsticks, their fire-irons, and their other weapons in the Champs Elysées: but the women appeared all armed at Versailles, and many of them during this halt in the Champs Elysées were furnished with weapons more formidable than those with which they had taken the field at the peep of day; for they had now some rusty muskets and pistols, pikes and cutlasses. With Maillard and his drum, and ten other drums at their head, and with a very noted woman of the town sitting astride on one of the guns, they resumed their march, stopping every carriage they met, and forcing ladies in silk shoes to descend into the muddy road, if not to go along with them. It was about eight o'clock in the morning when this most rabble of all rabble routs got free of the Champs Elysées, or Elysian Fields—a strange name for the scenes the place witnessed then, and has witnessed since. About the same time Mayor Bailly in his gilded coach, and Lafayette on his white charger, got to the Hôtel de Ville, wherein the cowed municipal authorities had begun to assemble as soon as the insurrection of women had disappeared. Collected by tocsin and drum, most of the bourgeois composing the national guard had quitted their warm beds, and were now standing under arms in the Place de Grève. There also were the Centre Grenadiers, the redoubted patriots of the Gardes Françaises. These heroes looked more than usually truculent. As if to dissipate their ill humour, the spectators and some of the authorities from the Hôtel de Ville hailed them with cheers and applauses. "It is not your applauses that we want," cried these fierce guardsmen; "the nation has been insulted, and must be avenged: to arms, and follow us!" Lafayette, after some haranguing, and capering and caracoling on his white charger, dismounted and went into the Hôtel to dictate dispatches to the National Assembly and to the king. But he was not long left quiet—the Centre Grenadiers were presently upon him with a deputation, and he was obliged to suspend his dictation to listen to theirs, as delivered by an orator selected from their own body. "My general," said the spokesman, "we are deputed by the six companies of grenadiers. We do not think you a traitor, but we think the government betrays you. It is time this should finish. We cannot turn our arms against women that ask us for bread. The committee of subsistence that has been sitting here is guilty of malversation, or incapable of doing the business of its department; in either case it must be changed. The people are in a wretched state, and the source of every ill is at Versailles. We must go seek the king and bring him back to Paris. We must *exterminate* the regiment of Flanders and the Gardes du Corps, for they have dared to trample under foot the national cockade. If the king is too weak to wear the crown, let him resign it. We will crown his son, a council of regency shall be named, and all will go better." Lafayette offered some faint remonstrances, saying that they then wished to make war against the king, and so force him to quit the country. "My general," said the grenadier orator, "he will not quit us; and, if he does, have we not the dauphin?" The commandant-general begged the grenadiers to think better of it; but they persisted in saying that the people were very miserable, that the source of all the mischief was at Versailles, and that to Versailles they must all go, national guards, and general, and all, to make sure of the king and bring him into Paris. As a climax, as an argument admitting of no reply, they said it must be so, for that was the will of all the people. Lafayette went back to the Place de Grève and made another long harangue to the Centre Grenadiers, reminding them of their oaths to be true to the nation, law, and king; to which the grenadiers replied by shouting "To Versailles! to Versailles!" Mayor Bailly also came forth and made a speech, and then Lafayette tried at another; but both their voices were drowned with cries of "Bread, bread!—let us on to Versailles!" and with shouts louder than ever, for the national guards had joined in them, and the men of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and all the vagabonds of Paris that had not taken their departure with Stanislas Maillard and the petticoat army were there with their hoarse voices, and with pikes, clubs, or staves in their hands. Lafayette and his friends always endeavoured to show that he did all that man could do to prevent the marching of these troops, and that he went in the end to Versailles *malgré lui*, in spite of himself. Perhaps, after he had permitted, or had been unable to prevent, matters going thus far, *il fallait marcher*: but even this is doubtful, for he kept the troops in Paris from eight o'clock in the morning till three o'clock in the afternoon; and during that time he must have received intelligence which was calculated to sharpen his spurs for the Versailles journey. In fact, we doubt whether he had not awaited the arrival of that news to make up his mind for a decisive step. The news had of course to come from the National Assembly. The king, in accepting some of the articles of the constitution and the declaration of rights, had endeavoured to guard himself from being committed to a complete resignation of the sovereignty by sundry qualifying remarks; he had not proceeded to promulgate the decrees as laws completed by the royal sanction; and, in answer to a second demand, he had ventured this very Monday morning to send down arguments and objections.* The Assembly wanted the king to assent *purement et simplement*—purely and simply—or without the

* The part of the king's message or letter which gave especial offence was the following paragraph:—"I grant, according to your desire, my accession to these articles; but on the positive condition, which I will never depart from, that by the general result of your deliberations the executive power shall have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch." The remonstrance was certainly useless, for it was impossible that, in inevitable, constant, and direct collision with one chamber, the executive power should have effect.

expression of any opinion as to the merits of the acts; it was the case of our Charles I. and the Petition of Rights over again; and this was the business they were especially engaged upon this critical Monday morning. [The Maillard army could scarcely be counted sufficient, if the Assembly wanted to terrify the court; but the terrible Centre Grenadiers, the entire national guard of Paris, and the *men* of the faubourg, would surely be enough to work that great end.] At an early hour vehement language had been used; and Robespierre had delivered an harangue against the king for not conforming instantly to the law of the Assembly and the will of the people. The debate was going on *con furore*, when, at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Mirabeau drew near to Mounier, who was then president, and said, "Paris is marching on us! Pretend to be taken ill, run over to the palace, and tell the king to accept purely and simply." Mounier, who would not be frightened, who disapproved of nearly every article in the constitution, and of all the dangerous generalities in the Declaration of Rights, who had been bullied in the Assembly, and all but proscribed by the Palais-Royal, exclaimed, "Well, Paris is marching on us! So much the better. Let them come and kill us all;—but *all*, you understand; and *then* affairs will go on all the better."* "This is a fine thing to say," quoth Mirabeau; who then returned to his place, disappointed at not having terrified the president. There was then a long pause among the great chiefs and leaders, as if they expected that the king, who must have been equally well informed of the approach of the Maillard petticoat army, would take the alarm, and, to avert the storm, send down his consent, or *acceptation pure et simple*. But nothing of the sort happened; and thereupon, as we are disposed to believe, messengers were sent flying to Paris to order or recommend the instant marching of *men*. It might be, however, that this recommendation or order was sent, not so much to Lafayette as to those who were at this moment Lafayette's masters—the soldiers of the ex-Gardes Françaises, and the hottest of the national guards of Paris. And it is quite certain that, if Lafayette had now really and sincerely desired to prevent the lawless march, he could not have done it, nor even have avoided joining it, unless he had made up his mind to throw away his life. Yet still his show of reluctance, so opposite to his known desire not only of obtaining the king's unconditional consent, but also of having him a prisoner constantly under his own eye in Paris, may have been all feigned, and his fine phrases about law, the sanctity of the royal residence, and the rest, may very well have been intended to keep up appearances, and to keep *from* himself the sole responsibility of an act which would surely attract the attention of all Europe. The man was always thinking of his celebrity, and seeking to Grandisonize his revolutionism. His anxiety to avoid the responsibility was demonstrated in a most paltry manner, for he asked and obtained a sanction from the commune of Paris, who had no more faculty or right to order such a military movement than he possessed himself: indeed they had infinitely less, for he was commandant-general of the national guards of Paris, and—however forced, however unfairly obtained, however irregular his appointment—the king had recognised him in that character. Towards three o'clock, when there had been plenty of time for the arrival of estafettes from Versailles, the centre grenadiers began shouting afresh, "Allons, let us go!" Lafayette turned the head of his white charger; but not in the direction of Versailles. "*Morbleu, mon général!*" cried the grenadiers, closing their ranks upon him, "you will not leave us, you must remain with us!" At the same time the Faubourg St. Antoine men, with their pikes in their hands, intimated pretty plainly that they would hang him to the lamp-post if he attempted to desert the people. Pale, if not trembling, he then dispatched an aide-de-camp to Mayor Bailly and the municipals, who were shaking within the Hôtel de Ville, to ask if they would *permit* his marching?* Presently a written paper was handed to him over the heads of that fierce and armed multitude:—it was not merely a permission, but an *order*, to march. "And thereupon," says Lafayette himself, "I instantly perceived that, whatever might be the consequence of this double movement, the *public safety* required that I should take part in it, and, after being joined by two commissioners appointed by the Hôtel de Ville, I hastily provided for the patroles of Paris, and took the road to Versailles, at the head of several battalions."† These battalions of national guards were 30,000 strong, and the rabblement that followed made up an equal number. They dragged artillery and ammunition with them, but, as if to keep up the ill-humour and desperation of hunger, no efforts were made to procure provisions for these 60,000 mouths. It was about three o'clock when they filed off, in the most disorderly manner, and with Lafayette on his white horse in the midst of them, more like a prisoner than a commanding officer. Nearly at the same moment that they began their march, the army of women had finished theirs, and had surrounded the hall of the National Assembly. The deputies there had just decided by a majority of votes that their president should go to the king, and demand, without any further delay, the *acceptation pure et simple*. Mounier, in execution of the unpalatable mission, had left the chair, and was walking to the door, when the shouts and shrieks of shrill voices were heard, and a deputation to the Assembly was announced. It was the dealer in skins and riding messenger, Maillard, who, with little ceremony, entered the hall at the head of fifteen draggle-tailed mud-covered women. All the women wanted to enter with their pikes and

* "*Paris marche sur nous! Tant mieux. Ils n'ont qu'à tuer tous;—mais tous, entendez vous—et les affaires publiques en iront mieux.*"

* Hist. de la Révolution, par Deux Amis de la Liberté.
† Memoirs and Correspondence.

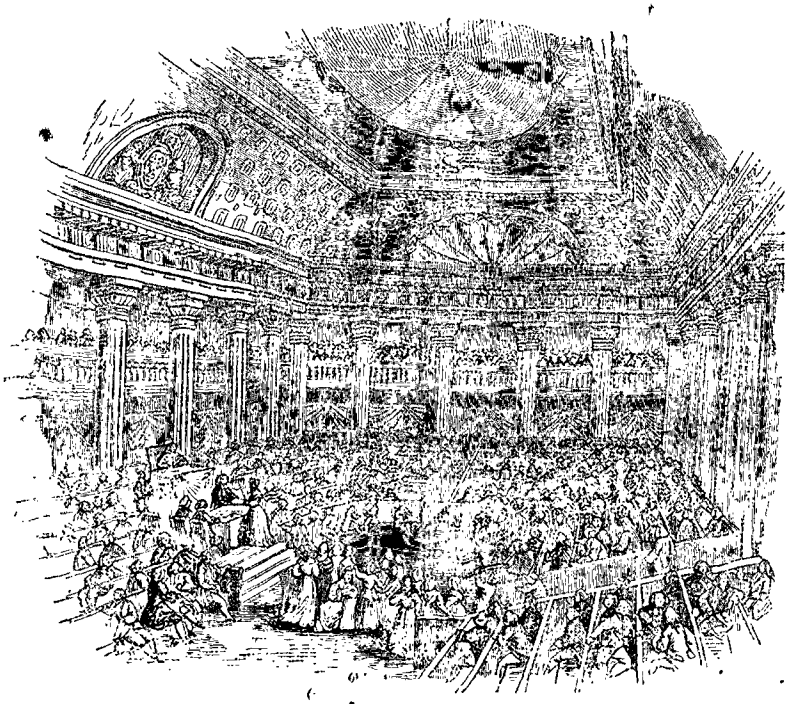
broom-sticks, and had, with great difficulty, been prevented from inundating the hall. Advancing to the table, Maillard, who, no doubt, had practised in the faubourgs or in the Palais Royal, put himself in the attitude of an orator, and delivered a speech. The logic of it was as straight and as simple as any definition from the abbé Sièyes, but far more powerful. "The people," said he, "have had no bread these three days: they are desperate; their arm is raised to strike; we demand permission to ransack the houses suspected of concealing flour. This Assembly ought to prevent the shedding of blood; but the Assembly itself contains men that are enemies to the people, that are the causes of this famine. Wicked men have been giving money and bank-notes to the millers to prevent their grinding corn. The people have proofs of these facts; they know the names of these enemies. We wish not to name them, because we would not pass for informers, and ....." Here the man of skins was interrupted by President Mounier, who begged to know if he was sure of all that he was saying? "Yes, yes," said Maillard and his adjuncts in the dirty petticoats, "Yes, we are sure of it all." Many deputy voices called upon him to name—to name these enemies of the people; but Maillard still excused himself by protesting his unwillingness to appear as a public informer. Then changing his subject, he continued, "We demand the dismissal of this regiment of Flanders, and full satisfaction for the insult offered to the national cockade. We will force all the world to wear the tri-color and be citizens!" Here the president reminded the man of skins and messages of the *dignity* of the National Assembly, and of the *respect* due to it, telling him, moreover, that men's wills were not to be forced—that some might choose to wear the tri-coloured cockade, and some not. "Well," rejoined Maillard, who was certainly qualified to figure as a debater in that assembly, "you may say what you please, but we are all brothers, and equals, and citizens; and, if there is a man in this National Assembly that says the contrary, and thinks himself not honoured by being called a brother and citizen, why, he ought to be drummed out of it ....." At this culminating point, at this frank and clear enunciation of the liberty and equality contained in the Rights of Man, there was general acclamation, and the Dames de la Halle and other women who had followed this orator and his drum from Paris, and who had found room, and shelter in the galleries from the pelting of the rain, joined in the universal shout of "Yes, we are all equals; we are all citizens!" This enthusiasm, these far-resounding cries, were too much for the women who had not been able to find room in the galleries, and who were standing outside in the rain, after promising the doorkeepers and militiamen of Versailles that they would be quiet: a rush was made, and in came some hundreds of them, tumbling over one another, and taking their seats as fast as they could among the honourable members or deputies of the Assembly, right and left, squatting themselves on the benches without any heed to côté droit or côté gauche. And Maillard, the general of them all, took from his pocket a white cockade, tore it to pieces, and stamped upon the bits in the midst of fresh acclamations, wherein the voices of the deputies and all the men were smothered and made indistinct by the shrill tones of the *Parisiennes* or Paris ladies. After some more acting of the same kind, and some denunciations on the part of the mob, wherein the Archbishop of Paris was named as one that had paid money to keep the millers from their work, President Mounier was ordered to proceed on his interrupted mission to the palace, to demand the king's assent *pure et simple*:* a vice-president took the chair for him, and Maillard engaged to keep the women in order—at least in as much order as circumstances would permit. At about four o'clock the president began his short but very troublesome journey. As soon as he had crossed the threshold, thousands of the women insisted upon following him to his audience with the king. After some haranguing it was agreed to appoint a deputation of six of the Parisiennes; but when he walked on he was followed by a great many more. Not knowing whether to laugh or to be alarmed, the household troops had sounded boot and saddle, and were drawn up on the esplanade in front of the palace, a few of them, now and then, cantering from their lines to disperse the crowds of women that were shrieking "Bread! bread! Let us speak with the king." It may be questioned whether, from the beginning of time or of such institutions, the president of a body of national representatives was ever found in such strange plight. Mounier has told his own story:—"I was on foot," says he, "in the mud, and under a violent shower of rain..... The Paris women formed divers troops, being intermixed with a certain number of men, for the most part covered with rags, with ferocious looks, threatening gestures, uttering frightful howlings. These men were armed with muskets, or old pikes, hatchets, loaded clubs, or long staves, having at the end sword-blades or knives. .....A party of these men drew round me to serve as an escort to the deputation. As we approached the palace our numerous and wild-looking procession was taken for a desperate mob. Some of the Gardes-du-Corps pricked their horses and galloped among us, so that we were obliged to disperse in the mud..... We rallied again, men and women, and advanced towards the château. There we found drawn up a detachment of dragoons and the rest of the Gardes-du-Corps, and I succeeded in making myself known. It was with great difficulty that the whole mob was prevented from following me into the palace. As it was, instead of a deputation of six, it was found necessary to introduce twelve women to the king." With this strange tail of draggle-tails the president of the

* "They had the vile cowardice (*la lacheté*) to profit by this moment of disorder to demand from the king a full and frank assent (to the Declaration of the Rights of Man), as if his refusal had been one of the causes of the insurrection."—*Dumont*.

National Assembly was admitted to the audience-chamber. There was little in the person of Louis that was majestic or imposing in any way—and this, with such a people, was one of his greatest misfortunes—but still he was a king, and the women, lately so daring and riotous, became abashed and mute. They appointed one of their number, Louison Chabry, a young woman of seventeen or eighteen years, by profession a maker of wax-dolls, to be their oratress; but poor Louison, though better educated than the rest, and supposed to have a greater command of words fitting polite ears, found, when she tried to speak, that her tongue clove to the roof of her mouth: all that she could utter was the monosyllable "Bread;" and she would have fallen fainting to the ground if the king himself had not caught her in his arms. Her companions then fell on their knees and kissed the royal hand; and, as soon as Louis had assured them that he had given his orders for collecting grain, and that he hoped Paris would soon have bread enough, they quitted his presence and went out to their companions, blessing him and all of his house, and protesting there never was so good and affable a king. Unlucky enthusiasts! The woman mob had no trust in their assurances, or in the king's good faith; they were accused of having yielded to the seductions of the aristocrats, of having brought lies instead of bread out of the palace; and they clutched the poor maker of wax-dolls, and would have hanged her at the nearest lamp-post, if some Gardes-du-Corps had not galloped in among them and dispersed them shrieking. At this noise and running the main body of the women advanced to another gate in the strong iron railing which enclosed the palace and its paved court-yards: they were guided and directed by one Brunout, an artisan of Paris, who had distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille. This hero, advancing too fast for female valour, got separated from the women, and was pursued by two or three of the mounted Gardes-du-Corps, who came up with him in spite of his dodging, and struck him with the flats of their swords. The fellow set up a terrible cry that they were going to murder him; and called upon the national guards of Versailles, who had now drawn out under the command of draper Lecointre, to assist and save him. Possibly this manœuvre had been concerted; for on the instant one of those national guards discharged his musket and broke the arm of M. de Savonières, one of the Gardes-du-Corps, who were basting the Bastille hero with *plats de sabre*. Then followed a cry all along the scattered line of women and men, the greater number of whom were too far off to see or to have any accurate notion of what was passing, that the Gardes-du-Corps were charging and butchering the people; and the Versailles national guards, though they must have had a better notion of the real state of the case, opened their ranks, in order to show the mouths of two cannons, pointed, not against the mob, but against the Gardes-du-Corps and the palace. With such a good front the Maillard army became very bold, and, while the women pelted the Gardes-du-Corps with stones in front, some of the men tried to get upon their flank, in order to harass them with their pikes. These body-guards had strict orders not to fire; but there never yet was a French regiment with sufficient coolness of blood to stand a pelting, and *not* use their arms. Besides, these were all high-bred gentlemen, with an habitual scorn for the rascal people; and now not only were the women throwing stones, but the men who had muskets were firing upon them, and two more of their regiment were wounded and one of their horses was killed. They were preparing to use their musketoons when the Duke of Luxembourg, dispatched expressly by the king, called them off, and ordered them to retire to the back of the palace. As the Gardes-du-Corps filed off, their recent guests, the Versailles national guards, fired upon them; they replied with a musketoon or two, but presently disappeared, leaving the militia and the mob in all the pride of victory. The women now proposed taking the palace by storm: three pieces of artillery, crammed to the very mouth with grape-shot, were pointed towards the edifice; several times the matches were applied, but the powder had got wetted and spoiled by the unceasing rain, the guns would not go off, and, moreover, some voices were heard to say, "Stop, it is not yet time!" Long before this the women of the town, who formed no inconsiderable a division of the Maillard army, had got among the soldiers of the regiment of Flanders, and obtained their promise and vow that they would not oppose the people. It was now dark night, and the mob that had started fasting from Paris were almost famishing. Some of them got the Garde-du-Corps' dead horse, flayed it, cut it up, roasted it or warmed it through over a fire made out of some park-palings, and ate it with keen relish: but what was one dead horse among so many thousands? Draper Lecointre promised to get bread for some of them from the Versailles municipality; but the municipality had no bread to give, or did not choose to give it. The women, drenched to the skin, returned to seek shelter in the hall of the National Assembly, or food in other places; but a large portion of the St. Antoine men, and nearly all the Versailles national guard, remained out in the rain, watching every gate and court-yard, every door and window of the immense palace, and preventing all ingress or egress. Twice or thrice some carriages attempted to get out at a side gate, but they were driven back by the militia and the mob. The coaches were empty—these were only experiments made to ascertain the possibility of the royal family escaping. The only chance of escape would have been to have made a charge earlier in the evening with all the body-guards; but the king had hesitated until it was too late, and he still kept hesitating and debating with his council, who appear all to have been as incapable as himself of forming any bold resolution—of making up their minds for anything. The only

person in the palace that felt like a man and that would have acted like a man was the fair queen. That afternoon Marie Antoinette had been walking, absolutely alone, in her favourite gardens of Trianon, which she perambulated for the last time in her life. She was there seated in a grotto, buried in painful reflections, when she received a note from the minister Saint-Priest, imploring her to hasten back to Versailles. At the same time a messenger was dispatched in search of the king, who was shooting at Meudon, and his majesty returned on horseback so slowly, that he and Maillard's woman-mob arrived at the palace almost at the same moment. At that time escape would have been easy; but the king knew not what to do, and the courtiers knew not what to tell him to do.* All that was done for hours, when minutes were precious, as every minute brought nearer Lafayette and his host, was to send out some conciliatory messages to the Versailles militia and the faubourg ruffians, to assure them, for example, that every effort and sacrifice would be made to procure corn, and that on the morrow morning the gardes-du-corps would all mount the tri-coloured cockade, and take the oath to the nation; but these words made so little impression that, whenever one of that body-guard ventured to cross a court or to show himself at a window, dozens of shots were fired at him. President Mounier, waiting all this while in an ante-chamber of the council-room, grew impatient, and gave the king to understand that he would wait no longer. At last, as the château clocks were striking ten, the king gave in writing the acceptance, pure and simple, to the articles of the constitution which had been presented, and to the Rights of Man: he had heard from the shouting multitude that beleaguered him doleful and still more doleful tidings that Lafayette, the terrible centre grenadiers, the national guards of Paris, were coming. Mounier, vexed at the king, at himself, and at everybody and everything else, heavy-hearted, and already devising reasons to show how revolutions might be made and thrown away without securing liberty, went back, through the raw, uncomfortable night, to the Salle de Menus Plaisirs. Well might he despair and curse himself at the spectacle which met him within those walls! The deputies, pushed from their stools by the reeking mob, tired of waiting his return from the palace, fainting for want of their dinners, and no doubt eager to see, and many of them to *direct*, the glorious work that was doing out-of-doors, had vacated the hall, apparently without the ceremony of adjournment, some two or three hours before; and the body of the hall was now crowded and crammed by the Paris women, who were amusing themselves with a debate, in imitation of the forms and ceremonies they had seen there in the afternoon. A dame de la Halle, of the largest size, had taken possession of the president's chair, and had before her the president's hand-bell, which she rang from time to time to restore order, just as she had seen Mounier

* Madame Campan.



The Paris Women entering the Hall of the National Assembly, Versailles. From the *Tableaux Historique.*

and the vice-president do. A petticoat orator was at the tribune, or speaking-place, haranguing with all her lungs, and when she uttered anything very strong there was lively emotion and loud applause. There had, it appears, been a regular debate, but, unfortunately, the speeches were not reported. The political philosophy must, we should think, have been but little inferior to that usually heard in the Assembly, and in one capital respect the eloquence must have been superior and more genuine, for the market-women's speeches were impromptu, and not read from a manuscript like the orations of the deputies. The seats of those honourable men and immortal regenerators were occupied by women that were shouting, singing, and drinking, and the galleries were filled with men and women doing the same things. The sight, the horrible profanation, made Mounier almost swoon; but he collected his strength and a drummer or two belonging to the national guards; and the absent and scattered deputies were summoned to renew the session by beat of drum—a very characteristic and proper mode of convening such legislators. Between eleven and twelve o'clock a house was collected, and, the she-president having been made, not without difficulty, to vacate her seat, Mounier announced to the deputies, and to the rabble rout who continued sitting with them, the acceptance, pure and simple, which he had got in writing from the king. The ladies set up a loud shout, but their joy was damped by some political sceptics among them, who asked what the better they should be for all that?—whether that would give them bread? Mounier, in the best manner he could, told them that bread should be cheaper and better and more abundant, and that orders had been sent by the king to facilitate "the circulation of grain." In fact, riding-messenger Maillard, with some of his women, had been sent back to Paris with some useless paper of this sort, in one of the carriages belonging to his majesty. As a great army was coming, it behoved the deputies to be found at their posts, like the senators of ancient Rome—but they knew very well that to them Lafayette would be no Brennus. They passed to the order of the day, and began or renewed a discussion on the new penal code. This soon wearied both men and women, and some of the mob said, with an interesting naïveté, "What is the use of penal code? The thing we want is bread! Leave off this fine talking and get us bread!" Mirabeau mounted the tribune, showed the mob his wild-boar head, and called them to order. So great was his mob popularity that he was admired, and even applauded, in the very act of scolding and reproaching them. But the mob was not a whit the quieter, and they continued their *tapage* until they thought there was other work for them to do out of doors. The picture of this extraordinary session ought on no account to be left incomplete, it explains so much of the character of the people, and of the history of this revolution. "I was in one of the galleries," says Dumont, "where there was a *poissarde* (fishwoman) who exercised a superior authority, directing the tongues and motions of about a hundred other women and girls, who waited for her orders when they were to scream and when to be silent. She called out familiarly to the deputies below—'Who is that talking down there? Make that babbler hold his tongue! That is not the question; the question is bread! Make our gossip Mirabeau speak; we like to hear him!' &c." And yet many of these honourable deputies of this National Assembly had afterwards the brazenness to say—to write—to print—that they had maintained the dignity of a representative national body, and that it was their successors in the Legislative Assembly and in the National Convention that threw this dignity in the dirt at the feet of the mob! But now, a little after midnight, the roll of drums was heard from the Avenue de Versailles, and the people ran out, and an aide-de-camp from Lafayette came in and announced to the Assembly the arrival of his general with his Paris army, which had been some eight or nine hours in marching four and a half French leagues; for there had been a deal of haranguing and speech-making on the road, the road was very muddy, the civic heroes were not yet well trained to marching, and they had had, besides, to get their dinners on the way.* Almost at the same moment with the aide-de-camp there entered a messenger from the court to beg Mounier to return thither with a fresh deputation. The bewildered president replied that he would come; and then sent to inform Lafayette, who, he at least believed, had only come, or had come chiefly, to enforce that measure, that the king had been graciously pleased to grant the acceptance pure and simple. Lafayette came with an advanced column to the door of the Assembly, and gave in his own answer, which consisted chiefly of assurances that there was nothing to be feared from his army, that he had just made it take again the oath to be true to nation, law, and king, that it was orderly, &c. This new oath it appears had been administered to the men *en masse* in the Avenue de Versailles, close to the palace, against which the guns of the mob were still pointed. The value of such an oath, by acclamation and the holding up of hands, will be understood. From the Assembly Lafayette proceeded to the palace, where he obtained immediate admission, as there was no possibility of opposing him. He was accompanied by the two Paris commissioners named in the Hôtel-de-Ville. As he was crossing one of those gilded halls, a silly courtier, who could have known but little of the history and character of the "magnanimous usurper," muttered, "There goes Cromwell!" To

* Lafayette, in one of his own accounts of this march, says—"Lafayette, before arriving at Versailles, halted for some time with his column on the bridge of Sèvres; but, that Rubicon once passed, he ordered the troops to push through any obstacle they might meet: but they met none. The regiment of Flanders, *the officers at least* (?), sent to demand his orders, and received the order to remain quiet in their barracks."—*First Relation of the Events of the 5th and 6th of October, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by his family.*

which, according to his own narration, Lafayette sillily replied, "Cromwell would not have entered here alone."* Alone, forsooth; why he had all Paris at his back! It was the king and his family that were alone—alone in the midst of sixty or seventy thousand cut-throats, and with only a few companies of Swiss guards to stand by them; for nearly all the gardes-du-corps had been sent off to Rambouillet. He assures us, however, that the princesses and the vast majority of the court, both male and female, received him as a deliverer, knowing that he alone had power to restrain the fierce populace. Being admitted into the royal presence, he declared, in his highflying way, "That the king had no more faithful subject than he; that he was come to offer his head for the safety of his majesty's." And when he had done haranguing (it must have been with a hoarse voice, for, according to his own showing, he had been speech-making all day long), the two municipal commissioners intimated to the king the wishes of his good people of Paris. They were—1. That the honour of guarding his sacred person should be conferred on the national guards and the *centre grenadiers*, who, as Gardes Françaises, had had that honour before: 2. That corn and provisions should be gotten, if possible: 3. That the prisons of Paris, all crowded with political delinquents, should be emptied by prompt trials: 4. That it should please his majesty to come and reside among his faithful, loving subjects in his good city of Paris. The king, as in terror bound, said yes to all these demands except the last, about which he required time to deliberate. Great pains were taken to assure the whole court that there was not the least cause for alarm; the exterior guard, or all the outward posts of the palace, were confided to Lafayette, who then withdrew with the two commissioners, and occupied himself with setting the different guards, watches, and sentries. He placed the centre grenadiers in the great guard-room, which had recently been occupied by the gardes-du-corps; he stationed companies of his Paris national guard outside the strong iron railing by the principal entrances; he ordered patroles to keep in motion round the palace, and other patroles to watch the streets of the town. He says himself that he then thought the security of the royal family sufficiently provided for, and, dismissing the rest of the wearied national guards to find such shelter as they might in the town, he went to the Hôtel de Noailles, situated at a short distance from the palace, to seek some refreshment and repose. It was now about three in the morning; and about the same moment the deputies of the National Assembly, on the motion of Mirabeau, adjourned for a few hours and went home to their beds.† It appeared as if all parties had determined to cease watching and waking at the very moment when waking and watching were most necessary. But the strong doubt and suspicion remains that too many of them wished for some further demonstrations from the mob, in order to terrify the court into an unqualified compliance with the demand to go and live in Paris. They could have used force,—they had the court as much in their power as ever bailiff or executioner held a prisoner,—but they desired it not to be said that they used force; they were anxious that the king should throw himself into their arms for protection against the mob, and consent to go (not under their dictation, but voluntarily) with them to the capital. With all their affected contempt, they knew by experience that Louis was not always easily moved. If he had hesitated in the dead of night, and in face of that living moving mass from Paris, he might at morning dawn absolutely refuse to go; and then what could be done? What means could be employed save that open force which they wished so much to avoid? These deputies of the Assembly had sat the night through before now. Lafayette, who had bivouacked with Washington, who boasted of his power of enduring all things for a good cause, who was in the prime and vigour of life, had, it is true, been up ever since seven o'clock in the morning, but he might surely have contrived to keep up a few hours longer, if only to redeem his pledge to the king. "The queen," says Madame Campan, "was far from relying on the attachment of M. de Lafayette; but she believed that night that, having pledged his word to the king in the presence of a crowd of witnesses that he would answer for the Paris army, he would not risk his character as a commander, and must be sure of his business. She also thought that that army was devoted to him, and that all he had said about the violence it had put upon him in making him march to Versailles was but a fiction." The only excuse Lafayette found, or ever pretended to find, for what ensued, was, that the interior guard of the palace was not intrusted to him. Would he have placed his centre grenadiers in the interior of the palace, his national guards at the door of the king's apartment, his Faubourg St. Antoine men on the threshold, and his dames de la Halle within the queen's bedchamber? Between two and three o'clock the queen had been induced to retire to rest. She calmly ordered her two ladies of the bedchamber to go to their beds in a room contiguous to her own, believing that there was nothing to fear—at least nothing that night. But the two ladies, who had heard the horrible imprecations of the mob, feared that an attack would be made on that part of the immense palace, and, calling in their femmes-de-chambre, they sat down against the door which opened into the queen's sleeping-room, determined to watch there until daylight.* It was principally against Marie Antoinette that the Maillard army had vented their horrible rage on their first arrival

* First Relation.

† Lafayette, First and Second Relation of the Events of the 5th and 6th of October, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c.

* Madame Campan.—One of these two ladies on guard, and who proved so much better sentinels than Lafayette or his centre grenadiers, was Madame Campan's sister.

in front of the palace at three o'clock in the afternoon. The poissardes, or fishwomen, had been screaming that they were appointed to receive the queen's entrails, that they would twist her bowels into national cockades; and they had mixed their ferocious cries with the most horrible and obscene gestures*. With these infernal sounds still ringing in their ears, it was not strange that those ladies should not be able to sleep: yet the queen slept. About half-past four in the morning the ladies and their two maids heard the discharge of some musketry, and then horrible cries that seemed to proceed from the interior of the palace. One of them courageously flew towards the noise, crossed an ante-chamber into a drawing-room belonging to the queen's suite of rooms, and there saw a garde-du-corps covered with blood, but still defending a door-way with his musketoon. He cried out "Madame, save the queen! They are coming to assassinate her." The lady ran back, shut and bolted the door of the ante-chamber upon that devoted victim of honour and duty, shut and bolted another door, and then flew into the queen's room crying, "Get out of bed, Madame; do not stay to put on your clothes, fly to the king!" Marie Antoinette then sprang from her bed, the ladies hastily wrapped something about her, and then they flew together towards the king's apartment. A door always left open was now found bolted! There was a moment of exquisite agony and alarm; for, behind them, the mob were shrieking and battering against the doors the lady had secured, and might be expected at every instant to force them open and fall upon the all but naked queen; but the queen, and her ladies, and the femmes-de-chambre knocked and knocked louder and more desperately at the door before them, and presently the servant of one of the king's valets came and opened it.† In another second the queen stood in the king's sleeping-room; but her husband was not there. She thought he had been already carried away and murdered; but Louis, awakened out of his sleep by a noise that might have waked the dead, had run by another passage to look for her in her own suite of rooms. He was, however, soon back, and from another part of the palace the little dauphin and his sister came weeping with their governess. At the sight of her children Marie Antoinette exclaimed, "O God, save me, save my children!" and then for the first time she wept. She clasped the dauphin and her daughter in her arms: there were only a few trembling attendants in that part of the palace; the mob were already thundering at more than one of the doors, and the voices of the terrible centre grenadiers were heard shouting in an ante-chamber for the heads of the gardes-du-corps. By this time two gentlemen belonging to that doomed guard had been seized by the rabble, dragged out into the Marble Court, and there beheaded by a ferocious monster called Jourdan Coupe-Tête, who had been a butcher, a farrier, a soldier, and a smuggler, but who, in the phraseology of the country and times, "had embraced the cause of the revolution with ardour." He is described as standing in that court of marble, with his shirt-sleeves tucked up, asking whether there were no more heads to be cut off, grumbling that it was not worth the while to come so far for two. Fourteen other gardes-du-corps were wounded, and some of them prisoners in the hands of the populace. As the tale is told, Lafayette's national guards had nothing whatever to do with this storming of the palace; but an iron gate had been left open or but badly secured with a weak chain;* and some of the prying mob, unobserved of the civic militia, forced an entrance here into the Marble Court, and thence into the palace and up a staircase that led to the queen's apartment, infuriated by the loss of one of their number—a cabinet-maker, named Jerome l'Héritier—who was shot in the court of marble, apparently by a body-guard. But how came the centre grenadiers, ex-gardes-Françaises, to be in the palace? They themselves and their leaders attempted afterwards to prove that they only came to drive out the mob and protect the king. But, according to the most reliable authority, they first forced their way into the palace, crying out for vengeance on the gardes-du-corps, and battering the doors that led to the king's chamber with the butt-ends of their muskets. Madame Campan, who received her information from her sister who was with the queen, having accompanied her majesty in her flight from her bedroom, says, they wanted to enter in order to massacre the gardes-du-corps, and that they were only appeased when M. de Vaudreuil, the distinguished naval officer, and M. de Chevanne, one of the body-guard, had entered into explanations with them and their officers, and when Chevanne had offered himself up as a victim, if they wanted one. It is probable that, in this hurried conference, among other prevalent arguments, adroit use was made of a tradition or historical fact; for the knocking ceased in the corridor, and voices cried out in gentler tones, "We are the centre grenadiers, old gardes-Françaises. Open to us, Messieurs of the gardes-du-corps; we have not forgotten how you saved us at Fontenoy!" Such of the gardes-du-corps as had now collected within the royal apartment received the king's orders to open the door, against which they had been piling chairs and stools. As the door turned on its

* Madame Campan.

† "The queen," says Gouverneur Morris, who received his information from one of the court, "was obliged to fly from her bed in her undress, with her stockings in her hand, to the king's chamber for protection, being pursued by the *poissardes*." It appears, however, that neither the fishwomen, nor any other part of the mob, could get into the queen's inner apartments, or follow her in her flight; and Madame Campan contradicts a story, told by Weber and many others, of the assassins bursting into her bedchamber, and, in the rage of their disappointment, piercing the coverlets and mattresses with their pikes and swords.

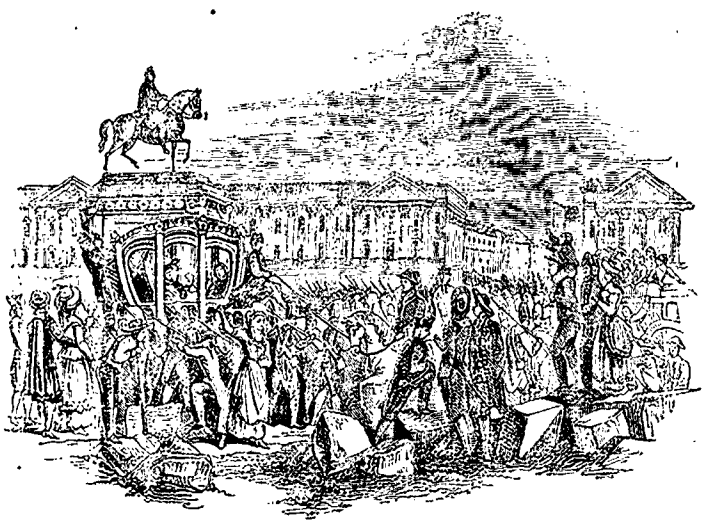
* According to Lafayette, who actually tries to throw the whole blame upon the court and their guards, "the negligence of the guard of the interior had been so great, that one of the gates, the keys of which were in the palace, *had been found wide open*, no one knew how, at the moment of the irruption."—*First Relation of the Events of the 5th and 6th of October.*

hinges, Louis showed himself for an instant, and said, "Do not hurt my guards." But there was no need of this solicitude; the thoughts of the battle of Fontenoy, which had happened before many of them were born, the representations of Vaudreuil, and probably some other circumstances not yet explained, had mollified the hearts of the centre grenadiers, and had given a new direction to their whimsies and excitabilities: they cried out, "We are brothers!" and they fell to hugging and kissing the gardes-du-corps, whose throats they had wanted to cut a few minutes before. Chevanne had promised them that the body-guard would instantly mount the tri-color cockade; the centre grenadiers changed hats, cockades and all, with the gardes-du-corps, who took off their embroidered scarfs and hung them round the necks of the said grenadiers, and thereupon there was fresh hugging and kissing, and a cry, most comfortable to the court, of "Vivent le Roi, la Nation, et les Gardes-du-Corps!"* Shortly after this Lafayette, with several officers and deputies of the Assembly, made his appearance in the palace. According to the relations given by himself and his friends, he had come to the spot *as soon as he was able*. He had saved some of the gardes-du-corps from the fury of the people on his way thither, though not without having a musket levelled at his own head for that interference. He now "praised the national guards for their *good conduct*, confided anew the royal family and the body-guard to their loyalty;" sent them to clear the palace of the rabble that had broken in; and then harangued the rest of the mob from one of the balconies.† The mob was mixed in one confused mass with his Paris army, in the Marble Court, in other courts, and outside the iron-railing. According to his own account, they were all "in a high state of effervescence." At the same time the gardes-du-corps showed themselves at other windows and balconies wearing the caps of the grenadiers, and tri-color cockades as big as sunflowers. The king too stepped forth into the balcony with Lafayette and an enormous tri-color cockade, and then there were fresh shoutings of "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation! Vivent les Gardes-du-Corps!*" — but still some voices screamed "*Le Roi à Paris!* The king must to Paris with us." It appears that, by word or by sign, poor Louis promised to go with them. Lafayette then returned with the king into the room, and said to the queen, "Madame, what are your intentions as regards yourself?"—"I know the fate that awaits me," said the high-minded woman, "but my duty is to die at the feet of the king, and with my children. I will go where they go!"‡ And to intimate this intention, and to show herself to the people, who were calling for her, she stepped out into the balcony with one of her children in either hand. "*Point d'enfans*," (no children), roared the mob. She pushed her children gently back into the room, and, expecting immediate death, she stood there erect with her arms crossed on her breast and her large blue eyes turned heavenward. The accursed crew had been repeating the obscene and horrible words and gestures the poissardes had used the preceding evening; but, though they had deprived her of the interest belonging to a mother standing between her fair and innocent offspring, they were touched at what they saw; and when Lafayette, coming again forward, bent his knee and kissed the queen's hand, there was an universal shout of "*Vive le Général! Vive la Reine!*"* The king, who was standing some paces behind, now advanced into the balcony and spoke anxiously to Lafayette about his poor body-guards, who might yet be massacred by some sudden turn of the mob-mind. "Bring me one of them out here," said the mighty conjuror and pantomimist. A garde-du-corps was brought out: Lafayette gave his own tricolored cockade to that gentleman, and embraced him, in French fashion, in the eyes of all the multitude, who thereupon made the welkin ring again with their *vivats*. The general then went down to the Marble Court and swore in that handful of body-guards to be true to the nation. The regiment of Flanders, it appears, had been sworn, in a heap, before. It was still an early hour, and some faint hopes yet lingered in the palace that the forced journey to the capital—a journey amidst all this frightful rabble—might at least be avoided. Some of the deputies of the National Assembly had met in their hall as soon as it was daylight. The king, by the advice of his ministers, and apparently with the concurrence of several deputies of the moderate party who had repaired to offer their counsel and assistance at that crisis, sent down to the hall to invite the Assembly to come and hold a short session in the palace, as the best or most probable means of restoring order among the mob. But Mirabeau mounted the tribune to denounce any such step as derogatory to the dignity and majesty of the Assembly. "This pretended dignity," says Dumont, "was very suspicious. Was this the moment to consult etiquette? Was there any duty superior to that of going and forming a circle round the sovereign whose life was in danger?" And we would ask where was the dignity—where the shadow of dignity left to an assemblage of scoundrels, fools, or cowards, that only a few hours before had been bearded and bullied in their own hall by a filthy mob—dictated to by drunken harlots and fishwives? But the truth is, they were all, with the exception of a few who had presently to fly for their lives, in the one broad, open, palpable plot to get the king to Paris, without having the appearance of themselves openly forcing him. Instead, therefore, of attending to the king's summons, they merely sent a deputation to the palace, with instructions to do or say nothing that might commit the Assembly. Lafayette, on his part,

* Carlyle.—Toulongeon.—Madame Campan.
† Lafayette, First Relation, &c.
‡ Id. id

* Weber says he saw one of the wretches level his musket at the queen, and another fellow strike it down in great wrath.—*Mémoires.*

with a delicacy that cannot fail of being properly appreciated by all who attend to facts and circumstances, and recollect his army and his bloody rabble standing on the very threshold of the palace, declined entering the king's council-chamber, or taking any part in the consultations about the removal of the royal family—lest he should control the freedom of debate and decision!* But that decision could not be doubtful; and after a very short deliberation with his terrified ministers, and the arrival of the deputation to announce that the Assembly would not come to the palace, the king reappeared at the balcony, and said, with as loud and firm a voice as he could, "My friends, I will go with you to Paris, with my wife and children: it is to the love of my good and faithful subjects that I confide all that is most precious to me." Here there were fresh acclamations and expressions of unbounded gladness and attachment; but, a short time after, the mob were going to tear to pieces some of the Gardes-du-Corps who had trusted to their assurances, and had ventured among them under the protection of the tri-color cockade; and the king was obliged to implore Lafayette to go out and save the victims, which Lafayette did with much nimbleness and self-laudation. The departure of the court was fixed for one o'clock in the afternoon; and as soon as this was known the National Assembly resolved by acclamation that they must follow the court to Paris—that the Assembly was inseparable from the person of the sovereign. At the hour appointed, and in the midst of a general discharge of musketry, called a joy-fire, or *feu de joie*, the royal family left the gardens and palace of Versailles, which they were never to see again. The king and the queen, with the dauphin and their daughter, Monsieur the king's brother, and the Princess Elizabeth his sister, went in one great state coach. They were followed by the ladies of honour, and some gentlemen of the king's household in other carriages; and then came about a hundred vehicles, calèches



THE KING'S ARRIVAL AT PARIS FROM VERSAILLES. From a Medal by Andrein.

and hackney coaches, containing a part of the National Assembly.† Lafayette rode on his white charger by the side of the king's carriage, but was more frequently seen capering backward and forward, endeavouring to clear the road and maintain some appearance of order. "But," as he feelingly laments, "he could not be everywhere at once, so that many obstacles arose causing frequent halts." A portion of Maillard's petticoat army, and of the Faubourg St. Antoine ruffians, had been sent off for Paris earlier in the day, with the heads of the two Gardes-du-Corps stuck upon pikes twelve feet long, and with other trophies of victory; but by far the larger part of them remained to march with Lafayette and his Parisian militia.*

* "*Gêner la liberté,*" says Thiers, whose whole account of these transactions is a most cold-blooded special pleading. When, after fifty years, French historians will not see the truth, or find courage enough to tell it to the French people—when every possible care is taken to palliate or to justify the most atrocious deeds—to treat as nought the sufferings of the victims, and to applaud the ultimate end and object of the revolutionists in all things—we confess we despair of them, and despair of their country.

The great actor of the day says himself—"Lafayette abstained from being present at the council in which the departure from Versailles was decided; but he was charged with all the arrangements necessary to regulate this march of sixty thousand individuals. He has been painted seated at the council-table, giving passports to the members of the royal family, for themselves and their suite; all those personages ranged around the *dictator*. It was not his fault if the ministers, by their imprudence, compromised their own power so completely, that any passport signed by them would have been the cause of danger rather than a guarantee of protection; and, if the provocations of the court had been followed by so much irritation and distrust, the refusal of the safeguard demanded of him might have been blamed with far greater justice."—*First Relation.*

† A hundred deputies—among whom was Mirabeau—were selected by the Assembly to accompany the king: the rest were to follow as soon as a house should be found and prepared for them.

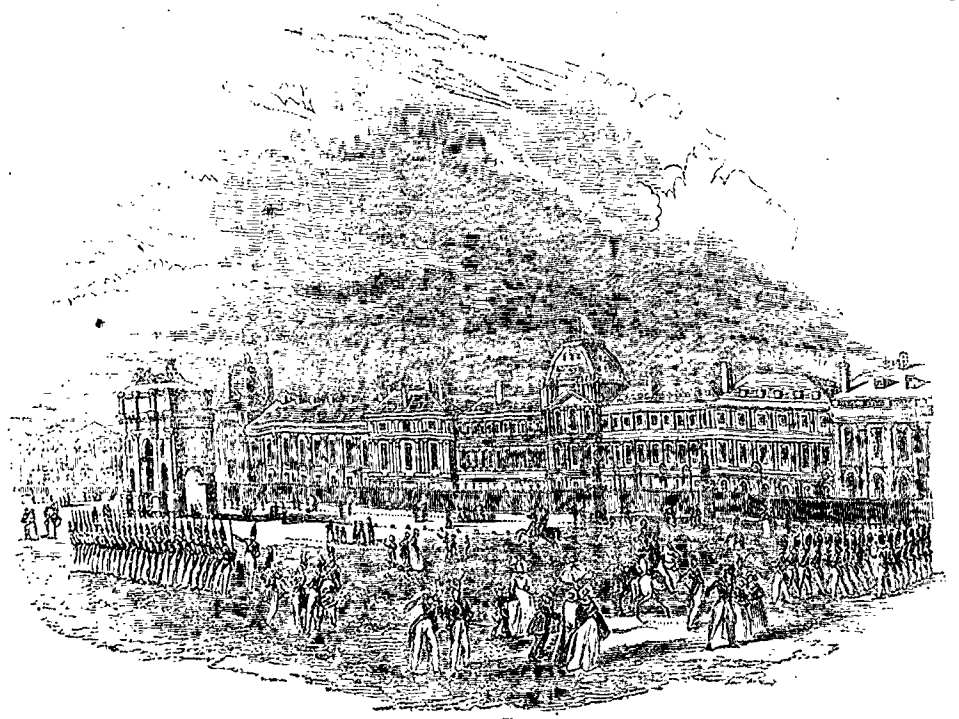
* It has been very generally reported that the two bleeding heads of the Gardes-du-Corps were carried in the procession in front of the royal carriage; but this was not the fact. Gouverneur Morris saw in the morning the two heads brought into Paris, and says, "The royal family, who are in possession of the late Gardes Françaises, are to come this afternoon." They did not in fact arrive till night. The American's testimony completely overthrows an assertion advanced

The poissardes, or fishwomen, preceded and surrounded the carriage which contained the king, queen, and dauphin, and kept shouting, "We shall no longer want bread, for we have got the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's boy." They were mixed with national guards, and with the men of the faubourgs carrying pikes, clubs, and branches of poplar-trees; they were still drunk with wine and with fury; from time to time they put their filthy faces close to the royal carriage, singing the most obscene songs, and with their gestures signifying that the foulest parts of them were applicable to the queen. Some of the she-devils rode astride upon the cannons which had been brought from Paris or seized at Versailles; some dragged after them in the mud the hats, cockades, sashes, and broken swords of the Gardes-du-Corps. The mass of the national guards, mixed with the regiment of Flanders, with the dames de la Halle, Paris porters, and an incredible number of Paris prostitutes, followed the court-carriages; and in the rear of all were the Swiss, watched and guarded by detachments of the Versailles militia. Here and there were scattered a few of the faithful Gardes-du-Corps, some on foot, some on horseback, most of them without hats, several of them lame and wounded, all disarmed. "I was an eye-witness," says Bertrand de Molleville, "of this heart-rending spectacle: I saw this sinister procession. In the midst of this tumult, of these shrieks and shouts and horrible songs, frequently interrupted by discharges of musketry, which one monster or one awkward hand might render so fatal, I saw the queen preserving the most courageous tranquillity of mind, an air of inexpressible nobleness and dignity, and my eyes were filled with tears of pity, grief, and admiration."* For almost six mortal hours that journey, that long agony, lasted: it was near seven o'clock, and dark night, when the royal family reached the barriers of Paris. There a new infliction awaited them in the person of astronomer-mayor Bailly, who stepped forward at the head of his municipals to deliver one of his eternal harangues or academician discourses, and to tell the king that this was a glorious day, a beautiful day—*un beau jour*—that saw him restored to Paris as his habitual dwelling-place! Then, in the midst of a vastly increased multitude, with two hundred thousand voices, and more, making the night hideous with their mad shouts and antics, the royal cortège rolled slowly and dismally through Paris to the Place de Grève and Hôtel de Ville, where they were compelled to hear fresh orations and harangues. Lafayette's friend, Moreau de Saint-Méry, in a long-winded discourse, congratulated his majesty on thus finding himself in the midst of his faithful subjects, and in a city which contained a greater number of his loving children than any other place in France. Poor Louis replied, in a low tone of voice—"I always come with pleasure and *confidence* among my people." The words were pronounced in so low a tone that Mayor Bailly though it fitting to repeat them; but in so doing he omitted the word *confidence*. The high-spirited queen, who had all the presence of mind that her husband stood so much in need of, said smartly, "Sir, add *with confidence*." And thereupon the Paris Lord Mayor, "in a graceful manner," said to the municipals, "Gentlemen, in hearing it from the lips of the queen you are happier than if I had not made that mistake." After some more monkey play of the same kind the king was handed to a balcony, and there exhibited by torch-light with an enormous tri-color cockade stuck in his hat: at which happy sight the people in the Place de Grève and under the *lanterne*—that great fundamental principle of their liberty and constitution—grasped hands, hugged and kissed one another, danced, and shouted.* It was eleven o'clock at night ere Lafayette saw the royal family lodged in the long-deserted palace of the Tuileries, and left them there as in a prison, he not being their gaoler—at least not their sole gaoler, but one gaoler among hundreds of thousands—a sort of upper turnkey, responsible to all Paris and all the people of France, and liable at any moment to have his brains knocked out with his own keys. Yet the vain inept man, the minion and tool of a monster faction, of a whole people broke loose and gone mad, went home to his bed that night with the happy conviction that he was the greatest man in France, in Europe, in the world, and that now they had gotten the king to Paris the work of liberty was done and most gloriously completed. He was so elated and so constantly surrounded by a crowd of politicians, as little statesmen as himself, that he had no time for reflection—no ear to give to the few sensible men then in France capable of affording good advice. He arrived on the 6th of October with his army, his rabble, and the court. On the 8th Gouverneur Morris went to his house, where he found the general closeted with Clermont Tonnerre and his wife, Madame de Staël, and some other people, holding a committee in the drawing-room. "This is all petit," says the New-

without any authority by Thiers, that the bloody trophies were snatched from the mob before the march from Versailles began, for Morris saw the heads—"two heads of the Gardes-du-Corps." Nor are we inclined to discredit another story about the two heads, told by Madame Campan, who remained behind at Versailles, and by Bertrand de Molleville, who formed part of the procession—that the cannibals that were carrying the heads to Paris stopped at Sèvres, and compelled a poor barber to powder and curl the hair of the two heads, that they might be the more recognisable as aristocrats. The trait is characteristic, and precisely the kind of monstrosity that would strike the imagination of a French mob, who had eternally mingled the farcical with the tragical—the tricks of the monkey with the ferocity of the tiger. Lafayette himself says nothing to disprove this operation by the barber at Sèvres: he only denies that the heads were carried before the royal family; and, in so doing, his words disprove the assertion so hardily advanced by Thiers, that those horrible trophies were torn (arraché) from the mob. He says, "Amongst the false assertions which have been propagated concerning this deplorable day, which, in truth, needed no exaggeration, I shall relate but one: it was said that the heads of the two unfortunate Gardes-du-Corps were carried before the king's carriage, while we were only thinking of saving their comrades and the royal family. It is sufficiently horrible that bandits should have escaped with the infamous trophies of their crimes; but they had arrived at the Palais Royal, and public authority had succeeded in dispersing them, before the king had even quitted Versailles."—*Second Relation.*

* Mémoires.

* Toulongeon, Hist. de la Révolution.—Madame Campan, Bertrand de Molleville, Weber, and other Memoirs of the time.—Dulaure, Esquisses.



PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.

Yorker. At last the great man came forth from his closet, and gave a few minutes' audience. He spoke as if the whole power of the state had fallen into his hands, and said he must make a new ministry. "He has spoken to Mirabeau already," says Morris; "I regret it. He thinks of taking one minister from each party."* Three days after this the American republican went again to the marquis, and again found him closeted. After waiting a long time he saw Lafayette, but found that he wished to avoid "coming to any points." He still, however, spoke as if he had the whip-hand, and could drive over a road of his own choosing. He had previously indulged in moral axioms, and denunciations of this or that man as not being sufficiently moral and pure to hold office under him. "I state to him," continues Morris, "the present situation of France, and the necessity of combining men of talents, who have principles favourable to liberty: that without talents the opportunity of regaining executive authority will be lost, and that, without proper principles, the authority when recovered will be abused. That he himself cannot possibly act both as minister and soldier, still less as minister of every department: that he must have coadjutors in whom he can confide. That, as to the objections he has made, on the score of morals in some, he must consider *that men do not go into an administration as the direct road to Heaven:* that they are prompted by ambition or avarice, and, therefore, that the only way to secure the most virtuous is by making it their interest to act rightly. He tells me that he means to introduce Malesherbes as Garde de Sceaux, and, to the objection that he will not accept, the reply is, *that he will accept from Monsieur de Lafayette.* I have a stronger objection, which I do not choose to make, namely, that Malesherbes is not sufficiently a man of business, although certainly well informed, and possessed of a great deal of understanding.‡ He mentions la Rochefoucauld as minister of Paris, and, to the objection that he has not the needful talents, he answers that he will give him a *premier commis*, (head clerk) who has. The minister of war is to be in the same situation. But these ministers cannot carry their *commis* with them into the council to deliberate and judge." Morris was evidently alarmed at this total absence of statesmanlike wisdom—at the absence of a plan of any kind in one who assumed to hold the destinies of France like a ball in the palm of his hand.† He had warned the self-confident man before; he had endeavoured to show the objectionableness of their suspensive veto, and the tyranny likely to result from their single chamber; and on the 16th of October he put his thoughts into writing, sending a long letter of excellent but fruitless advice to Lafayette. "I am convinced," said this true prophet, "*that the proposed constitution cannot serve for the government of this*

* *Diary.* On the same day Gouverneur Morris saw the Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand), from whom he learned that the getting rid of Necker was a *sine quâ non*; particularly as he, the bishop, wanted Necker's place.

‡ This was the capital objection, not merely to the good men of France, but equally to the bad ones—they were *not* men of business.

† Nearly a month after this Talleyrand observed to Gouverneur Morris that Lafayette had no fixed plan; "which," adds Morris, "is quite true."

country; that the National Assembly, late the object of enthusiastic attachment, will soon be treated with disrespect; *that the extreme licentiousness of your people will render it indispensable to increase the royal authority;* that under such circumstances the freedom and happiness of France must depend on the wisdom, integrity, and firmness of his majesty's councils, and, consequently, that the ablest and best men should be added to the present administration. . . . . I consider the present time as critical, and that, if neglected, many irreparable mischiefs must ensue. Such are the bodings of a mind not easily ruffled or alarmed, but feelingly alive to the interests of friendship, and devotedly attached to the liberties of mankind." He stated that some of Lafayette's own friends had requested him to entreat him not to go into the council; and he proceeded to state the reasons for this recommendation. "They are," said he, "first, that your present command must of necessity engross your time, and require undissipated attention, and in consequence you must fail in the duty either of minister or general. Secondly, that when in council your opinions will not have more weight, and perhaps less, than they have at present, because at present they are respected as coming from you, but will only be received in council according to the reasons adduced in their support, and it is not always that the wisest man is the most eloquent. Thirdly, if your opinions do not prevail, you will have the mortification to sanction by your presence the measures which you disapprove, or quit in disgust the seat which you have taken. Fourthly, if your opinions prevail, you will then in your quality of general be called on to execute what in your quality of counsellor you have ordained. In this situation the public opinion will revolt unless it be subdued. The one will ruin you, and the other your *country*. Fifthly, the jealousy and suspicion inseparable from tumultuous revolutions, and which have already been maliciously pointed against you, will certainly follow all your future steps, if you appear to be too strictly connected with the court. The foundation of your authority will then crumble away, *and you will fall the object of your own astonishment.*" Morris added other reasons why Lafayette should not think, as he had been doing, of being prime minister as well as commandant-general; and he also conjured him on no account to admit such a thorough scoundrel as Mirabeau into the ministry. This last objection proceeded not from any prudery or over-scrupulousness about vices and irregularities that were so fashionable and universal in France, but from a deep conviction that Mirabeau had been guilty of dark crimes, and was wholly without principle or steadiness of any kind. "There are in this world," he adds, "men who are to be employed, not trusted. Virtue must ever be sullied by an alliance with such vice, *and liberty will blush at her introduction, if led by a hand so polluted.*"*

* Letter to General Lafayette, in Life of Governeur Morris, by Jared Sparks.

Lafayette gave up the notion of being prime minister, or any kind of minister, but he never forgave the American for his frank advice. Morris found that Madame Lafayette looked coldly upon him, and, though he continued his visits, and from time to time his hints and warnings, he found that confidence and the warmth of friendship were departed, and that Lafayette always had, or pretended to have, a great deal of business on his hands whenever he called. The French Grandison connected himself with Mirabeau, and Mirabeau for some short time looked confidently to a seat in the cabinet. Hopes had previously been held out to him by Necker, or some of Necker's friends, of an embassy, but an embassy would no longer content him.*

Some time was spent in looking out for a suitable place in Paris for the accommodation of the National Assembly. A committee of their own body was appointed to seek and choose: they chose *pro tempore* the vast pile of building belonging to the archbishopric of Paris; and on the 19th of October—thirteen days after the forced departure of the king from Versailles—they assembled and reconstituted themselves therein. But their number was now very visibly diminished. A considerable section of the noblesse and clergy had disappeared after the night of the 4th of August; others had discontinued their attendance as soon as it was resolved that there should be but one chamber; and above fifty had rather fled than retreated immediately after the horrible scenes of the 5th and 6th of October. Among these *fuyards* was Mounier, whose nerves never recovered from the shock they had sustained on the night of the 5th. Indignant at the mob, at the blind and violent majority of his colleagues, and incensed at what he considered both double dealing and imbecility in Lafayette, he returned to his native hills in Dauphiny, to write a book "On the Causes which have hindered the French from becoming a Free People;" in which book, as it has been well remarked, he seems to have omitted the principal, if not the only cause —the character of that people. He was accused of plots against the Assembly, and of attempts to make an insurrection and counter-revolution in his native province. He was subsequently obliged to flee from France altogether, and to turn schoolmaster in Germany. Lally-Tollendal also fled from the Assembly at the same time, equally despairing of any good from a revolution which he had materially promoted, and equally convinced that his life would not be safe in Paris. These desertions may be thought not very honourable; but it must be borne in mind that the threats of the people, who had given

* Dumont, Souvenirs.—G. Morris, Diary. About this time Mirabeau often indulged in wild dreams or rhapsodies with his private friends. On one occasion he said, "I am quite astonished to find myself a philosopher; I was certainly born to be an adventurer; but who knows? They are a-going to tear this kingdom to pieces, and I have some influence in Provence. . . . . " "Only see," said Duroverai; "he is already fancying himself Sovereign Count of Provence." —"And what if I do?" said Mirabeau: "many other sovereigns have started from a station lower than mine."—"All this," adds Dumont, "was only a sally of fancy, but his imagination was always figuring to itself ruins and overthrows of empire."

so many proofs that there was no power in France to prevent their executing all their menaces, had been for some time terrible and open. When Lally was safe in England he explained, in eloquent language, some of the weighty reasons which had induced him to quit the Assembly and France. "I was no longer able," he says, "to endure the horror I felt at the sight of that blood in Versailles —those heads—that queen nearly assassinated—that king carried off as a slave, entering Paris in the midst of his assassins—that cry of '*All the bishops to the lanterne!*' at the moment the king was entering his capital with two prelates of his council with him—that musket which I saw fired into one of the queen's carriages; and then M. Bailly calling that '*a glorious day*'—the Assembly having coolly declared in the morning that it was incompatible with its dignity to go and surround the king; M. Mirabeau observing with impunity, in that Assembly, that the vessel of the state, far from being impeded in her course, would rush forward more rapidly than ever to regeneration; M. Barnave laughing with him while streams of blood were flowing around us; the virtuous Mounier miraculously escaping from twenty assassins, who were anxious to make an additional trophy of his head. This it was that made me swear never more to set foot in that cavern of anthropophagi, where I had no longer the strength to raise my voice; where, for the last six weeks, I had raised it in vain. I, Mounier, and all virtuous men, were of opinion that the last effort we had to make for the public welfare was to leave that Assembly. . . . . A man may brave death once—he may face it many times, when his courage can be of use to his country; but no power under heaven, no public or private opinion, shall condemn me to suffer uselessly a thousand deaths a minute, and to perish of despair and rage in the midst of triumphs and of crimes I have been unable to prevent. They will proscribe me; they will confiscate my property. I will dig the earth for my bread, and see them no more!"* Such had been the effect of only five months of revolution on poor Lally! Abbé Maury, the bold and witty defender of his order and of the monarchy, fled some short while before Mounier and Lally. He was seized, when near the frontiers, and thrown into prison; but the Assembly thought it decent to send an order for his liberation; and he had courage sufficient not only to return to Paris, but to take his place in the Assembly, and even to raise his voice against the intolerant majority, with gibes and sarcasms most difficult to digest. Maury was neither a good man nor a great one; but his boldness, his presence of mind, and his wit in the hour of danger, entitle him to admiration. It may be said that he never spoke without the knife at his breast, or the *lanterne* rope round his neck; and yet how he did speak! It is otherwise represented in histories and *mémoires*, but it seems to us that Mirabeau had not half the courage of this priest. Cazalès, a captain of dragoons before the revolution, but gifted with a very rare share of natural eloquence, had retired about the end of July; but he too, being arrested and then liberated, returned to his post in the Assembly, and bravely continued the hopeless struggle against anarchy. At the same moment that the National Assembly transferred itself to Paris, the Breton Club, vastly increased, took possession of the great hall of the Convent of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, and thenceforward obtained the name of the JACOBIN CLUB. The change of name

* Letter to a Friend.

CONVENT OF THE JACOBINS. From an Original Drawing.

marks a great revolutionary epoch: the change of place soon subjected the Assembly to the Club, to the Palais-Royal, and the mob. That mob continued as turbulent as ever; for it was found that, though they had got the king, they could not get bread, and fresh stories were invented of atrocious plots and conspiracies against liberty and the people. Peaceful men, if they had good coats to their backs, could not walk the streets without danger; and one of the very first acts passed by the Assembly was a declaration of martial law! They held their first Séance on the 19th of October, and on the 21st they decreed martial law. *Et vive la Liberté!* The measure was proposed by *Lafayette* and Bailly*, and most vigorously opposed by Robespierre, who spoke with wonderful unction on the virtues and sufferings of the people, and whose popularity was notably increased thereby. Among many other striking proofs of the progress liberty and law were making, was the exile, at this time, of the Duke of Orleans—a measure in which Lafayette will allow no share of merit to any other man, but greedily takes it all to himself. If the Duke of Orleans were guilty of the state crimes imputed to him, he ought to have been seized and put upon trial for his life; but he was ordered out of the country without any trial, process, or examination of any kind. He was exiled upon hearsay; and a few months later the National Assembly itself declared that there was no truth in the foul reports. A considerable party, knowing the jealousies and animosities that existed between the house of Orleans and the reigning branch, had maintained all along that the duke was indirectly aiming at the crown, was encouraging the excesses of the revolution in order to frighten the king and his family out of France, and was regularly paying and subsidizing a set of brigands and assassins, who were guilty of all that was done amiss. It was pleasant to have a drain of this kind into which all the filth of the Revolution could be poured; it was pleasant for the French people to hold up clean hands and say, this is not our work, but the work of a few hirelings, *chiefly foreigners*; it was good and profitable for the drivers in the National Assembly and the orators in the Palais Royal to establish the belief that it was not they, but a prince of the blood royal, a Bourbon, that made all the anarchy by which they profited. And in this manner they now endeavoured to represent that, if the march of half Paris upon Versailles had not been ordered by the Duke of Orleans,† at least every atrocious deed committed there had been committed by his agents. These opinions were the more easily propagated, as several silly underlings of the court had chosen the Duke as their *bête noire*, and were intimately persuaded that his spite, malice, and ambition had excited twenty millions of people. Several of this class affirmed that the Duke of Orleans had been seen at half-past four in the morning in the Court of Marble, wrapped in a riding-coat, and with a slouched hat pulled over his face, showing the furious mob the way they were to go to get at the queen's bed-chamber. Others of the same class thought they had seen Mirabeau, who had for some time been suspected of being sold to Orleans, in the thickest of the mob, with a sabre in his hand. Both these apparitions or visions were soon exploded, and every fact of the kind disproved; but for the moment they had their effect on minds that combined within themselves the two extremes of credulity and incredulity. There was, nevertheless, an Orleans party or faction, the leaders of which—the duke's secretary Laclos, the author of 'Liaisons Dangereuses;'* the Marquis de Sillery Genlis, or Genlis Sillery, the husband of Madame de Genlis, the famed writer of novels and romances; and other needy, ambitious, and unprincipled men—possibly went further than his highness intended; possibly attributed to him views which he never entertained, and words which he never uttered; and, upon balancing conflicting evidence, which is about all that can be done, we are disposed to believe that Mirabeau was for a short time connected with this Orleans party, but cunningly, loosely, *à la Mirabeau*, taking the wages of the party without doing anything for it that might commit him with the majority of the Assembly and the people.† Mirabeau hated and despised Lafayette, making no secret of his contempt, but publishing it to the world in bons-mots and nicknames. Lafayette hated, but feared, Mirabeau, and before courting his alliance he would have sent him out of France with the Duke of Orleans if he had been able. But the first orator of the Assembly was, in his place, a far more potent magician than the commandant-general of the national guards; and, but for timely negotiations which disarmed his wrath, Mirabeau would have brought down a thunder-clap on Lafayette's head, by denouncing him as one that aspired to be a dictator; by accusing him of having forced the Count d'Artois and the princes of the houses of

* The day before making the motion Lafayette had nearly been murdered by a mob that were assassinating a Paris baker named François.

† Thiers equivocates and mystifies the whole story; but Mignet speaks out frankly, and in his natural republican tone. "The insurrection of the 5th and 6th of October," says he, "was a true popular movement. We ought not to seek for secret motives, nor attribute it to concealed schemes of ambition; it was provoked by the imprudence of the court. The dinner of the gardes-du-corps, the reports of the king's flight, the dread of civil war, and the scarcity of provisions, were what carried Paris to Versailles. If private instigators (and the most rigorous researches have left that fact *doubtful*) contributed to produce the movement, they changed neither the direction nor the object of it. The event had for its result the destruction of the ancient régime of the court; it deprived the court of their guards; it transported them from the royal residence of Versailles into *the capital of the revolution*, and placed them under the surveillance of the people."—*Hist. de la Révolution Francaise.*

* This profoundly immoral man is thus sketched by Dumont:—"Laclos was a sombre, taciturn man, having the looks and the figure of a conspirator—reserved, clever, but so little attractive, that, though I often saw him, I scarcely ever spoke to him. Why he came so often to Mirabeau's I know not."—*Souvenirs.*

† Dumont leaves the fact of Mirabeau's secret connexion with the party of the Duke of Orleans doubtful; but he treats the absolution afterwards pronounced by the National Assembly as a thing entitled to no weight in history; and he speaks of the necessity of many veils being drawn up before any decided opinion can be pronounced on the matter. He was greatly in Mirabeau's confidence; but there were many facts which that strange mortal would never reveal to a man of honour and integrity, which Dumont certainly was, and this connexion with the Orleanists is likely to have been one of them.

Condé and Conti to take flight; of having taken possession of the persons of the king, the queen, their children, and Monsieur the king's brother; and now of having banished the Orleans branch, solely to forward his own ambitious views.* When the Duke of Orleans had taken his departure for England, and when a most hollow treaty had been concluded between the orator and the general, Mirabeau moved in the Assembly for a vote of thanks to Lafayette and Bailly, for their excellent political conduct in the late season of storm and difficulties; and within a very short time Mirabeau was proposed to the king as a very proper man to be a minister of state. Louis, who had little to do but assent and consent, made little or no objection; but there was a difficulty in another quarter. The law-makers and constitution-makers of the Assembly had decided in their wisdom that no minister of the crown should have speech or place among them as a member of their own body, inasmuch as a man could not serve the executive and be a faithful representative at the same time. They never heeded the fact that in a constitutional government ministers must explain their conduct and their projects, and that the proper place for so doing is the parliament, or assembly, or congress. As for Mirabeau, his whole and sole value lay in his oratory: if he were to be excluded from speaking by becoming a minister, he would be but a cumbersome organ, with its pipes all broken and bellows gone—for as a man of business, as a practical statesman, or industrious work-doing minister, there were five hundred as good as he—nay, *probably* (for we will not speak too confidently, seeing that the lack of men of business was one of the greatest wants of these revolutionists), there were five hundred better than he among his own party. Mirabeau, who knew his own strength, and whose chief ambition it was to be called the French Demosthenes, would not be a minister, much as he wanted the pay, upon the hard condition of the present rule. It is said also that he was very anxious to see Necker fooled in the Assembly by being allowed to speak in it, and that, happen what might otherwise, he promised himself great satisfaction in demolishing the banquier-philosophe, who, truth to say, was sufficiently demolished already. He proposed to the Assembly that the king's ministers should be allowed at least a deliberative voice (*voix consultative*) in the Assembly. The popular party, as the majority were called, lifted up their voices against this unpopular, wicked plan, and the Lameths, Duport, and some other members of the moderate or quasi-royalist party, who knew the secret, and who were jealous of Mirabeau's promotion, joined in the indignant, virtuous reprobation. The proposition was rejected by acclamation; and, not satisfied with this, the Assembly forthwith decreed that no deputy could accept the place of minister or be in any way connected with the executive power. "It was in vain," says Dumont, "that the usage of England was cited; or rather, the example of the English, instead of recommending a thing, threw discredit upon it.* The least idea of imitation now wounded the vanity of these innovators, who pretended to make a constitutional monarchy without preserving a single monarchic element."*

For a long time all law had been in abeyance; but now the old Châtelet court was erected into a kind of revolutionary tribunal, being invested with an extraordinary jurisdiction over offences or crimes arising out of the revolution. New forms were laid down for this court by the National Assembly; the trials were to be public, the prisoners were to be allowed counsel, and it was intimated that there would soon be trial by jury. One of the first prisoners tried before this tribunal was the Baron de Besenval: but the trial lasted so long that the people began to take the baron's part; and, before it was ended by an acquittal, the magnanimous Lafayette turned public accuser, and with his friend Bailly denounced the Marquis de Favras as plotting against liberty, and as in a conspiracy to murder the mayor of Paris and the commandant-general, and carry off the king with twelve hundred horse that were to be collected at Versailles. This story made a terrible noise, and Monsieur the king's brother (the only male relation that was not now in exile) was linked with the conspirator, or Favras with him; for it was commonly reported that Monsieur had furnished money, &c. Lafayette, who acknowledges that he and Bailly got their information from a spy named Houdart, told Gouverneur Morris, and another American friend that for a long time he had had information of a conspiracy—that he had followed the track, and

* Lafayette himself says—"Three days after the arrival of the king in Paris, I explained myself in an open manner to the Duke of Orleans. The result of that conversation was the departure of that prince for England; not that I have any positive proof against him, for if I had I should have denounced him; *but it was sufficient for me to feel an anxiety to encourage him in his natural taste for travelling.* The party of the duke are very active; they wish to bring me to trial; but that would be awkward for themselves." *Letter to Mounier, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by Lafayette's family.*

Mirabeau strenuously endeavoured to prevent Orleans from submitting to exile at the fiat of Lafayette; he endeavoured to prove to him that if he would resist he could not only defend him but utterly ruin Lafayette and Bailly, in and through the Assembly; and he believed that the duke had made up his mind not to go. When Mirabeau heard that the duke was gone he exclaimed, "*Co j...f..... ne vaut pas la peine qu'on se donne pour lui*" (That . . . . . is not worth the trouble we are taking for him). It is not from this expression, which may be explained as Thiers explains it, *and in fifty* other ways, but from a variety of known circumstances, that we incline to believe in a connexion between Mirabeau and the Orleanists. As to the character of the royal duke, Mirabeau said that he had considerable natural talent, but that for morals he had nolo, having entirely lost the sense of them, and not knowing the difference between good and evil, between virtue and vice.

* These attempts to be minister were well nigh ruining Mirabeau as deputy and orator. "Mirabeau has greatly fallen in the Assembly, through the manœuvres of his enemies, a deluge of libels, and the perpetual faults into which he is drawn by his violent disposition, his rage for domineering, and that impatient ambition which has betrayed itself. The idea of seeing him minister could not be endured." —*Letter from Dumont to Romilly, in Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, edited by his Sons.*

In a letter to Dumont, Romilly, who was at this time in the habit of sending a great deal of very good but very ineffectual advice to Paris, says—"They seem to suppose the eloquence of a minister to be more dangerous than that of any other man; but the fact is that it *is much* less dangerous, because he always speaks under the disadvantage of being supposed to be interested in every question, and all his words are weighed with peculiar distrust. Upon the supposition that seems prevalent in France, that a minister is, by virtue of his office, An enemy to the public good, they ought to rejoice at having him in the Assembly, and that he may fight against them in the face of day."—*Id.*

had at last taken M. de Favras—that on de Favras was found a letter from Monsieur, which seemed to show that the prince was but too deeply concerned in it—that he had immediately waited upon the prince with that letter, which he delivered, telling Monsieur that its contents were known only to him and Bailly, and that consequently he (the prince) was not committed—that Monsieur was much rejoiced at the intelligence, but that the next morning he sent for him (Lafayette), and, being surrounded by his courtiers, spoke in high terms respecting a note which had been circulated the evening before, charging him with being at the head of a conspiracy.* If Lafayette had told the truth about Monsieur's letter the day before—if, as he had said, that letter was known only to himself and the mayor, must not the note, from his own story, have proceeded either from himself or from Bailly? But, in conclusion, he told the two Americans that he had told Monsieur that he knew but of one way to discover the authors, which was by offering a reward, which should be done; and that Monsieur then declared that he would go to the Hôtel de Ville and clear himself from the aspersions. And to the Hôtel de Ville Monsieur certainly went. This might seem a strange step in the brother of a king; but Monsieur knew very well that the arrest of Favras had been ordered there, that it was there men's characters, fortunes, and lives were aimed at or protected, and that the municipal authority was, next to that of the mob, the strongest of all.† Monsieur took a written oration in his hand, which was supposed to have been written for him by Talleyrand, but which appears rather to have been the production of Mirabeau, who, barred from the ministry, was secretly taking money from the king or queen, and also from Monsieur. The speech was written on the most patriotic and popular models, the brother of the king being made in it to call himself a "citizen," and his audience in the Hôtel de Ville "fellow-citizens." It contained, of course, a denial of all knowledge of the conspiracy; and it set forth the patriotism which Monsieur had displayed in the two Assemblies of Notables. It declared, in fact, what was perfectly true, that Monsieur had been a friend to the revolution, in the hope that it would stop short at the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The discourse was applauded to the skies. Monsieur was attended to his abode by a shouting multitude; but the Marquis de Favras was nevertheless kept in prison. When the Baron de Besenval was acquitted, the people, changing their minds, and returning to their old savage animosities, said that he ought to have been hanged, and that there was a regular and detestable plan on foot to show favour to the aristocrats. They swore that this Favras should not escape them; and during the whole of his trial they surrounded the Châtelet, threatening the judges, and crying *à la lanterne!* Lafayette boasts that he bade the judges discharge their duty without fear and without partiality; and that he constantly kept troops and artillery in the square before the court: but the national guards were at least as likely to turn their guns against the judges as against the people; and, even if these troops had been animated with a different spirit, could men who wished to live in Paris rely always on their protection?—could each judge and lawyer among them expect to be constantly escorted and covered by Lafayette's militia and artillery? The Marquis of Favras, like so many of his countrymen of the same order, was poor and ingenious, a man of intrigue, a gambler, an adventurer: fertile in projects. He had, at the beginning of the revolution, proposed schemes for the conduct of it which were not at all acceptable to the party or parties who took all that work into their own hands: he had even proposed schemes for restoring the finances of the country. He had at one time been in the service of Monsieur, and it appears at least probable that he had recently received some small sums of money from that prince, while it is certain that he had been employed by him to raise a loan among some Paris bankers, for his royal highness, like other great men, found his revenues stopped at the fountain-head. More than this, Favras, who was disgusted with the turn the revolution had taken, and who had for ever some project in his head, had discoursed with some royalists on the propriety and possibility of delivering the king from his present gaolers; and it appears at least highly probable that, though the king might be ignorant of them, the queen was not a stranger to his wild schemes.* The proofs produced against him seem, however, to have been very weak and defective; and, when

* It was something more than a note: it was a printed paper that had been distributed through all Paris with the greatest profusion. It ran in these gentle terms: "The Marquis de Favras, Place Royale, was arrested, with madame his wife, on the night of the 24th, for a plan which he had made to raise 30,000 men, to assassinate M. de Lafayette and the mayor of the town (Bailly), and then to cut off our supplies of provisions. Monsieur the king's brother was at the head of it."—*Bertrand de Molleville, Mémoires.*

† Before going to the town-hall Monsieur waited upon the king, and asked him whether he meant to allow another of his brothers to be sent out of the kingdom. "*This*," says Morris, "*touches Lafayette, who has too many of these little matters on the anvil.*"

Lafayette himself has given a rambling, ill-reasoned account of the affair of Favras. It differs materially from the account given by Gouverneur Morris, who had the circumstances from his own lips only a day or two after they happened, and who was in the habit of jotting down in the evening all the remarkable things he had heard or seen during the day. Lafayette's defences of his own conduct were written *years after*. This alone would give the greater value and weight, as evidence, to the notes of the American. The general, who confessed to Morris to two interviews with Monsieur, asserts in his own account that he did not see Monsieur at all. He says, writing as he almost always does in the third person, "Lafayette sent his aide-de-camp Bionville to acquaint Monsieur with the arrestation. The first idea of Monsieur was to tell the aide-de-camp he had suspected that intrigue; he even named a house in the Faubourg St. Antoine. His second reflection, after having consulted his friends, was to deny the plot, and deny Favras. The queen thought at first that Lafayette had advised this step; but, when he replied that, far from advising it, from the little he knew of the subject, he thought it was a very foolish act on the part of Monsieur, she appeared to be satisfied."—*Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by his Family.*

* Bertrand de Molleville, who does not admit that the queen knew anything of the matter, and who represents the loan for Monsieur as being raised merely to supply his royal highness's own immediate wants, admits that Favras endeavoured to raise money among the bankers for a very different purpose, and that he communicated his plan for carrying off the king to a good many royalists, who, however, praised his intention without giving him their confidence, and *without* joining in the scheme.

Madame Campan describes the queen as being greatly agitated, lest Favras should make dangerous disclosures in his last moments; and this is the strongest presumption that some of the queen's friends had committed themselves.

brought to the bar, he behaved not like an adventurer, but like a hero. He covered the witnesses against him with confusion; he indignantly denied any plan of assassinating or injuring any man; he admitted that he had had dealings and correspondence about the raising of some troops, but these troops, he said, were for the service of the states of Brabant, then engaged in their contest with the Emperor Joseph. Lafayette and Bailly had offered large rewards to persons who would make discoveries, but the profession of witness was not yet well understood; there was an old and strong feeling against it, and little evidence could be procured in this way, though the temptation had been made so great.* Only two men deposed, and that apparently in the vaguest manner, that there had been a project of assassination, and one of these two witnesses was the chief denouncer of the plot. Lafayette says that he and Bailly wrote to the Châtelet to annul this part of the trial, expressly because one of these two witnesses was the chief accuser: but he adds that the ancient jurisprudence did not admit such a distinction, and that, besides, the committee of the Hôtel de Ville were considered as the real accusers or authors of the denunciation. Favras demanded to know who was really his first accuser (*dénonciateur*). The court refused to tell him. He complained in a petition to the National Assembly; and the Assembly refused to take his petition into consideration. When the witnesses for the prisoner appeared the court refused to hear them—and then Favras compared this revolutionary tribunal, this Châtelet, to the Inquisition. The court condemned the marquis to be hanged in the Place de Grève, as an exemplification of the equality of men. "I pity you, I pity you all," said Favras, "if the testimony of two men is sufficient to take away life." The judge that delivered sentence said, in the old form, that he had no other consolations to offer him than those he might find in religion. "My greatest consolations," rejoined the marquis, "are in my innocence." His sentence and the degrading punishment it inflicted were hailed with tumultuous joy. "It was," says Lafayette, with immeasurable impudence and foolishness, "it was perhaps rather the accomplices than the enemies of Favras who expressed this impatient wish of beholding the death of the depository of their secrets:" —by which it is meant that the thousands of people who had been constantly clamouring for this sentence were secret agents of Monsieur, the queen, or the aristocrats their friends! After being made to perform a sort of humiliating penance in front of the cathedral of Notre Dame, Favras was carried to the Hôtel de Ville in the very apparent design of extracting confessions from him by holding out the hope of life; but he would confess nothing, he would name no accomplices, he would accuse no one; and therefore he was hauled out to the Place de Grève, and hanged by torchlight, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, who were in raptures at the sight, for hitherto men of noble birth had been beheaded, and not hanged like plebeians.*

In spite of the brave silence of the victim, not merely many members of the noblesse, but the king and his brother, and, most of all, the queen, were held to be accessories to every part of the alleged conspiracy, not excepting even the plan for murdering Lafayette and Bailly; and the whole court was declared to be utterly incorrigible, as they could thus venture to plot even in Paris. The impression was made the deeper by a lamentable act of imprudence committed by some of the courtiers. On the Sunday after the execution the widow of Favras, who was of high German blood, being the daughter, legitimate or illegitimate, of one of the petty princes of the empire, was introduced into the palace in her widow's weeds, and with her little son in deep mourning. The royal family were still compelled to go through the wearisome ceremony of dining in public, and, during the dinner, Madame Favras and her child were presented to the queen, at the back of whose chair was standing that faubourg brewer and butcher, Santerre, then commandant of a battalion of the national guards. As soon as the dinner was over the queen ran to the apartment of Madame Campan, and told that confidant, with tears in her eyes, that the ineptitudes of the exaggerated royalists would ruin everything. "We must perish," said the queen, "when we are attacked by people who unite every talent with every crime, and defended by people, all very estimable, but who have no true idea of our situation. They have committed me with both parties by presenting to me the widow and child of Favras. If I had been free in my actions, I ought to have taken the child of a man who has just sacrificed himself for us, and have placed him at table between the king and me; but, surrounded as I was by the hangmen who have destroyed his father, I could not even venture to

* Romilly, who was yet in the number of those Englishmen who hoped that good might come out of all this confusion, took care to warn Dumont of the danger likely to arise from the high rewards which had been offered. "If," says he, "France contains in it any such men as Bedloe and Titus Oates, I fear that it is likely to be disgraced with such scenes as were acted in England in the reign of Charles II., when a Popish plot was supposed to have existed, when discoveries of pretended conspiracies were every day made, and the most infamous false accusers grew rich upon the public terror and credulity, and the worst men in the nation made some of the best instruments in the foulest judicial murders."—*Life by Sons.*

* Bertrand de Molleville.—Madame Campan.—Lafayette.—Biographie Universelle.—Biographie Moderne, ou Galerie Historique.

Dulaure, and other writers of his class, attribute the silence and boldness of Favras to an assurance given him by the court that if he disclosed nothing his life should be saved; and they add, as a consequence, that he died through the base treachery of the court and aristocrats. But they do not pretend to give any proof of this monstrous absurdity. And who was there that could give a promise of pardon or security for life that should deceive Favras, who knew so thoroughly the omnipotence of the mob and the powerlessness of the royal prerogative? The Châtelet judges themselves durst not acquit him; the royal family, accused as they were of being accomplices, durst not venture to do anything to save him; nay, Lafayette and Bailly themselves, if they had had the wish, would not have had the power. The marquis was prejudged and doomed by the people; and honester French writers confess that he was abandoned as a sort of peace-offering to their fury, that from the moment of his arrest there was no chance of his escaping, and that the judges that tried him trembled in the court, and pronounced judgment under the influence of terror. Even Thiers, though he cannot raise an indignant voice against this state of things, or against this horrible mockery of justice, says, in his mild, extenuating manner, "The circumstances of the time were little favourable to Favras. The Châtelet had just acquitted Besenval and others implicated in the plot of the 14th of July. Public opinion was discontented."

cast my eyes on the child. And now the royalists will blame me for neglecting that poor boy, and the revolutionists will be enraged by believing that the child was presented to me at my wish." Marie Antoinette, however, immediately sent some money to the widow and orphan, and promised to attend to their welfare, for poor Favras, like most adventurers, had died a beggar. The presence of Santerre indicates one very melancholy and important circumstance: the Tuileries was constantly guarded by the Paris militia—the court were, to all intents and purposes, state prisoners. And yet Lafayette and the National Assembly had the mendacity to declare that the king was as free as any sovereign in Europe, as free in the Tuileries as was King George in the palace of St. James's. To give a colour to the lie the king was told that, for the interior guard of the palace, he might have his old Gardes-du-Corps; but, not wishing for more massacres, Louis declined the favour, and even refused it when it was pressed upon him. In this situation, with accumulated insults continually before their eyes, with the dread of destruction and murder constantly in their imagination, it was impossible that the royal family should not wish to escape. The managers of the revolution had made this impossibility, and had for ever frustrated the hope of any cordial agreement between the sovereign and the constitution, between the court and the Assembly. We cannot trust those whom we injure, insult, degrade, and keep in one perpetual agony of alarm: there was nothing for Lafayette and his guards and the deputies to do but to continue to be vigilant gaolers. It is proved beyond a doubt that many plans of evasion were entertained in the palace; and it is almost as certain that more than one of these plans might have succeeded, but for the lamentable inactivity and indecision of the king. On one occasion an excellent project was arranged: the officer commanding the division of Paris militia that mounted guard that night was gained, relays of horses were prepared all along the road, the queen had even packed up her jewels; but the king continued his game at whist, and at last said that it could not be, that he could not consent to be carried off. "I understand," said the nobleman who was at the head of the plot; "he wishes beforehand to throw all the blame upon us." The conclusion was not unnatural; and the royalists were not bold enough to take the responsibility entirely upon themselves, and carry him off by a gentle force, which was the only way of saving him and his family. "And yet," said the queen, "we must fly at last: we know not how far these people will go; our danger increases day by day!"*

In the mean time the National Assembly had confiscated all church property, being urged on to that extreme by their inability of finding money in any other quarter, and by the indifference or open enmity of the people to every kind of religion. "Besides," says a French writer whose work is now a text-book in France, "it was necessary and important not to leave in the state any separate independent body, particularly if it was ancient; for, in times of revolution, everything that is ancient is an enemy. The clergy, with their formidable hierarchy and opulence, alien to the new changes, would have maintained themselves like a republic in the kingdom. That form suited the old regime: when there was no state, but only corps, each order had provided for its own organisation and existence. The clergy had their decretals, the noblesse their law of fiefs; each was independent, because each was separate. But now that their functions were become public, it was necessary to make a magistracy of the clergy, as had been made of the royalty; and, in order to render both dependent on the state, it was necessary that they should have their salaries from the state, it was necessary to take from the sovereign his domains, and from the clergy their landed property, only allowing to both (the king and the clergy) proper provisions—*des dotations convenables.*"* In other words, everything was to be salaried (*salarié*) by the state; and one single chamber, or house, to be called the National Assembly or the National Convention, or by any other name, was to be the great salary-payer—was to apportion to the crown, to the clergy and others, a modicum of pay, being itself only able to fix the proportions of the said wages, and quite unable to secure payment if the people should prove refractory, or the state require more sacrifices. Talleyrand, who was still styled Bishop of Autun, produced this grand plan of confiscation, having previously shown it to all the societies he frequented in Paris, as a piece of authorship which ought to procure him honour and fame. The measure was justified, in the first instance, on the principle of state necessity; and it was contended that without this extraordinary aid—that is, the entire seizure of the landed property of the church—a national bankruptcy must inevitably ensue. And this argument had very great weight with some of the deputies who were not otherwise ill disposed towards the clergy. Abbé Maury threw himself into the breach, and made a bold fight, though he was assailed mercilessly by the immense majority of the house, and by all the galleries, who seemed to think that a priest deserved no quarter in combating against the will of the nation for the protection of church property. Making use of an argument which might have produced more effect if there had been more men of property and fewer philosophes in the Assembly, Maury told them that the invasion of one kind of property would be speedily followed by the invasion of *all other kinds*; that when the clergy had been stripped naked, other proprietors must not expect to keep their cloaks on their backs; that confiscation, being once begun, would go on until there was nothing left to confiscate. He represented that the clergy were ready to make enormous sacrifices for the public service, and they had in fact, under the pressure of their alarms, offered what they termed a *voluntary* contribution

* Madame Campan.

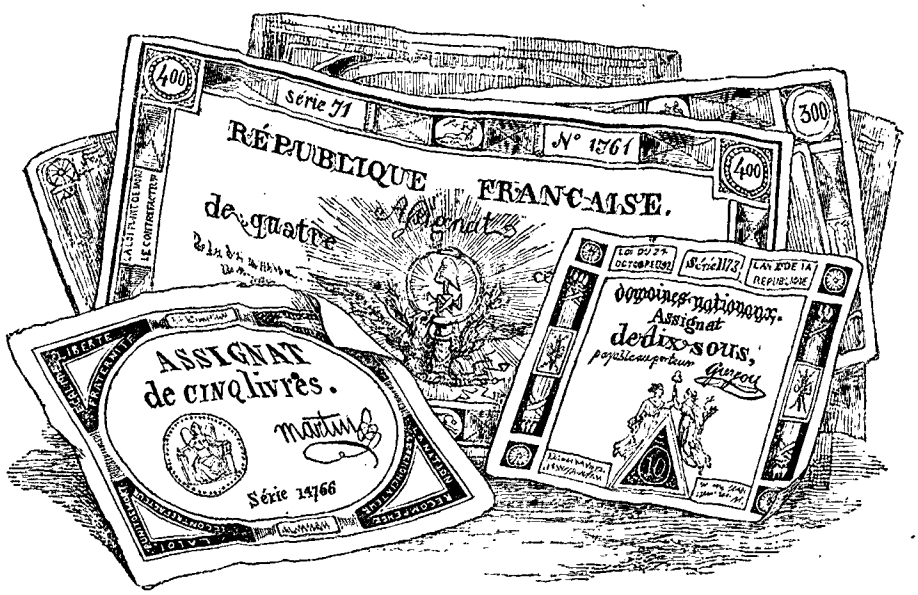
* Mignet.

of four hundred millions of livres, or about sixteen millions sterling; that the clergy were men and Frenchmen like the rest, having the same right to enjoy what they actually possessed; and that the property of the church was protected by the same principles of law as any other property. The majority, however, declared with Talleyrand, that the property of the church belonged to the state, and must be sold to pay the debts of the state.* As the debate was hottest upon words and definitions, Mirabeau proposed that, instead of saying the property of the church *belonged* to the state, they should say it was disposable by the state—*à la disposition de l'état;* and, this being adopted, it was decreed, on the 2nd of November, that the church property should be confiscated and sold. That healing rule observed in England, that vested rights should always be respected, and that no reform should be made at the expense of living persons having an assurance of the continuance of their particular advantages under the existing law, was never dreamed of in France: the ancient government had disregarded it in cases innumerable, one of the most striking of which was the suppression of the Jesuits: Necker himself had often set the golden rule at defiance in his paltry reductions and economies, taking no heed of the individuals who were thrust out of places which they had inherited, or which they considered places for life, and believing that they were mercifully dealt with if they were left a bare subsistence.† But, as the spoil seized was so enormous —as there was still to be, at least in name, a religion, a public worship, a church—as the time was not yet come for proclaiming the Goddess of Reason—it was really necessary to allow compensation in the shape of salaries; and therefore the late church, but now national, property was subjected to certain charges for the maintenance of priests, the expenses of public worship, &c. No archbishop, bishop, or high churchman of any kind, was to receive more than about eight hundred or a thousand pounds English; but some addition was to be made to the income of the poor country curés, or parish ministers, none of whom were to receive less than about fifty pounds sterling per annum, exclusive of a house and plot of ground. The National Assembly pretended that all classes of the clergy ought to rest perfectly satisfied with these salaries, to be paid regularly from the coffers of the state, without trouble, without the expenses of collection, without the possibility of lawsuits; but they neglected to make any arrangements for this regularity of payment, and they had it not in their power to give any security or guarantee which should be binding on the nation, or on their successors, as the nation's representatives. The confiscation, the plunder, was real; but the compensation was a vision that soon ended in smoke and darkness and utter penury. From the beginning the money was never regularly paid; and when it was doled out to the clergy, it was in an insulting and humiliating manner, as if the claimants had no right, but only a licence to beg. Camus, a pedantic Jansenist, a mortal enemy to the whole church of France, a rigid man of system and a maker of systems, an economist who believed that in state matters a penny stolen was twopence earned, was intrusted with the payment of these pensions, and he governed the poor priests like a despot; and, because he was not supposed to apply to his own use and profit the money which he kept from the pensioners of the state, he passed for a virtuous defender of the interests of the people, a rigid Cato. * At the same time the National Assembly declared it could no longer recognize religious vows, and that all that were in convents and monasteries might quit them and return to the world. It was, however, delicately intimated that those who wished to remain in the monastic life should have liberty to do so; and, as all the property of these abbeys, convents, and monasteries had been confiscated, pensions were promised. We need scarcely add that the monks and nuns were no better paid than the secular clergy. In this manner the best reforms undertaken and achieved were made oppressive and cruel to many thousands of victims, and hateful to all men that were superior to the intolerance of the new philosophy. The Assembly had thus laid their hands on all the property in the kingdom belonging to the church and the religious orders: but when they proceeded to sell it they found the operation far more difficult than they had conceived; for, notwithstanding their frequent orations about patriotism, they believed that the country was not nearly so poor as it was made to appear, and that, though the patriots could not find money to pay taxes and make donations to the state, they would find cash to purchase estates upon profitable conditions. "Every little farmer," said one of their orators, "will come with his leather-bag to pay for a nibble at the church." But it was not so: the purchasers were few, though those who farmed church property and declined paying any rent for it were very numerous. The necessities of the state were urgent and enormous, admitting of no delay. The treasury was empty, the loans would not go down, the fourths of incomes were not paid, the patriotic donations would now scarcely pay a clerk for registering, and a printer for printing, the names of the donors. Four hundred millions of livres were wanted for the year 1790—not a livre less would do to fill up the deficit. After various projects of putting the church property up to auction, of putting it into a lottery, &c.—projects which came to nothing, because people could not be found to come forward with specie in their hands—the municipality of Paris, that great lever of the revolution, presented itself as an agent and saviour, and subscribed for a large amount of the

* Turgot, in an article in the Encyclopædia upon Foundations, had maintained nearly the same doctrine, arguing that the legislature could always destroy particular corporations or bodies, if necessary to the public good; that it was absurd to believe that a foundation, or the private will and bequest of individuals, could be considered as an immutable law, &c.

† Dumont.

* Dumont.



Specimens of French Assignats.

church property. The other municipalities of the kingdom followed this example, each subscribing for so much property, engaging to sell it to private purchasers, and pay the receipts into the national exchequer. These municipalities were almost as coinless as private individuals: but having the land and some credit, they were enabled to circulate municipal billets, or bank-notes; and the government took these notes, or passed them over to the public creditors, the said notes being to be redeemed with specie at some future undefined date. When they had reached this point, the Assembly began to understand that it would be better to create paper money of the state, which should have a forced currency throughout the kingdom. Such was the birth of the memorable assignats.* Four hundred millions of this paper were put in circulation; and a decree was passed that church property to that amount should be answerable for the assignats. On this occasion Abbé Maury delivered an oration which drove the Assembly quite frantic. In their rage they were going to vote his expulsion; and they would have expelled him but for a speech from Mirabeau, who reminded them that such a proceeding would not be *constitutional*.† The constitution, by the way, was not yet made; but committees were working upon it, and France was assured daily by thousands of journalists that it would soon be finished and perfected. But critics and journalists were not wanting on another side, where it was declared that the Assembly were losing their time over a piece of old paper—were attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable principles of monarchy and republicanism. In sober truth, there was nothing left of the monarchy except the name; but the name was quite enough to disgust and incense a very large portion of the nation, who, at least as early as the beginning of the year 1790, proclaimed pretty openly that some new insurrection would be necessary to *perfect* the revolution. The press was not wholly absorbed by the victorious party and the parties that wanted fresh victories: the de-

* Mignet.

† As some protection against the violence of the people, the abbé now constantly carried *pistols* in his pocket. But this was not peculiar to Maury: nearly every member of the Assembly that ventured to express opinions contrary to the will of the majority and of the dreadful galleries carried pistols or a sword-stick, or both. The Assembly had become like an old Polish diet.

Mirabeau spoke, or rather read, several times on the church-property question. These discourses were written by a certain Pélin, an attorney or advocate from Marseilles, who had been guilty of some dirty offences in his youth, and whose reputation was of the worst sort. The fellow, it appears, had a logical head, and was quick at his work. Mirabeau used to pay him sometimes, and sometimes beat him. Dumont was witness to a very dramatic scene in Mirabeau's house. Pélin had written one oration upon church property, and Mirabeau had delivered it in the Assembly. But Abbé Maury had risen to refute the arguments, and had spoken, as he could do, impromptu, and with very great success. Mirabeau, feeling himself incapable of making an impromptu reply to an argumentative speech of that kind, demanded, in the fashion of that house, permission to reply on the morrow. As soon as he got home he called for Pélin, who was not to be found. He sent two or three messengers to seek the speech-writer, but they could not find him. Towards evening Pélin arrived. "Where have you been?" roared Mirabeau: "were you at the Assembly this morning? . . . . . No! How, you were not there! This is a pretty way of proceeding! This is the way you get me into scrapes! Maury has been speaking for an hour . . . . . How will you be able to reply to a discourse which you have not heard? You would rather go and write a speech against me for somebody else. I know you well! But I tell you, sir, that I must have a complete refutation by to-morrow morning. You will find in the evening papers some report of Maury's speech." Pélin made some difficulties, and thought that the question might be further adjourned, &c. Mirabeau seized him by the throat, and pushing him against the wall, told him in a voice of thunder that he must be obeyed—that the discourse must be written that night. The discourse *was* written, and a very long one it was; and on the following morning Mirabeau read it to the Assembly as his own. He assured Dumont that he had a great deal of trouble with this Pélin—that he was such a venal rascal that he often wrote speeches on both sides of a question, and was ready to serve all parties at one and the same time.

feated and despoiled clergy, lamenting too late that they should ever have consented to the union of the three orders in one chamber, took up the pen and set type in motion in all parts of France; pamphlets succeeded pamphlets with astonishing rapidity; volumes of remonstrances were published; and, not to neglect the lighter troops that had been employed with such happy results by the revolutionists, poems, songs, epigrams, satires, were summoned to aid the cause of the church. The triumphant majority were very intolerant of these practices, and bitterly complained that there was a plan on foot to unpatriotize the people—that the priests and holders of church property were labouring to bring about a counter-revolution by monopolizing the press, and circulating ten times as many books against the National Assembly as there had been published in its favour.* But, though the alarm was excessive, there was in reality little to fear: except in a few particular districts, the mass of the people were hostile to the church, and hungering for its property; the priests might print and publish, but the people would not read arguments on that side of the question; printing is ruinous work when none will buy what is printed; the finances of the clergy could not long stand such a drain; and, as French printers were eminently patriotic, when they had an excess of work from the other side they would not disgrace themselves by labouring for priests. Nor was it safe for printers or booksellers to work for the church or the aristocracy. The fugitive Mounier, though neither priest nor aristocrat, but only desirous of two chambers and a real constitutional monarchy, declares that he could not publish his thoughts to his countrymen. "No printer," he says, "would have dared to work for me; or, if any one had been rash enough to undertake it, it would have been impossible to circulate the work. All the copies would have been immediately seized and carried off; for men who reflect know perfectly well what is to be understood by our modern liberty of the press: they know very well that it gives the privilege of calumniating and insulting with impunity those citizens whom the factions wish to ruin in the public opinion; of flattering and deceiving the multitude; of persuading them that everything ought to give way to their caprice, and that they ought to acknowledge no other law than that of their own supreme will. This liberty of the press permits men to offend, in infamous libels, all morality, the altar and the throne; but it does not permit a man to speak the truth, when by so doing he may displease the demagogues, disconcert their views, and affect their interests." † To the hostility and despair of the clergy and noblesse were superadded the enmity and despair of the parlement of Paris, of all the parlemens of the kingdom, and all those numerous bodies of men that were connected with them, and that had subsisted by them. It was hinted very clearly at the first meeting of the States General that these antiquated courts were unsuited to the present state of France; and in the month of November they were all struck by a decree that suspended them from the exercise of their functions, by declaring them to be, in the curious phraseology of the time, "in permanent vacation." The unsuitableness was indisputable; and, on the whole, except in playing the prelude to this revolution, the parlemens had little claim on the nation's respect or gratitude: but still another kind of nation, or nation's representatives, would have felt the propriety of allowing some compensation to the existing members of those antiquated courts. The parlemens of Reuen, of Rennes, of Metz made some fruitless efforts to avert their doom: they protested against the decree of the National Assembly; they passed resolutions; they appealed to law and the antiquity of their rights; but they had no party to support them; their struggle only exhibited their impotence, and their retreat from the field was attended with contempt and derision. Still, however, all these bands of mortal enemies—these entire classes made antagonists of the revolution—could not be regarded with indifference or equanimity; and the majority of the Assembly and the people, keeping their eyes fixed rather on their declared enmity than on their power, knowing that they were incensed and desperate, and not reflecting on the very limited range even desperation could take, or on the little that really could be done by classes who formed collectively but a miserable minority, and who were not united by any unity of design or community of feeling, fell into a most obstinate, long-lasting fit of suspicion and terror, and adopted a system of espionage and inquisition far more disgraceful than any that had ever obtained under the old despotism. The Assembly had their "Committee of Research," the municipality had theirs, for detecting and defeating all conspiracies against liberty; and between the two pretty work they made with the liberty of the subject! When these committees, which were real prototypes of those formed at a later period by the Jacobins, first came into play, many persons, disgusted at the tyranny they exercised, and foreseeing the horrors to which they would lead, remonstrated and petitioned against them. The people of Franche Comté authorised Count Louis Narbonne to accuse them to the Assembly as early as the month of December; but the majority were of opinion that they were exceedingly useful, and ought to be sup-

* Rabaud Saint-Etienne, Précis Historique de la Révolution.

† Exposé de la Conduite de M. Mounier.—Before quitting the Assembly this deputy had found that it was not easy to correspond with his constituents. "I saw no possibility," says he, "of conveying my sentiments to my constituents, or of making the truth reach them in the midst of so many lies which had been industriously circulated through the provinces. Under the despotic system, the agents of authority were suspected of carrying their wickedness to such a pitch as to betray the public confidence by violating the secrecy of letters. No certain proofs of this, however, existed: but under the present reign of anarchy nothing is sacred; virtue alone is forced to become circumspect, while crime, proud of the impunity it enjoys, will not even descend to the adoption of cautious measures. It is known that deputies have received letters open, on which was written the name of the district which, in its profound wisdom, and in virtue of its absolute power, had thought proper to break the seals and read them."—*Id.*

ported. When men are hired and well paid to find out plots, plots are sure to be found; when men indulge, even to the maniac pitch, in party and personal animosities, and when they have a terrible scourge put into their hands, with full power to use it, the backs of their private enemies may expect to smart. Lafayette and Bailly's rewards acted, too, as had been expected. Every day brought forth some new conspiracy, some horrible plot of the court, or of priests, or of aristocrats; and no tale was too gross for the popular belief. The journalists spread these tales all over France, with their own significant strictures upon them; and the whole philosophy of those commentators seemed to be that there would be no safety for patriots so long as aristocrats and priests were left in the land. One of the most popular of these journalists asserted, as of his own positive knowledge, that there were just *one hundred and eleven* conspiracies in existence, but at different degrees of maturity. Another learned member of the same fraternity discovered and announced that a young aristocrat of the feminine gender was raising an army of thirty-six thousand men, and was drilling them (by companies at a time, we presume) in a very private apartment on the fifth story of a house in the Rue Mazarine. And, as if newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides of almost every possible species were not sufficient to propagate these panic alarms, the custom was introduced of covering all the dead walls of Paris with enormous placards, printed in the largest characters, and with headings calculated to arrest attention. On the other hand, the court and the courtiers, shut up in Paris, lived in constant alarm, yet scarcely being more afraid of the Assembly and people than the Assembly and people were afraid of them. On every side were doubt, suspicion, and fear, as had been the case from the beginning. In this state of things, the most insignificant event—any accident—might lead to a bloody tragedy. The discontents of the poorer classes were kept up by the scarcity and dearness of provisions. They had thought that the bringing the king into Paris must make bread cheaper, but, as it grew rather dearer, they concluded that it must be owing to the plots and conspiracies. On the 3rd of November, the day after the confiscation of church property, there was a grand *émeute* in the Faubourg St. Antoine, about bread. Lafayette proposed a committee, to consist of three of the ministers, three of the municipality of Paris, and three members of the Assembly, saying, with his ordinary confidence, that there was a man who, acting under such a committee, could secure sufficient supplies of provision. Talleyrand thought that the Assembly would not meddle with so ticklish a business. Gouverneur Morris, who was consulted, adds, "I am sure they will not, because they act only from fear, and will not risk the consequence of being responsible for the subsistence of this city." Besides one baker killed outright, two others were nearly torn to pieces. Riots, more or less serious, were of daily occurrence. In some of these the respectabilities of the national guard were opposed by some of their own comrades less well to do in the world, and by some of the turbulent fellows belonging to the centre grenadiers. The heroes, or, as they were styled, 'the volunteers,' of the Bastille were particularly troublesome, as every scoundrel that had borne a hand in the assault of that fortress considered that he had a licence to do what he chose. One of these fellows, upon being arrested for a street riot, asked whether this was the proper way to treat a patriot that had with his own knife cut off the heads of de Launay and Foulon: he flourished the identical knife with which he had performed the two operations. Somebody, doubting the truth of the boast, said the knife was but a small one for such work. "Yes," said the ruffian, "but I have been a butcher and cook, and know how to use my tools." The drapeau rouge, or red flag, the symbol of martial law, was very frequently raised, and two or three rioters were even tried and executed in a summary manner, besides a more considerable number that were shot or bayoneted on the spot. On one night Lafayette enveloped about a thousand desperadoes in the Champs Elysées, and took about two hundred of them prisoners. The captives alleged that they had assembled to deliberate, like peaceful citizens, on the dangers and sufferings of the people; but it was found that they had got pike-heads under their jackets, and ball and gunpowder in their pockets. But in many instances, where known royalists or other objects of animosity were to be insulted, beaten, or otherwise injured, the national guards remained passive spectators, or only offered a mock resistance to the will of the mob. This conduct is excused by two enthusiastic admirers of the revolution, who confess that the major part of the citizens were tormented by perpetual suspicions and mistrust, and who think that it was both natural and proper in the armed citizens or national guards not to dip their hands in the blood of their brethren in order to save individuals who might be very deserving of the treatment they were meeting.* This manner of pleading, and numerous facts, seem to justify the assertion of Mounier, that the most atrocious acts—like those at Versailles—passed in presence of the national militia, who never made the smallest attempt to apprehend, interrupt, or punish the miscreants. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the noblesse and clergy should now begin to emigrate in shoals. There might have been a chance of matters going somewhat less badly than they did afterwards, if these men had stayed in their own country instead of going, as the mass of them did, to provoke and join foreign invasions; but patience and forbearance were never among their national virtues, and their condition at home was in every way hard to be borne. The flight of every party increased the prevailing distress, for they carried all the money they could get together with them, and they threw out of employ-

* Hist. de la Révolution, par Deux Amis de la Liberté.

ment a host of people who worked in various ways for the upper classes.

Lafayette, who had now got a more acceptable republican adviser than Gouverneur Morris in Thomas Paine, the author of 'Common Sense,' 'The Rights of Man,' &c., wrote joyously to his friends in America that everything that was old was upset, and that there now *only* remained the work of building up something new and good. "We have got thus far in the revolution," says he, "without breaking the ship either on the shoal of aristocracy or on the shoal of faction; and, in spite of the constantly reviving efforts of the court and aristocracy, we are sailing onward to a tolerably good conclusion. Now that everything that was is no more, a new political edifice is erecting, far from perfection, but still sufficient to insure freedom and prepare the nation for a convention, to meet in about two years, when all defects may be mended. I will not enter into details: Common Sense (Thomas Paine) is writing a book for you, and there you will see a part of my adventures. I hope they will turn to the advantage of my country and mankind in general. Liberty is springing up around us in the other parts of Europe, and I am encouraging it by all the means in my power."* A few days before writing this truly characteristic epistle, Lafayette had observed to Morris that, in spite of his perpetual criticisms on the National Assembly, he must at least acknowledge that the constitution they were making was better than that of England! But the perverse New-Yorker would acknowledge nothing of the kind, assuring him that he was much mistaken if he imagined he entertained such an opinion.†

England had not been an inattentive observer of this great revolution among her nearest continental neighbours. From the first dawn of the event, through the quarrels with the parlemens and the assembling of the Notables, down to the convocation of the States General, all classes of Englishmen had eagerly watched events; and from the moment the States met at Versailles—now only eight months ago, for all these momentous changes had been effected in that brief space of time—the affairs of France had occupied attention to the almost total exclusion of other public political matters. All parties at first agreed in believing, or at least in hoping, that the States, being properly modelled, would by degrees effect the most important reforms, and none doubted that an extensive system of reform was indispensable. It was, indeed, the deplorable condition of that kingdom, the poverty and oppression of the people, the abuses of lettres de cachet and other means of despotism, the insurmountable barriers placed between the commonalty and promotion, fortune, and fame, the checks put upon industry, the neglected state of agriculture, under the old regime, that made every Englishman desirous that a sweeping change should take place. Matters were bad enough in reality, but, in many particulars, they had been represented by recent French books, and in the reports of a few somewhat enthusiastic travellers, as being far worse than they were: they seemed so bad that any change must be for the better. Attributing to one great single cause that superior order and prosperity which reigned in England, and which were produced by slow degrees by the concurrence and co-operation of numerous accidents or circumstances, and innumerable causes, moral and physical, men fancied that, if a constitutional form of government could only be established in France, everything would be done. There were, perhaps, some that were jealously and unpleasantly excited by apprehensions that France, the old enemy of England, by availing herself of the advantages of a free constitution, might become a much more powerful, and, consequently, a more dangerous neighbour than ever; but we believe that this jealousy and fear was limited to a very few, and that, without speaking of the enthusiasts for the new French liberty, who formed, if not a very numerous, a very loud party, there was, at first, a general burst of sympathy and generous feeling—an ardent wish that the revolution might succeed, and speedily terminate in the establishment of free institutions. Individuals the most opposite in habit and thought were united in this feeling; and, if the agreement did not last long, it was solely owing to the blunders and excesses of the revolutionists. Even the melancholy and devout recluse, Cowper—"fast by the banks of the slow-winding Ouse"—roused himself in his sickness and sadness, and poured forth, in a few energetic verses, his congratulations on the destruction of the Bastille. All the most cultivated and most generous spirits of the country looked to the meteor that had risen with joy and hope; and, alas, but too many of them fondly clung to their hope when it was truly a desperate one. In the first phases the great antagonists, Fox and Pitt, united in a tribute of admiration. Of the great public men of the day, Burke was perhaps the first to catch a real glimpse of the one great cause which would disgrace the progress of the revolution, and render the acquisition of liberty doubtful at the last. He had read well the old history of France, and he remembered the old national impatience and ferocity. About three weeks after the storming of the Bastille he wrote to a friend in Ireland—"As to us here, our thoughts of everything at home are suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country! What spectators, and what actors! England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame or to applaud. The thing indeed, though I have thought I saw something like it in progress for several years, has still somewhat in it paradoxical

* Letter to General Washington, dated Paris, January 12th, 1790, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by Lafayette's family.

† *Diary.*—It was now a common habit with all these novices in constitutions to speak contemptuously of the British. Brissot was accustomed to say—"Ah, that is the very thing that has ruined England." Sièyes, Dupont, Condorcet, and many others entertained the same opinion. "How?" said Duroveral one day, feigning astonishment, "is England *ruined?* When did you get that news? How did it happen?" For that time the laughers were not on the side of Brissot.—*Dumont, Souvenirs.*

and mysterious. The spirit it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner. It is true that this may be no more than a sudden explosion; if so, no indication can be taken from it; but if it should be *character*, rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand, like that of their former masters, to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of natural moderation to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to themselves, and a perfect nuisance to everybody else."* Towards the end of September, when the revolution had made such considerable advances on the wrong road, he wrote to a member of the National Assembly—"You hope, sir, that I think the French deserving of liberty. I certainly do. I certainly think that all men who desire it deserve it. It is not the reward of our merit, or the acquisition of our industry. It is our inheritance. It is the birthright of our species. We cannot forfeit our right to it but by what forfeits our title to the privileges of our kind. I mean the abuse or oblivion of our national faculties, and a *ferocious indocility*, which makes us prompt to wrong and violence, destroys our social nature, and transforms us into something little better than a description of wild beasts. To men so degraded, a state of strong constraint is a sort of necessary substitute for freedom; since, bad as it is, it may deliver them in some measure from the worst of all slavery, that is, the despotism of their own blind and brutal passions. . . . . The freedom that I love is not solitary, unconnected, individual, selfish liberty. It is social freedom. It is that state of things in which the liberty of no man, and no body of men, is in a condition to trespass on the liberty of any person, or any description of persons, in society. This kind of liberty is, indeed, but another name for justice, ascertained by wise laws, and secured by well constructed institutions. . . . . Whenever a separation is made between liberty and justice, neither is, in my opinion, safe. I do not believe that men ever did submit, certain I am that they never ought to have submitted, to the arbitrary pleasure of one man, but under circumstances in which the arbitrary pleasure of many persons in the community pressed with an intolerable hardship upon the just and equal rights of their fellows. Such a choice might be made as among evils. The moment *will* is set above reason and justice in any community, a great question may arise, in sober minds, in what part or portion of the community that dangerous dominion of *will* may be least mischievously placed. . . . . I have nothing to check my wishes towards the establishment of a solid and rational scheme of liberty in France. On the subject of the relative power of nations I may have prejudices; but I envy internal freedom, security, and good order to none. When, therefore, I shall learn that, in France, the citizen, by whatever description he is qualified, is in a perfect state of legal security, with regard to his life, to his property, to the uncontrolled disposal of his person, to the free use of his industry and his faculties;—when I hear that he is protected in the beneficial enjoyment of the estates to which, by the course of settled law, he was born, or is provided with a *fair compensation* for them; that he is maintained in the full fruition of the advantages belonging to the state and condition of life in which he had lawfully engaged himself, or is supplied with an *equitable equivalent*;—when I am assured that a simple citizen may decently express his sentiment upon public affairs, without hazard to his life or liberty, even though against a predominant and fashionable opinion;—when I know all this of France, I shall be as well pleased as every one must be who has not forgot the general communion of mankind, nor lost his natural sympathy in local and accidental connections."* But France was not affording this happy assurance, and the misgivings of Burke gradually converted themselves into a sad certainty, into the fixed and rational conviction that nothing that was good or free would come out of the horrible, bloody turmoil. He saw clearly that the same ferocious delight in murder, and the same savage cruelty, would be again renewed. Whether the deeds which had been perpetrated since the capture of the Bastille proceeded from a settled design of the regenerators and revolution chiefs in the Assembly, or from the fierce instinct and *will* of the people, the case was equally desperate. "If," said he, "any of these horrid deeds were the acts of the rulers, what are we to think of an armed people under such rulers? Or *if* (which possibly may be the case) there is in reality and substance no ruler, and that the chiefs are driven before the people, rather than lead them; and if the armed corps are composed of men who have no fixed principle of obedience, and are embodied only by the prevalence of some general inclination . . who can repute himself safe among a people so furious and so senseless."† By this time the Assembly had made such progress in their work as to enable a statesman to judge of what would be the merits of their constitution. "In all appearance," adds Burke, "the new system is a most bungling and unworkmanlike performance. I confess I see no principle of coherence, co-operation, or just subordination of parts in this whole project, nor any the least aptitude to the conditions and wants of the state to which it is applied, nor anything well imagined for the formation, provision, or direction of a common force. . . . .

* Letter to Lord Charlemont, as given by Prior, Life of Burke.—At this time the French had scarcely begun making their constitution, and the confusion of the three orders into one chamber might be considered as merely temporary. But Burke evidently doubted, from such a beginning, whether any tolerable system would be adopted. "To form a solid constitution requires wisdom as well as spirit; and whether the French have wise heads among them, or, if they possess such, whether they have authority equal to their wisdom, is yet to be seen."—*Id. id.*

* Letter to M. de Menonville, in Prior's Life.—This friend o Burke, who belonged to a noble family of Lorraine, combated the madness of the National Assembly on many occasions, and with great courage—to the danger of his life, at the risk of being torn to pieces by the people. He remained at his post long after the majority of his friends had fled from theirs; but, after the atrocities committed by the Septembrizers in 1791, he signed a protest against the Assembly, and retired to his native province.

† A later letter to M. de Menonville, written after the scenes at Versailles and the removal of the court to Paris.

I cannot think with you that the Assembly have done much. They have, indeed, *undone* a great deal; and so completely broken up their country as a state, that, I assure you, there are few here such Anti-gallicans as not to feel some pity on the deplorable view of the wreck of France."* Such were the feelings and opinions of one who was not free from human error, of one who, even on this great question, allowed his feelings to overcome him, and his passions to carry him to extremes, but who was assuredly, as a whole, the wisest man and the greatest political philosopher of that generation, and whose thorough honesty and sincerity on this great vital point are as indisputable as the fact that the blessed sun over our heads gives light and heat. To question this truth, to revive the madness and the party squabbles and the cavils of the time, to seek the origin of the holiest of motives in a base self-seeking, is not only to do injustice to an immortal name, but to inflict a hideous wound on the only political philosophy proper to guide us and save us. But the keen insight into the French character which Burke possessed was not common to all his party, or even to all his close personal as well as political friends; and the rapid progress and self-evident tendency of events which had convinced him had carried no conviction to the hearts of various kinds of enthusiasts, who continued to hope that, after the first ebullition, the French people would return to their senses. Some there were so extravagant in their own discontents and animosity to despotisms, or to all established governments, as to declare that little or nothing had been done amiss. But a notion that was entertained by more persons was, that the excesses committed were indeed very lamentable, but wholly attributable to the old tyranny, which had brutalised the people, and were not at all likely to last. A very considerable part of the dissenters, who had to complain of sundry restrictions and invidious distinctions not yet removed by the legislature, and a body considerable in numbers and in the fame and abilities of their leaders, who were calling for a parliamentary reform, for the correction of sundry abuses and anomalies, who were over-impatient, and disposed to extend the democratic principle somewhat further than seemed compatible, in the eyes of the vast majority of Englishmen, with the character of the constitution, were the most active applauders of the French movement, considering, from the very beginning, that it would bring about more speedily than might otherwise be expected the changes at home which seemed to them so essential. We must in charity suppose that a great deal of ignorance as to the real state of France existed with a great deal of excitement. On the 4th of November an ultra-whig association in the metropolis, known by the name of the "Revolution Society," met to celebrate the memory of William III. and the Revolution of 1688.† It was strange that they should couple together two events so totally different; but, at their meeting, they praised in the same breath the great English change which had taken place a hundred years before, and the changes that were only a few months old, and not yet completed, in France. Nay, they seem to have soon lost sight of the English revolution, to fix their eyes solely on the French one. In the morning Dr. Price, the reputed father of Pitt's sinking-fund system, delivered a sermon, or discourse, in a dissenting chapel in the Old Jewry, on "The Love of our Country." The doctor was very old, but age had not cooled his enthusiasm, although it may have dimmed his sight in more ways than one. He had been one of the warmest admirers of the American revolution, and he could not regard this French revolution otherwise than as a continuation and extension of that great work. "What an eventful period is this!" said the doctor in his present discourse. "I am thankful that I have lived to it; and I could almost say, 'Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!' I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and error; I have lived to see the Rights of Man better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it. I have lived to see *thirty millions* of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects." The doctor further said, in the same rhapsodical strain, that this too was a glorious revolution, and the beginning of a general amendment in human affairs —that the dominion of kings was about to be changed for the dominion of laws—that the dominion of priests was giving way to the dominion of reason—that kingdoms were starting from their sleep and breaking their fetters—that the light struck out after setting America free was reflected to France, there to kindle into a blaze that would lay despotism in ashes, and warm and illuminate Europe! Though it possibly might want a little trimming, we think we should have preferred the old lamp of our constitution; but so thought not the members of this Revolution Society. At the dinner which followed the sermon Dr. Price moved that the society should offer in a formal address "their congratulations to the National Assembly on the event of the late glorious revolution in France." The motion was adopted by acclamation; and Lord Stanhope, the chairman—in whom the hereditary talents of the Stanhopes had taken a twist, in whom the thin partitions which divide wit from madness had been in some of their joints broken down—undertook to transmit

* Letter to M. de Menonville.

† This Revolution Society originally consisted of some gentlemen who met merely once a-year to celebrate the anniversary of the landing of William III. Persons of the highest rank attended the meeting, where the principal toasts were, the Memory of King William—the King and the Royal Family—Trial by Jury—Liberty of the Press, and the like. By degrees stewards were appointed for the annual feast, and tickets sold to any persons that chose to buy them. In the preceding year, 1788, when the centenary anniversary was celebrated, there was an unusually large attendance, and among the persons present were one of the principal secretaries of state and several persons high in office and in confidence at court.

the address to the National Assembly. The Assembly could not do less than declare Dr. Price to be the apostle of liberty, and Lord Stanhope a finished philanthropist. A great parade was made in receiving and reading the said address; the title of *Mi Lord* was pronounced with due emphasis; and care was taken to impress the belief that there were great people in England that not only admired the revolution, but that were anxious to imitate it. *Ca ira*; the thing will go, we are getting on! Other societies met in London and in some of the provincial towns; and some permanent clubs were formed that were supposed to bear a too close resemblance to the Breton, now the Jacobin Club.* It was well known that French propagandists were pursuing their missions with rare zeal in half the countries of Europe; and that no inconsiderable number of them were and had been for some time in England. Mr. Pitt and his government honoured these revolutionary missionaries with more attention than they deserved; we believe it would be difficult to find that one proselyte was ever made in England by all these secret agents; that many must have been disgusted with their principles on hearing them from their own lips, and with their own natural vehemence; and that perhaps one of the readiest ways to disenchant the credulous would have been to encourage a large importation of these Frenchmen. Additional alarm was excited at the tone assumed by a part of the newspaper press, which had become all at once Gallican and republican. Some of these papers, indeed, might have been written in Paris, or dictated by Sièyes, Brissot, or some of those coteries: they overflowed with abuse of the old constitution, abuse of the church, abuse of the aristocracy—abuse of almost everything and everybody, except the French revolution and the wonderful *men* who had made it. Pamphlets too began to be poured forth in heaps; and many of them were as hot and peppery as the newspapers, being chiefly, we take it, the work of very young men. In some of these publications the people were invited to form themselves into clubs and societies, to be "affiliated" to those in France; but the force of these recommendations was, we believe, not at all felt until the following year, and they never produced effect sufficient to justify any very great alarm for the safety of the country or constitution. Counter-societies were formed; and, as there was in England room for the expression of more than one class of political opinions, it might reasonably have been hoped that the force of free discussion and the natural moderation and good sense of the people would gradually put down the new, mischievous, and un-English doctrines, without having recourse to coercion, which is not conviction, or to violence, that only begets violence, or to any suspension of rights and liberties. But unfortunately the contest was not destined to go off so smoothly: both parties became heated and violent. Burke himself, the great champion on the side of established order, was impetuous in all his serious undertakings; the government became too much agitated, apprehensive, and suspicious, to act on all occasions with the calmness and magnanimity which would have best suited that critical moment. Before the parliament met, Burke in private bitterly reprehended that popular feeling, or fraction of popular feeling, which could approve, or fancy it could applaud, the National Assembly and its proceedings: he called it "a gross infatuation," "a tolerance of crime," "an absurd partiality to abstract follies and practical wickedness."† He had sought information from every quarter. He desired every person of his acquaintance that was going to Paris to bring him whatever they could collect of the greatest circulation both on the one side and the other. His correspondents were many, not only among the English and Americans residing there, but also among the French themselves, and other foreigners who were visiting that country. Conspicuous in the list of these correspondents were Thomas Paine, Mr. Christie, and Baron Clootz, soon to be better known by the name of Anacharsis.‡ The trio agreed in painting the revolution in the gayest colours—in making it all over as gay and as bright as a new tricolor cockade: but poor Clootz was mad, Christie a driveller; and it was only Thomas Paine that could put some common sense into his descriptions and relations.

A.D. 1790. The British parliament assembled on the 21st of January. The king, who now appeared perfectly recovered from his malady, and from the indisposition which had followed it, attended in person. The speech from the throne regretted the continuance of the war on the continent, between Russia, Austria, and Turkey in the East, and between Russia and Sweden in the North; and it alluded in the briefest manner to "*the internal situation of the different parts of Europe*," which had engaged the king's most serious attention. It contained an appropriate tribute to the excellence of the British constitution, which so many of the publications of the day were describing as worthless, for the idea of Abbé Sieyes had been imported and enlarged upon. It also spoke of the state of the corn-market, and justified the order in council which Pitt had issued for the purpose of preventing the exportation of corn to France.‡ The speech concluded by

* Previous to this time there were only two really political societies or clubs in London—the Constitutional Society, and the Whig Club; for the Revolution Society could scarcely be called a club at all. The Constitutional Society held regular meetings, had a sort of laws, and occasionally published political writings, the circulation of which is said to have been very limited. The Whig Club, instituted in 1784, occupied itself principally in supporting the election interests of that party.

* Prior, Life of Burke.

† Preface (by his executors) to "Two Letters on the Conduct of our Domestic Parties, with regard to French Politics, including Observations on the Conduct of the Minority in the Session of 1793. By the *late* Right Hon. Edmund Burke," 1797.

‡ The king said, "The regulations prescribed by the act of the last session of parliament relative to the corn trade not having been duly carried into effect in several parts of the kingdom, there appeared reason to apprehend that such an exportation of corn might take place, and such difficulties occur in the importation of foreign corn, as would have been productive of the most serious inconvenience to my subjects. Under these circumstances, it appeared indispensably necessary to take immediate measures for preventing the exportation

affirming the increase of the public revenue, the extension of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and the general prosperity of the people. The addresses were moved and seconded in the House of Lords by Viscount Falmouth and Lord Cathcart, and in the Commons by the Viscount Valletort and Mr. Cawthorne. They were voted without division or opposition. The noble mover in the House of Commons took occasion to contrast the tranquillity and prosperity of England with the anarchy and licentiousness of France; and, without any heed to the wretched state of things which had preceded it for many years and for many generations, he stigmatized the revolution as an event the most disastrous and most fatal that had ever taken place since the foundation of the French monarchy. Nearly all who followed Lord Valletort dwelt upon the same contrast, attributing the indisputable prosperity and tranquillity of England, in the first place, to the superior excellence of the constitution, and, in the second place, to the wise and prudent administration of the executive government.* The estimates for the military establishments were neither greater nor less than those Pitt had proposed the preceding year; but Fox, Sir Grey Cooper, and other members of opposition, thought or said that there ought to be a considerable reduction. Pitt and his relation Grenville urged that, though there was no reason at present to apprehend a war, yet the unsettled state of Europe, and the *internal situation of several parts of it*, made it necessary for us to keep ourselves in such a state as to be able to act with vigour if occasion should require; that it was a preposterous economy to tempt attack by a display of weakness, and for a miserable present saving to hazard a great future expense. In the course of this debate Fox with great exultation announced that the conduct of the French soldiers had tended greatly to remove one of his strong objections against standing armies; and that the French army, by refusing to obey the court or act against the people, had set *a glorious example to all the military of Europe*, showing that men by becoming soldiers did not cease to be citizens.† These remarks provoked some animadversion from both sides of the House. Colonel Phipps, as a soldier, protested against the dangerous compliment; and said that his profession could not approve of the conduct of the French troops, a very distinguished portion of whom had not merely disobeyed the court and their officers, but had actually joined the Paris mob. The colonel thought that the conduct of our own troops in the No Popery riot of 1780 afforded better ground of panegyric, for they had acted equally as citizens and as soldiers, patiently submitting to the insults of the populace, and, in spite of innumerable provocations, maintaining the laws, and only acting under and in strict compliance with the orders of the civil authorities of the realm. It was an injudicious and unlucky selection; but, in a subsequent debate on the subject of the military estimates, Fox returned to his laudation of the French military. On the 9th of February, when the estimates were reported from the committee, he repeated his eulogium. But now he extended his praise to the entire revolution. A mighty and unexpected change had, he said, taken place in the affairs of France—a change in which some men exulted; and among these he considered himself as included, from feeling and from principle. France he considered to be in a state which could neither fill us with alarm nor excite us to indignation. For some time it had been suspected by watchful observers that there was something approaching to a coolness between Fox and Burke; and this was attributed by different speculators to a variety of causes—apparently to almost every cause except the true one.* Hitherto Burke had been silent in the House on the great subject, hesitating ere he would do or say anything that might proclaim an open and most serious disagreement between himself and Fox and the Whig party; it is said that he even went down to the House this evening with the intention of remaining silent: but Burke's feelings were too impetuous to be controlled, and his eloquence was always a full vessel, running over with fermenting contents. He rose greatly agitated. He tried to be calm, and he was passably so until he came to speak directly to the point. Then he lost all temper, and called the revolution "an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, tyrannical democracy." He had spoken before of France as in former times the champion of despotism and Popish intolerance; but now that people, whose character knew no medium, were seeking to lead mankind into anarchy. "On the side of religion," said he, "the danger of their example is no longer from intolerance, but from atheism; a foul, unnatural vice, foe to all the dignity and consolation of mankind, which seems in France to have been for a long time embodied into a faction, accredited, and almost avowed." After paying some compliments to the admirable genius of his honourable friend, which made the sanction of his name to such doctrines the more dangerous, he entered into an examination of the principles, proceedings, and tendencies of this French revolution. He was sorry that his right honourable friend should have dropped even a word of exultation on the late assumption of citizenship by the army. He must attribute this opinion of his friend entirely to his known zeal for the best

and facilitating the importation of certain sorts of corn; and I therefore, by the advice of my privy council, issued an order for that purpose, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you."

* Ann. Regist.

† Speeches of the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox in the House of Commons.

* Dr. Nicholls says that the disagreements between Burke, and Fox, and Sheridan, and others of the Whigs, were to be traced to the impeachment of Hastings, and the management of that interminable affair. Quarrels among the managers certainly arose, and rather frequently; but we can believe neither that the measure was "brought forward solely to gratify the malevolence of Mr. Burke;" nor that, from the time Pitt approved of the impeachment, Burke leaned towards him, and prepared to break with Fox. Either of these notions, indeed, is worthy of the understanding that could adopt the other.—*Recollections and Reflections.*

of all causes—liberty. It was with pain inexpressible that he felt himself obliged to have even the shadow of a difference with his friend, whose authority would be always great with him, and with all thinking people. His confidence in his friend was such and so ample as to be almost implicit. He was not ashamed to avow this degree of docility. When the choice was well made, it strengthened instead of oppressing the intellect. He who called in the aid of an equal understanding, doubled his own: he who profited of a superior understanding, raised his powers to a level with the height of the superior understanding he united with. He had found the benefit of such a junction, and would not lightly depart from it. He wished on almost all occasions that his sentiments could be understood to be conveyed in his honourable friend's words. He wished, as amongst the greatest benefits he could possibly wish the country, an eminent share of power to that right honourable gentleman; because he knew that, to his great and masterly understanding, he had joined the greatest possible degree of that natural moderation which is the best corrective of power; because he was of the most artless, candid, open, and benevolent disposition—disinterested in the extreme—of a temper mild and placable, even to a fault—*without one drop of gall in his whole constitution.* This touching and noble tribute to Fox could not fail of making an impression. The House, Burke continued, must perceive from his thus coming forward to mark an expression or two of his best friend, how anxious he was to keep the distemper of France from getting the least countenance in England, where some wicked persons had already shown a strong disposition to recommend an imitation of the French spirit of reform. He was so strongly opposed to any the least tendency towards the means of introducing a democracy like theirs, that much as it would afflict him if such a thing should be attempted—if any friends of his should concur in such measures, which he could not believe possible—he would abandon his best friends, and join with his worst enemies to oppose both the means and the end, and to resist all violent exertions of this spirit of innovation, which was remote from all principles of true and safe reform—which was well calculated to overturn states, but perfectly unfit to amend them. That House knew he was no enemy to reform: almost every business in which he had been actively concerned, from the first day he sat in that House down to the present hour, was a business of reform. Some traces of this spirit in him now stood in their statute book. But the reforms on which the French valued themselves were a disgrace to them. Instead of redressing grievances and improving the fabric of their constitution, they first destroyed all the balances and counterpoises which served to fix the state, and to give it a steady direction, and which furnished sure correctives to any violent spirit which may prevail in any of the orders;—they had rashly destroyed all these things, and melted down the whole into one incongruous, ill-connected mass. As soon as they had done this, with the most atrocious perfidy and breach of all faith, they laid the axe to the root of all property, and, consequently, of all national prosperity, by the principles they established, and the example they set in confiscating all the possessions of the church. They made and recorded a sort of institute and digest of anarchy called the Rights of Man, in such a pedantic abuse of elementary principles as would have disgraced boys at school. By this mad declaration they had subverted the state, and brought on such calamities as no country, without a long war, had ever been known to suffer, and which must in the end produce such a war, and perhaps many such. He felt the deepest concern that this strange thing, called a revolution, in France should be compared with the glorious event, commonly called the revolution, in England. The two things were just the reverse of each other in almost every particular. With us it was the case of a legal monarch attempting arbitrary power: in France it was the case of an arbitrary monarch beginning, from whatever cause, to legalize his authority. The one was to be resisted, the other was to be managed and directed; but in neither case was the order of the state to be changed, lest government might be ruined, which ought only to be corrected and legalized. With us we got rid of the man, and preserved the constituent parts of the state: there they get rid of the constituent parts of the state, and keep the man. What we did was, in truth and substance, and in a constitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable, fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution—no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy—perhaps it might be shown that we strengthened it very considerably. The nation kept the same ranks, the same orders, the same privileges, the same franchises, the same rules for property, the same subordinations, the same order in the law, in the revenue, and in the magistracy; the same lords, the same commons, the same corporations, the same electors. In conclusion, Burke said that he was near the end of his natural, and probably still nearer to the end of his political, career; that he was weak and weary, and wished for rest; that at his time of life, if he could not do something by some sort of weight of opinion, it was useless and indecorous to attempt anything by mere struggle: that, with respect to the constitution itself, he wished but few alterations in it—happy, if he left it not the worse for any share he had taken in its service.* As soon as he had concluded, Fox got up, declaring that it was with a concern of mind almost impossible to describe that he found himself driven to the hard necessity of making a short answer to parts of a speech which, some observa-

* Burke, Speeches.—Prior's Life.—Ann. Regist.

tions and arguments excepted, he admired as one of the wisest and most brilliant flights of oratory ever delivered in that House. He added, however, that things had been said which ought to have been omitted or deferred. His right honourable friend, in alluding to him, had mixed his remarks with so much personal kindness that he felt himself under a difficulty in making any return, lest the House should doubt his sincerity, and consider what he might say as a mere discharge of a debt of compliments. He must, however, declare that such was his sense of the judgment of his right honourable friend, such his knowledge of his principles, such the value which he set upon them, and such the estimation in which he held his friendship, that, if he were to put all the political information which he had learned from books, all which he had gained from science, and which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement which he had derived from his right honourable friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference. He had learned more from his right honourable friend than from all the men with whom he had ever conversed! Fox then entered into explanations as to his true meaning. His declaration, he said, did not warrant the idea that he was a friend to democracy. He was equally the enemy of all absolute forms of government, whether an absolute monarchy, an absolute aristocracy, or an absolute democracy. He was adverse to all extremes, and a friend only to a mixed government, like our own, in which, if the aristocracy, or indeed any one of the three branches of the constitution, were destroyed, the good effect of the whole, and the happiness derived under it, would, in his mind, be at an end. In exulting over the success of some of the late attempts in France, he only meant to pay a just tribute to those who, *feelingly* alive to a sense of the oppressions under which their countrymen had groaned, disobeyed the despotic commands of their leaders. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty which had been acted in France no man could have heard of without lamenting; but still, when the severe tyranny under which the people had so long groaned was considered, the excesses which they committed in their endeavour to shake off the yoke of despotism might, he thought, be spoken of with some degree of compassion; and he was persuaded that, unsettled as their present state appeared, it was preferable to their former condition, and that ultimately it would be for the advantage of this country that France had regained her freedom. Never would he lend himself to support any cabal or scheme to introduce any dangerous innovation into our excellent constitution. He would not, however, run the length of declaring that he was an enemy to every species of innovation. That constitution which we all revered owed its perfection to innovation. His right honourable friend might rest assured that they could never differ in principles, however they might differ in their application of principles. What had given him the greatest uneasiness was, lest, from its being well known that he had considered it the boast and happiness of his life to have lived on terms of the most perfect confidence and intimacy with his right honourable friend, an impression might be left on the mind of that House, or on the minds of the public, that there had existed some grounds of suspicion that he could so far forget himself, upon the score either of principles or of duty, as at any moment to countenance, or rather not vehemently to reprobate, all doctrines and all measures inimical to the constitution. Again must he repeat, under the most solemn assurances, that he never would lend himself to any cabal, nor, on any occasion, act in a manner incompatible with the principles which he had so repeatedly professed, and which he held in common with his right honourable friend. He imputed the warmth of his friend to a laudable but extreme anxiety lest any man should be rash enough to hazard an attempt to render what had passed in France an object of imitation in this country.* Burke rejoined: he said he could, without the least flattery or exaggeration, assure his right honourable friend that separation of a limb from his body could scarcely give him more pain than the circumstance of differing from him violently and publicly in opinion. He had no idea that his friend would lend his aid to any plan for the support of dangerous and unconstitutional procedures. He knew the contrary. He only wished to warn those who did not possess the brilliant talents and illuminated penetration of his right honourable friend from entertaining sentiments which he conceived to be adverse to good government. He was exceedingly glad, however, that he had drawn from his right honourable friend an explanation, not more satisfactory to his mind than he was persuaded it was to the House and to all who heard it. Here the discussion might have ended for the present if it had not been for the *facile* levity, or light facility, of Sheridan, who was anxious to make a speech on a grand subject, of which he knew very little, and upon which he had never bestowed one serious thought. Sheridan said he felt it a duty to declare that he differed decidedly from Burke in almost every word he had uttered respecting the French revolution. After paying some compliments about general principles, &c., he said he could not conceive how it was possible for a person of such principles, or for any man who valued our own constitution, and revered the revolution that obtained it for us, to unite with such feelings an unqualified abhorrence of all the proceedings of the patriotic party in France. He conceived theirs to be as just a revolution as ours, proceeding upon as sound a principle and a greater provocation. He eulogised Lafayette, Bailly, and other patriots of that class. He vehemently defended the general views and conduct of the National Assembly; and he concluded a flippant

* Speeches.

harangue — a congeries of commonplaces, made ornamental and emphatic by sheer oratory — by charging Burke with being an advocate for despotism, and with having spoken of the National Assembly with an unwarrantable freedom of speech.* Burke instantly rose to reply. There could never have been any very great friendship or sympathy between the two, and he could assuredly throw off Sheridan without any of that deep and tender regret he felt in merely differing with Fox. He said he lamented the necessity, but must declare that henceforth his honourable friend (Sheridan) and he were separated in politics! He added that he had expected, even in the moment of separation, that his honourable friend — for so he had been in the habit of calling him — would have treated him with some degree of kindness, and would, at least, have done him the justice of representing his arguments fairly. But this was not a fair and candid treatment. Was it not evident that the honourable gentleman had made a sacrifice of his friendship for the sake of catching some momentary popularity? If the fact were such, even greatly as he should continue to admire the honourable gentleman's talents, he must tell him that his argument was chiefly an argument *ad invidiam*, and that all the applause he could hope for from clubs was scarcely worth the sacrifice which he had chosen to make. The Whig party were alarmed at this schism; attempts were immediately made, and again repeated within two days, to bring about a reconciliation by means of mutual explanations. On the night of the 11th, at about ten o'clock, there was a meeting at Burlington House, the Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the Whig party, and several other party chiefs, besides Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, being present at it. The discussion lasted till three hours after midnight, and appears to have terminated very little to the satisfaction of Sheridan, for, during the remainder of the session, he came seldom to the House, and very rarely spoke, except about the repeal of the excise duties on tobacco, an unsuccessful motion of his own.† Sheridan, however, had scarcely more gall or malice than Fox, and, in the course of a speech upon tobacco, he seemed to make the *amende honorable*, and to hold out the hand of friendship to Burke. He professed the highest esteem and veneration for the talents and personal virtues of that great man, hoping that, though they might differ in opinion upon the subject of the French revolution, it would be found that they never could differ in principles. But Burke took no notice of these peace signals, remaining cold and distant. It has been assumed by a very erudite Whig doctor,‡ that Burke was jealous of Sheridan's abilities and growing influence; and the assumption or guess has since been repeated very often as matter of fact. There might be some ground for discontent; but we can scarcely believe that Burke could entertain a jealousy, properly so called, of a man so immeasurably his inferior in all the higher qualities of the mind. Instead of jealousy, we believe there was a fixed dislike — a disgust on Burke's part at Sheridan's private life and conversation, and at the offices he was always ready to perform for Carlton House. The uneasiness of the Whig party was greatly augmented by the conduct of Pitt and the treasury bench, who declared, on the 9th of February, that Burke had that day conferred a great obligation upon the country, and who never missed the opportunity of upholding and applauding his anti-revolutionary doctrines. Out-of-doors most of the old newspapers, including the Foxite journals, were with Burke, who was proportionably abused by the opposite portion of the press. The king, who had never learned to look with a different eye on the American revolution, considered that that great event had been chiefly brought about by a system of yielding and conceding: he saw a confirmation to this belief in the conduct of Louis XVI. and the march of this new revolution, which, in his apprehension, was nothing but the legitimate, or illegitimate, offspring of the American. He had fully made up his mind to make no more concessions anywhere, hoping to shut the doors against great changes by keeping them locked and barred against all changes. Pitt was an authoritative minister, but on these points he would have found the king imperative. But Pitt had come nearly to the same conclusions as his royal master. On the other hand the dissenters thought that this season of change was excellent for pressing their old claims to be removed from the oppressions and distinctions of the Test and Corporation Acts, being also encouraged by the very small majority which had rejected a motion to that effect in 1789. They took the field with great activity and confidence; they canvassed individual members of the present parliament, and they intimated that they would only vote at the next general election, which could not be now far off, for such candidates as were friends to religious liberty, and well affected to their cause. They even forgot their old intolerance so far as to court a union with the Roman Catholics, who were to be allowed the same freedom from the obnoxious acts that they claimed for themselves. On the 2nd of March the subject was brought by Fox before the House of Commons, which was one of the fullest that had been assembled for some time. A more detailed account of the debate will be given in the next chapter; here it is only necessary to notice shortly the course which it took in reference to the great question of civil politics, which was now beginning to absorb all things into its vortex. In the long and argumentative speech with which he introduced his motion, Fox strove to ward off the objection which was known to be uppermost, not merely in the mind of the king, but also in the minds of a very large portion of the nation, by reminding the House that the former application of his clients had been made three years ago, when the most sagacious among them could not have formed anything like a conjecture of what had since happened

* Ann. Regist.—T. Moore, Life of Sheridan.
† Moore, Life of Sheridan.
‡ D. Parr.

in France. The motion was warmly opposed by Pitt, and afterwards Burke spoke on the same side. Whatever he might have thought of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in other circumstances, he regarded it at the present moment as *altogether inexpedient*. There was, he said, a wild spirit of innovation abroad, which required not indulgence, but restraint; for the avowed leaders of the dissenters had in their speeches, resolutions, writings, and even catechisms and sermons, given countenance to the worst portion of the political spirit of the day. He read to the House several passages from the writings of these dissenting divines; and, then referring to France, he adjured the House to suffer the fatal events which had taken place in that country, and the sudden ruin of the Gallican church, to awaken their zeal for the preservation of our present happy and excellent establishment. Fox made a long reply, in which he urged the injustice of deciding a general question of right upon the conduct of a few individuals. Upon a division taking place, the motion was negatived by a majority of nearly three to one. Even Wilberforce declared that his great reluctance to oppose the repeal of these laws had been overcome by his conviction of their present necessity.* Two days after this debate a motion, still more hopeless under the circumstances, was made by Mr. Flood: it was for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people in parliament. According to this plan of parliamentary reform one hundred members were to be added to the House of Commons, to be chosen in a proportional ratio to the population of each county by the resident householders, and none others. The plan was recommended in a very eloquent speech. It was opposed by Mr. Wyndham, who said, among many other things, that, if he had approved ever so much of this proposition of reform, he should object to it on account of the time at which it was introduced. He asked where was the man that would advise them to repair their house in the hurricane season? He thought that speculatists and visionaries enough were at work in a neighbouring country: there, there was project against project, and theory against theory, *frontibus adversis pugnantia*. He entreated the House to wait a little for the event, and, in the mean time, to guard with all possible care against catching the French infection. Pitt followed Wyndham, whose speech he applauded as an extraordinary display of ingenuity and wisdom. He said that he himself had brought forward, some years back, a proposition of nearly the same nature; that the main objection, even then, was the danger of innovation; and that, from a knowledge of the impression that argument had made, he was now desirous of waiting for some *more favourable moment than the present*, when he would certainly again submit his ideas upon the subject to the House: for the present, unless the honourable gentleman would consent to withdraw his motion, he should move to adjourn. Fox argued in favour of the motion, candidly confessing, however, that he believed the opinion he supported was not only not that of the majority of the House, but was not the opinion of the majority of the nation. He said he differed totally from Wyndham in the sentiments he had expressed relative to France; and he concluded with declaring that he considered this scheme of reform as the best of all he had yet heard suggested. Burke then rose to combat the whole scheme, and all the arguments that had been used to support it. Fox had said that if the House of Commons had been differently constituted, there would have been no American war, or only a very short one. Burke declared, with perfect correctness as to the facts, that the American war had been a popular war; that it was a war of the people, and had been ended by the virtue and wisdom of the House of Commons as now constituted, with scarcely any interference of the people, and almost without their consent. He contended that the people did not call for or wish for any parliamentary reform, and that these attempts were not so much as countenanced by them. Wilberforce, Grenville, and Powys spoke on the same side; and at length Mr. Flood agreed to withdraw his motion. The slightest hint of any change was now met by the most decided and unyielding opposition; and, in sundry respects, the great body of the English people, who had shown an aptitude for the quiet enjoyment of liberty, and an averseness to acts of violence and bloodshed, were denied what ought to have been granted, because their neighbours, the French, who never had been capable of freedom, were making an anarchy of liberty, and a universal sack and murder of reform.

On the 10th of March a motion was introduced for increasing the salary of the Speaker of the House of Commons, so as to make it adequate to the maintenance of the dignity of that high station. Hitherto the allowance to the speaker from the Exchequer was about 1680*l.* *per annum*; and he received about 1300*l.* per annum as fees. There was no retiring pension allowed. It had been common for the speaker to hold some other place of profit, but this made him dependent on the crown in a manner unsuitable to the honour of the House. Sir Spencer Compton, while speaker, had held the profitable place of paymaster to the army; and Onslow, considered as the perfection and model of speakers, had been treasurer of the navy. While Onslow was speaker he decided an important political point against the wish of the court, by his casting vote. His conduct was resented by the court party, and the place which he held was thrown in his teeth. Being a high-spirited man, Onslow, the very next day, resigned the treasurership of the

* Life of Wilberforce, by his Sons. Having made up his mind, Wilberforce rejoiced at the "memorable majority." That large majority marked the rising dread of French principles. "When I entered life," Wilberforce was accustomed to say many years after, "it is astonishing how general was the disposition to seize upon church property. I mixed with very various circles, and I could hardly go into any company, where there was not a clergyman present, without hearing some such measure proposed. I am convinced that if the public feeling had not been altered, by our seeing how soon every other kind of plunder followed the destruction of tithes in France, our clergy would by this time have lost their property."—*Id.*

navy; and, though he held the office of speaker for eighteen years afterwards, he received no more than the limited income as speaker—an income insufficient to pay for the hospitality and state he was obliged to maintain. The consequence was that when he resigned he must have retired in distressed circumstances, if the House had not, by a special vote, secured him a pension of 3000*l.* a year. The Hon. Frederick Montague, who had introduced the business, thought that the fees arising out of the business of the House ought to be left exactly as they were, as a proper check upon frivolous applications. If the fees were abolished, the House would be overwhelmed with such a deluge of private business, that it would be found impossible to get through it without neglecting public business. He proposed that so much might be added out of the *sinking fund* as to make up the whole to 5000*l.* a year, at least. The money might be considered as the price paid for the purchase of the speaker's independence; and the public would, no doubt, cheerfully pay for a purchase in which they had so great an interest.* In conclusion, Mr. Montague moved, that the House would, on Monday next, resolve itself into a committee, to consider of an allowance to be made to the speaker for the time being, more adequate to the dignity of the office, and to the expenses necessarily attending it. Mr. Hussey rose to express his disapprobation of the proposal, as tending to increase the influence of the crown, by annexing so large a salary to an office which he considered as entirely at the disposal of ministers. He was of opinion that it would add nothing to the independence of the speaker. But Hussey's voice was single and alone; and the motion was carried forthwith. In committee Sir James Johnstone moved that, instead of 5000*l.*, the speaker's salary should be raised to 6000*l.*; and this was carried by 154 against 28.

On the 31st of March Dundas opened the Indian budget, in a very gay and triumphant manner. In Bengal he announced a great increase of revenue, which he considered as the strongest proof of the prosperity and good government of the country. He trusted that, in a few years, the Company would be enabled to pay off the whole of their arrears; and that the British possessions in India would be more flourishing in wealth, in commerce and manufactures, and in every enjoyment, than any other part of the continent of Hindustan. The long bright cyphers in his accounts seem to have excited Dundas, even to prophecy. He said that this country was likely, from a variety of circumstances, long to enjoy an *undisturbed peace at home and abroad.* He trusted that he should not be considered as too sanguine in the opinion he entertained, that England had no danger to apprehend from any European rival in India; and he was confident that we should have nothing there to fear from the combination of any Indian powers, so long as we continued to preserve our present good faith towards them, and trod in the path we were now in—the path of moderation. He then alluded to Tippoo Saib, or Tippoo Sultaun, who, unknown to Dundas, was at this very moment contemplating a fresh war, in alliance with the French. It was well known, he said, that there was a prince, who, inheriting all the ambitious and turbulent views of his father, professed the same rancorous spirit against the English, whom he ever had endeavoured, and most likely ever would endeavour, to extirpate from India. He added, however, that the said prince had lost no inconsiderable portion of the consequence he formerly possessed, while the English, in his opinion, had been putting their establishments on such a footing as to be more than competent to repel any attack he might ever make. Francis presently rose to endeavour to cloud these pleasant prospects. He said that all the right honourable gentleman's arithmetic signified nothing, when the notorious fact was, that we had no money return from India, but only a return or transfer of debts which the Company could not pay, and which, sooner or later, must fall upon the shoulders of England—when the Company, instead of paying off their debts at home, were every year making fresh ones—and when Lord Cornwallis, the present Governor-General, in a letter now lying on the table, described Bengal as a declining and almost ruined country. But, in that same letter, Cornwallis had observed that the tranquillity now enjoyed, the security of property, and the certainty which every native felt of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own labours, must operate uniformly as incitements to exertion and industry. Francis, however, found everything wrong, everything going to ruin; and he very ingeniously tortured and twisted Lord Cornwallis's letter into a confession of poverty, woe, and misrule. Dundas expressed his astonishment that any man should so wilfully attempt to pervert every line he had quoted of the letters from Lord Cornwallis; and, by selecting passages partially, and detaching them from the context, confuse their sense, misapply their reference, and destroy their meaning. He hoped other gentlemen would carefully peruse those letters in their closets; and he felt confident that every candid man would be convinced that Francis's conclusions were unfounded.

On the 15th of April Pitt opened the budget for the year, with congratulations upon the very prosperous state of the finances of the country. He regarded the increase of revenue as permanent, or, rather, progressive. Among a variety of consoling facts, he announced that merchant shipping and seamen had increased considerably more than one-third since the year 1773; and that, instead of being crippled and ruined by the events which had taken place in America, England had been regularly gaining strength and greatness since, and even

* Ann. Regist. It was stated, in the course of the debate, that, besides the above-mentioned emoluments, the speaker was presented, at the commencement of a new parliament, with 1000*l.* for equipment money, and 2000 ounces of plate, and that he received besides 100*l.* for stationery, and two hogsheads of claret annually.

during the American war.* He spoke of the continuance of peace with all the world as certain, and concluded his speech with an encomium upon the British constitution; to which, under Providence, the prosperous state of the nation was to be ascribed, and which it was, therefore, their most sacred duty to maintain inviolate, and to defend against all innovations. And this was now the burthen of nearly every speech, as of every loyal song.

On the 5th of May, only a month and five days since his bosom friend Dundas had prophesied, and not three weeks since he himself had spoken so confidently of, the long continuance of an undisturbed peace, Pitt delivered to the House a message from his majesty, which sounded a note of war. The message imported that two vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects, and navigated under the British flag, and two other vessels, had been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-west coast of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; that the cargoes of the British vessels had been seized, and their officers and crews sent as prisoners to a Spanish port; that the capture of one of these vessels had before been notified by the Spanish ambassador, who, at the same time, desired that measures might be taken for preventing his majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, which were alleged to have been previously occupied and frequented exclusively by the subjects of Spain; that the court of Madrid had also made complaints of the fisheries carried on by his majesty's subjects in the seas adjoining to the Spanish continent, as being contrary to the rights of the crown of Spain; that, in consequence of these communications, a demand had been immediately made to the court of Spain for adequate satisfaction, and for restitution of the British vessel, previous to any other discussion; that, by the answer from the court of Spain, it appeared that this vessel and her crew had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico; but this was represented to have been done by the viceroy solely on the supposition that nothing but the ignorance of the rights of Spain encouraged the individuals of other nations to come to those coasts for the purpose of making establishments, or carrying on trade; that no satisfaction had been made or offered, and that a direct claim was asserted by the court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas in that part of the world where Nootka Sound was situated; that his majesty had now directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on this subject, and to claim such full satisfaction as the nature of the case required; that, under these circumstances, his majesty, having also received information that *considerable armaments were carrying on in the ports of Spain*, adjudged it necessary to give orders for making such preparation as might put it in his power to act with vigour and effect; that his majesty recommended it to his faithful Commons to enable him to take such measures, and to make such augmentation of his forces, as might be eventually necessary; that it was, however, his majesty's earnest wish that the satisfaction so unquestionably due might yet be given, and that this affair might be terminated without recourse to arms, or any interruption of the friendship and harmony which had so happily subsisted between the two courts. This message being read, Pitt moved that it should be taken into consideration the following day. On the 6th, the message having been again read, Pitt remarked that, however natural it might be to regret the circumstances which had happened, and the possible occurrences to which they might lead, he could not, in justice to the feelings and public spirit of that House, entertain for a moment the idea that there could be any difference of opinion as to the measures which ought to be adopted. The facts, he said, were, that his majesty's subjects had been forcibly interrupted in a trade which they had carried on for some years, without molestation, in parts of America where they had an incontrovertible right of trading, and in places to which no country could claim an exclusive right of commerce and navigation; that this interruption had been made without any previous notice given by Spain; that the officers and crews of those vessels had been carried off as prisoners of war, and the cargoes appropriated to the use of the captors, without even the form of admiralty condemnation or judicature, which had always been deemed necessary, by the laws of nations, even in times of war. He wished to abstain from every word of aggravation: the statement of the facts alone was sufficient to induce a British House of Commons to insist on the demand of ample restitution to the individuals injured, and of full satisfaction to the nation for its insulted honour. The court of Madrid, moreover, had advanced a claim to the exclusive right of navigation in those seas,—a claim that was unfounded and exorbitant, indefinite in its consequences, aiming destruction at our valuable fisheries in the Southern or Great Pacific Ocean, and tending to annihilate, in its infancy, a commerce which we were just beginning to carry on in hitherto unfrequented parts of the globe. The House had heard of the warlike preparations making in the ports of Spain, not far from our own coasts, so that there could be no doubt of the propriety of our preparing to act with vigour. He concluded by moving an address in the usual form; which being seconded by Mr. Grenville, Fox rose and said he should most heartily give his vote for the address, in which he believed

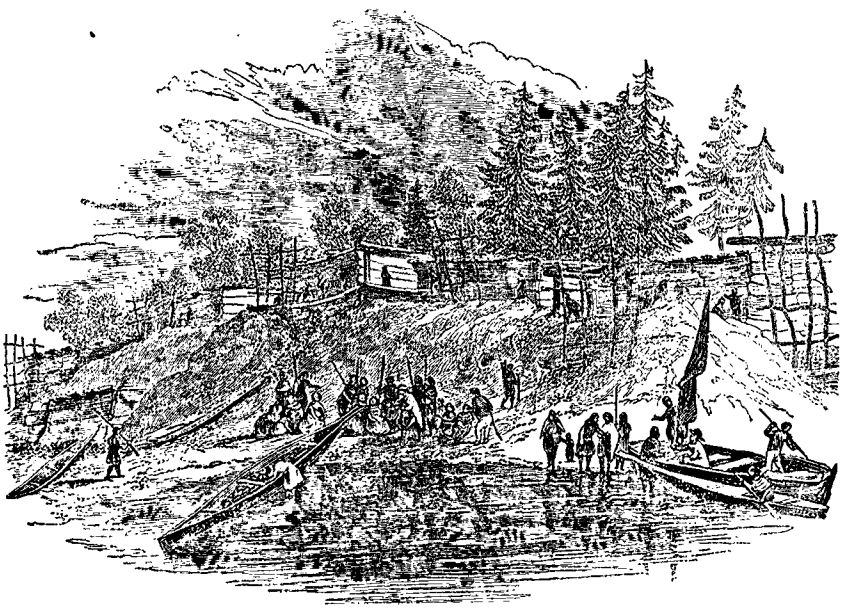
* In a former speech of this session Pitt had said: "Although the opinions of men were much divided at one time on the subject of the American dispute, while one party was contending that the revolting colonies ought to be coerced to obedience, and another was as strenuously insisting that they ought to be for ever abandoned, and the world in general was willing to believe that England could not exist independent of her colonies: yet the event, however, had happily proved the reverse of these different opinions; for, in the loss of the territorial government of the thirteen American colonies, Great Britain had sustained but a very inconsiderable diminution in her commerce; while she had to boast her deliverance and exemption from that load of expense which attended the support of the civil establishment of the States."—*Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt in the House of Commons: Debate on the Test and Corporation Act.*

the House would be found all of one mind. No man, he said, could feel more strongly the necessity of arming than he did. No man felt a warmer resentment at the unprovoked aggression of the court of Spain. There ought to be an immediate and vigorous armament; although he conceived, with the chancellor of the exchequer, that it was probable that this armament might produce its effect without proceeding to the extreme of war, and that the absurd claim of the court of Madrid might be put an end to. But he wished that his majesty's message had told the House more than it did. They ought to have known what the afterwards captured ships were doing, or intending to do; whether they were about to make an establishment in Nootka Sound, and whether Spain knew that we were about to make such an establishment. Might not the events which had happened have been foreseen and prevented? But these questions would make no difference in his vote that day, convinced as he was that there could not be a single man in that House, or in the country, but must see the necessity for a vigorous armament. This country certainly could have had no reason to expect an act of hostility from any quarter a few days back, when we were led to look for a long and uninterrupted peace. That prospect, at least for the present, was gone; and in its stead there was a prospect furnishing matter of very serious concern: for, however favourable a war at its commencement might appear, it was impossible to foretell its ultimate consequences. He had never in the whole course of his life been accustomed to speak with despondency of the resources of the country; but he liked to know the actual state of those resources. On first hearing the message, it struck him as an instance of the uncertainty of human wisdom and the mutability of human affairs, when he observed a gentleman at the head of the government, and of great talents, one day pointing out the great probability of a continuance of peace, and in a fortnight afterwards coming down to that House and telling them that they must prepare for war. Viewed in another light, it gave rise to different suggestions. When the right honourable gentleman was making his boasts, he knew that Spain had, without a colour of pretence, seized British ships, made prisoners of their crews, and confiscated the cargoes. The right honourable gentleman knew these facts from the Spanish ambassador, who had communicated them in a deliberate message on the part of his court. Where, he would ask, was the difference between matters now, and matters three weeks since? Every particular that was now stated was known to his majesty's ministers when they were exulting on the prospect of peace. He, for himself, was one of those who, at the moment of the minister's exultation, had for months known the increase of the Spanish armament. The right honourable gentleman had better opportunities of knowing what the extent of that armament was; but when Spain was arming it was not very reasonable to think that we should be long at peace. In considering the claim of the court of Spain, Fox reasoned that it was completely exploded, as resting upon the pope's demarcation, which had itself been set aside altogether, as obsolete and nonsensical. He conceived that the discovery of any place, and making it the possession of this or that king by setting up a cross, or any other token of having been there, was equally exploded. He thought, in fact, that occupancy and possession should be considered as the only right and title to any territory. Every point of this sort which had been conceded to Spain had only encouraged her to assert her monstrous pretensions. Her present claim was contemptible indeed. But with us the point was not the mere capture of the ships or the right of trading in Nootka Sound, but involved the great point of the navigation of the Southern Ocean; and he hoped that the ministers would not now rest contented merely with a satisfaction for the injury done, but obtain a renunciation from Spain of all her unreasonable claims of that sort.* Pitt replied, that Fox was mistaken in some of his statements. He had said that everything was known to ministers when the budget was opened; but the case was the reverse, for ministers then knew nothing but what they had learned from the Spanish ambassador, whose communication was extremely vague and general, and related only to the capture of one of the vessels. Mr. Fox had said that ministers knew then as well as now the extravagant claim of Spain, whereas they did not know it distinctly till at a period subsequent to the budget day. Neither did they know the extent of the preparations in the Spanish ports till a very few days since. But the right honourable gentleman had affirmed that he himself had for months known of the armaments of Spain; and yet, in the course of this present session, he had suggested the propriety of reducing the forces of the country, and had expressly contended that we had nothing to apprehend from Spain! Several motions were then made for papers relative to the dispute which had arisen. The members of opposition who made these motions said they wished to ascertain the precise nature of the transaction at Nootka Sound, and the value of the trade which it was intended to establish in that part of America. They also desired to have the papers, in order to see the date of the communication made by the court of Madrid, and the dates of the intelligence received by ministers of the hostile preparations of that power. The real intention was to censure the chancellor of the exchequer for having held forth the great advantages of the South Sea trade at a time he knew it to be both insignificant and precarious; and for having dazzled men with the bright prospect of long peace, when he ought to have known we were upon the very point of being embroiled with Spain. Ministers opposed these motions, as tending to a premature disclosure of circumstances which, in the present conjuncture, it might be dangerous to divulge. Upon a division, the motion for the production of

* Fox, Speeches.

the papers was negatived by 213 against 121.* A similar call for papers occasioned a similar debate the same day in the House of Lords; the principal speakers on the side of opposition being Lord Rawdon, Lord Porchester, the Earl of Carlisle, and Lord Stormont. The papers were refused there by 53 against 34.†

For some time a war with Spain seemed certain. Nootka Sound, which gave rise to the quarrel, is a large bay commonly described as being on the western shores of the island of Quadra and Vancouver, which is on the north-west coast of North America. But Humboldt, in his work on Mexico, states that, according to the survey made by the Spaniards Espinosa and Cevallos, this bay is not in the large island, but in a smaller one, separated from Quadra and Vancouver by a very narrow strait. This Nootka Sound, or bay, extends in a north-eastern direction about ten miles inland, between 49° 30′ and 49° 40′ north latitude, and between 127° and 128° west longitude. It has a pretty wooded island in the middle. It branches off into several smaller bays or coves, one of which, where Captain Cook remained some



VIEW IN NOOTKA SOUND. From a Drawing by Webber.

time on his last voyage, and which was called Friendly Cove, is a very convenient and safe harbour. This cove is near the entrance of the bay, and is bounded on all sides by high and well-wooded land.‡ Captain King gave a description of the place in his account of Captain Cook's last voyage, and pointed out to merchants an advantageous trade which he considered might be carried on from Nootka Sound for supplying the Chinese market with furs. About the beginning of the year 1786 some English merchants, under the immediate protection of the East India Company, fitted out two vessels in order to try to make a beginning. The command of one of these vessels, named the 'Nootka,' was given to Mr. Mears, who had been a lieutenant in the royal navy; that of the other to a Mr. Tippin. In the month of March of the same year Tippin was dispatched to Prince William's Sound, and was soon followed by Mears. Tippin lost his vessel on the coast of Kamschatka; but Mears got safely to Prince William's Sound, wintered there, and opened what he called "an extensive trade with the natives." Having collected a cargo of furs, he repaired to China in the autumn of 1787. In January, 1788, having disposed of the 'Nootka,' he, in conjunction with other British merchants, purchased two other vessels, named the 'Felice' and 'Iphigenia,' with which he repaired to Nootka Sound. He arrived there in June, and immediately concluded a bargain with a native chief for a spot of ground.

* A motion was made by Francis on the 13th for an account of all the appointments of ambassadors to Madrid since the last peace, the salaries paid them, and the periods of their residence. This motion being acceded to, and the papers laid before the House, Francis moved that day week a resolution grounded upon them, to the effect that, it appearing "that since the year 1783 four ambassadors had been appointed to the court of Madrid, and an expense incurred on their account of 35,602*l.*, and that no ambassadors had resided there but for thirteen months, his majesty should be requested to give directions for the due performance in future of the services belonging to those appointments." In answer to the charge implied in this motion, ministers gave what is called a circumstantial account of the causes which had prevented the ambassadors appointed from residing in Spain. The account may have been very circumstantial; but it can scarcely have been satisfactory, as in fact the embassy to Madrid had been made a party job, or series of jobs. Nevertheless, Francis was silenced by the order of the day being moved and carried against him by a majority of 95 to 59.

† According, however, to the report of the debate in the Parl. Hist., no motion for the papers was actually made, although Lord Rawdon expressed a wish that they should be produced, and of course, although there was some debate, there was no vote.

‡ Article Nootka Sound, in Penny Cyclopædia

Here he presently built a house, and on it hoisted a British flag, surrounding it with a breastwork, and fortifying it with one three-pounder. This being completed, he proceeded to trade for more furs for China. One vessel he sent along the American coast to the southward, and the other he sent northward, both vessels, he says, confining themselves within the latitudes of 60° and 45° 30′ north. But he did not employ all his people in fur-gathering: he left some behind in the house he had built at Nootka Sound; and, during his absence, these industrious, enterprising fellows built a vessel measuring about forty tons. On his return this vessel was launched, named the 'North-west American,' rigged and equipped with all expedition, to assist him in his commercial enterprises. These were certainly bold and extensive. He had bargained with the native chiefs for grants of land at various points of the American coast, where, he says, no European vessel had ever been before; he had procured a great quantity of furs, and had entered into arrangements for procuring much larger supplies for the future. On the 23rd of September, 1788, Mears sailed in the 'Felice' for China. He reached Canton in safety, sold both ship and cargo, entered into partnership with a respectable English firm, who, to carry out his plans and extend this promising trade, put two ships at his disposal, the 'Princess Royal,' a London river-built vessel, and the 'Argonaut,' built at Calcutta. Mears did not return to Nootka Sound himself, but gave the command of the two ships to Mr. Colnette. The two ships were loaded with articles estimated to be sufficient for the trade of three years; and they carried, over and above the crews, several artificers of different professions, and about seventy Chinese, who intended to become settlers in the fur country, under the protection of the English. The two ships set sail from China in the spring of 1789. While they were on their voyage to Nootka Sound the blow was struck by the Spaniards. The 'Iphigenia' and the 'North-west American,' which Mears had left behind him, had wintered at the Sandwich Islands, but returned to Nootka Sound in the month of April, where they found two American vessels, the 'Columbus' and the 'Washington,' which had both wintered in Cook's Harbour or Friendly Cove. After a short stay, the Nootka-Sound-built vessel, the 'North-west American,' was sent to trade to the northward, and also to explore the Archipelago of Saint Lazarus—for geographical survey and discovery were nicely linked with this new trade in unknown or very little known quarters of the earth and seas. But the 'Iphigenia' remained behind in Nootka Sound, and was pleasantly sleeping there on her anchor, when, on the 6th of May (1789), a Spanish ship of war of twenty-six guns, from San Blaz in Mexico, came and anchored in the same quiet harbour, and was soon joined by a Spanish snow, from the same place, mounting sixteen guns, and carrying in her hold a good many more cannons and other warlike stores. For some time mutual civilities passed between the Spanish officers and Captain Douglas, whom Mears had left in the 'Iphigenia' as a sort of commodore and deputy-governor. But, on the 14th of May, Douglas was ordered on board the Spanish ship of war, and informed by Don Estevan, the captain, that he had the King of Spain's orders to seize all ships that he might find upon that coast, and that he (Douglas) must consider himself a prisoner. The Spaniards then took possession of the 'Iphigenia,' and conveyed the officers and men on board their own ships, where, according to Mears, these Englishmen were put in irons, and otherwise ill-treated. The don in command then took possession of Mears's house, with its breastwork, three-pounder and all, pulled down the British flag, and hoisted the standard of Spain thereon; declaring, at the same time, that all the lands comprised between Cape Horn and the sixtieth parallel of north latitude belonged to his Catholic Majesty; and the Spaniards then proceeded to build batteries, storehouses, &c., forcibly employing some of the crew of Douglas's vessel, the 'Iphigenia,' and severely punishing several who refused to perform this very vexatious task-work. The two United States vessels remained unmolested in the cove all this time. After the 'Iphigenia' had been stripped of all her merchandize, stores, provisions, &c., even down to the master's watch and clothing, Douglas and his people were restored to her, and told that they might go to the Sandwich Islands. But Douglas could go nowhere without provisions; and it was not until he consented to sign bills upon his owners, at an exorbitant rate, that the Spaniards would supply him with necessaries. He was tripping his anchor to be gone; but now he was told he must not go until the 'North-west American' should return to Nootka. After some days, however, as that craft did not return, he was told he might depart, on leaving orders for the master of the 'North-west American' to deliver her up on his arrival, for the use of his Catholic Majesty. Douglas wrote a letter for the master accordingly; but, availing himself of the don's ignorance of the English language, he omitted giving any directions for delivering up the vessel. Douglas then sailed from Nootka Sound, leaving behind him the Spaniards and the two United States vessels. He got safely to the Sandwich Islands, and thence to Canton, where he anchored in October, 1789. Shortly after his departure from Nootka, on the 9th of June, the 'North-west American' reached that harbour, and was instantly seized as a lawful prize, and by the employment of force, for the don had learned the real purport of the letter which Douglas had left for the master—had learned it, no doubt, from one of the United States skippers, who appears to have known a little Spanish, and who, before Douglas's departure, had fixed, for Don Martinez, the value of the little Nootka Sound craft at four hundred dollars.* Her cargo, con-

* Don Estevan José Martinez—for such appears to have been the name of the Spanish commodore—said to Douglas that he would

sisting of 215 skins "of the best quality," her stores and furniture, were confiscated, and her crew were made prisoners. But the don, who appears to have been of a commercial turn himself, soon after this seizure, employed the 'North-west American' on a trading voyage, from which she returned in twenty-five days, with more skins, obtained in exchange for British goods which had been seized in her own hold or taken out of the 'Iphigenia.' The value of the skins obtained for these goods was estimated at seven thousand five hundred dollars, all which Don Estevan applied to his own use. Soon after, the 'Argonaut,' one of the ships that Mears had sent from China so well stocked, came into Nootka Sound, and was taken forcible possession of by the Spaniards, who, it is said, threatened to hang Mr. Colnette at his own yard-arm. if he offered any resistance to orders. This was on the 3rd of July. On the 13th the 'Princess Royal,' the other English vessel dispatched from Canton, arrived, and was seized in the same manner. This vessel, which had been previously along the coast, had on board 473 very valuable skins. Poor Colnette became frantic, and attempted to destroy himself. The crew of the 'North-west American' were put on board one of the United States vessels, which carried them to China; but the 'Argonaut' and 'Princess Royal' were sent with their crews, as fair prize and prisoners, to San Blaz in Mexico. Don Estevan and the Spaniards that remained at Nootka Sound, in the intention of forming a regular settlement, had taken the seventy Chinese out of the two English ships, and set them to work like slaves. Such is the English account of these curious transactions.*

Our government must have had some specific information on the subject by the end of April, for, as early as the 16th of May, Mr. Merry, our minister at Madrid, laid before that court a strong remonstrance. The King of Spain seemed disposed neither to yield nor yet to risk a war. He transmitted a declaration, dated the 4th of June, to all European courts, on the subject of the "unexpected dispute between his court and Great Britain, as to vessels captured in Port St. Laurence or Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, in the South Sea." In this state paper it was declared that his Catholic Majesty at no time pretended to any rights in any ports, seas, or places, other than what properly belonged to his crown, and had been recognized by all nations: that his majesty was ready to enter upon any examination and discussion most likely to terminate the dispute in an amicable way, and was willing to enter into immediate conference, and, if justice required it, to punish his subjects if they had exceeded their lawful powers, hoping that this offer of satisfaction would serve as an example to the court of London to do as much on its part. The paper further stated, that, when the Spanish ambassador, for the first time, made a notification of this matter to the British cabinet, *on the 10th of February last*, many of the circumstances that were now certain were then doubtful: that the rights and immemorial possession of Spain in that coast and those ports were *still not quite certain*: that, if the court of London had then made an amicable return to the complaints made by his majesty relative to those English traders whom Spain regarded as intruders and violators of treaties, and had showed any desire to terminate the affair by an amicable accommodation, a great deal of unnecessary expense might have been spared: that the high and menacing tone and manner in which the answer of the British minister was couched, at a time when no certain information of the particulars had arrived, made the Spanish cabinet entertain some suspicion that such language was adopted not so much with a view to the dispute in question as to create a pretext to break entirely with Spain; and that thereupon his Catholic Majesty had thought it necessary to take some precautions.* The declaration endeavoured to explain the notion which the Spanish court entertained as to its proper rights and claims. It said, enemies to peace had industriously circulated the charge that Spain extended pretensions and rights of sovereignty over the whole of the Pacific or South Sea as far as China; but when the words were made use of, "in the name of the king, his sovereignty, navigation, and exclusive commerce to the continent and islands of the South Sea," it was in the sense in which Spain, in speaking of the Indies, had always used these words; that is to say, in reference to the continent, islands, and seas which belonged to his Catholic Majesty, so far as discoveries had been made and secured to him by treaties and immemorial possession, uniformly acquiesced in, notwithstanding some infringements by individuals, who had been punished upon knowledge of their offences. "Although Spain," said his Catholic majesty, "might not have had establishments or colonies planted upon the coasts or in the ports in dispute, it does not follow that such coast or port does not belong to her. If this rule were to be followed, one nation might establish colonies on the coasts of another nation, in America, Asia, Africa, and Europe; by which means there would be no fixed boundaries—a circumstance evidently absurd." In conclusion, the paper declared that the capture of the English *vessel* was repaired by the restitution that had been made, and by the conduct of the Viceroy of Mexico; that, as to the qualification of such restitution, and whether the prize was lawful or not, that regarded the question of right which remained to be investigated; and that his Catholic majesty would readily enter into any plan

dispose of the 'North-west American' for four hundred dollars, the value set upon her by one of the American captains.

* Memorial presented by Lieutenant Mears to the Right Honourable W. Wyndham Grenville, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.—This memorial is accompanied with the depositions of the officers and crew of the 'North-west American,' extracts from the journal or log-book of the 'Iphigenia,' and other documents.

* It must be borne in mind that the armament in the ports of Spain had been begun *before* this dispute; and that the great provocation in the eyes of the British cabinet was the assertion of right by Spain to an immense line of coast, and to numerous groups of islands, where she had not and never had had possession.

by which future disputes on this subject might be obviated, and a solid and permanent peace established not only between Spain and Great Britain, but also between Spain and all nations. At the beginning of June Mr. Fitzherbert arrived at Madrid, with full powers from the British government to enter upon, and, if possible, settle the points of dispute between the two countries. On the 13th of June Count Florida Blanca, first secretary of state, delivered a memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert, in which the indubitable rights—the exclusive rights of property, navigation, and commerce—of his Catholic majesty to the continent, islands, harbours, and coasts, of that part of the world vaguely designated as the Spanish West Indies, were re-asserted, and were further supported by a reference to treaties, and more especially to the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht. This article, like the major part of that ill-arranged treaty, was altogether vague and indefinite, for it merely stipulated that the navigation and commerce of the West Indies *under the dominion* of Spain should remain in the precise situation in which they stood in the reign of his Catholic Majesty Charles. The article conveyed no right to the whole western American coast, and to all the islands in the Pacific, lying off it at less or greater distances, and of which islands many had then never been touched at or visited by any European nation: it did not, and could not confer a possession which had never existed: it never contemplated closing thousands of leagues of coast, and ports and islands innumerable, to all the flags of the world, except the flag of Spain: it could not assert the monstrous doctrine, that what Spain was incapable of possessing and using should never be possessed and used by other more enterprising, more industrious, and *now*, far more powerful nations. Florida Blanca, however, in his memorial, said that the vast extent of the Spanish territories, navigation, and dominion on the continent of America, isles, and seas contiguous to the Great South Sea, was clearly laid down; that it was also clearly ascertained, that notwithstanding the repeated attempts made by *adventurers and pirates* on the Spanish coasts of the South Sea and adjacent islands, Spain had still preserved her possessions entire, and opposed with success those usurpations, by constantly sending her ships to take possession of such settlements;* and that by these measures and reiterated acts of possession Spain had preserved her dominion, and extended it to the Russian establishments in that part of the world—or, in other words, had established a right to all the American coast that lies on the Pacific, from Cape Horn to Alashka or Onalaska. The memorial continued:—"The Viceroys of Peru and New Spain having been informed that these seas had been for some years past more frequented than formerly; that smuggling had increased; that several usurpations prejudicial to Spain and the general tranquillity had been suffered to be made; they gave orders that the western coasts of Spanish America, and islands and seas adjacent, should be more frequently navigated and explored." It mentioned, as the King of Spain's declaration had done before, that complaints had been made to the court of St. Petersburgh relative to similar points about the navigation of the South Sea; and it stated that several Russian vessels, advancing from the northward, had been upon the point of making commercial establishments upon that coast; *that the court of* Spain, in consequence, had demonstrated to Russia the inconveniences attendant upon such encroachments; that hereupon the court of Russia replied that it had already given orders that its subjects should make no settlements in places belonging to other powers, and that, if those orders had been violated in Spanish America, the empress desired the King of Spain would put a stop to them in a friendly manner; and that to this pacific language on the part of Russia, Spain had observed that she could not be answerable for what her officers might do at that distance, their general orders and instructions being not to permit any settlements whatever to be made by other nations in the dominions of Spanish America. The memorial went on to complain that several trespasses had been made by the English on some of the islands of those coasts, which had given rise to complaints similar to those which had been made to Russia before the seizure of any English vessel, and before it was known to Spain that the English were endeavouring to make any settlement in those parts. It asserted that what was intended at Nootka Sound became first known when a Spanish ship of war, making the usual tour of the coast of California, found two United States vessels in Nootka harbour. These vessels, it said, the commanding officer had permitted to proceed on their voyage, it appearing from their papers that they were driven there by distress, and only came in to refit. [These United States vessels had been in Nootka Sound for months, and one of them, the 'Washington,' had been allowed to continue her trade in furs upon the coast, after the arrival of the Spanish force, and under the eye, and with the direct countenance of the Spanish commanding officer Don Estevan. It might very well be, for the practice was common with the ill-paid officers of Spain on this remote service, that Don Estevan was merely seeking his own profit and advantage in his curious dealings with the two United States captains, but it looked nevertheless in England like an invidious distinction, or like a design on the part of Spain to provoke a serious quarrel.] The memorial gave a very different account of the seizure of the 'Iphigenia' from that given by Douglas, and included in Mears's memorial to Mr. Grenville. It said that the 'Iphigenia hoisted, not English, but Portuguese colours, and showed a passport from the Portuguese governor of Ma-

* This is far from being true; the buccaneers of an earlier date, and the more lawful navigators and discoverers of a recent date, had visited and laid claim, by right of discovery, to innumerable places to which no Spanish ships or forces of any kind had been sent since.

cao; that, though it was manifest that the vessel had come with a view to trade there, yet the Spanish officer had given the captain leave to depart upon his signing an engagement to pay the value of the vessel, should the governor of Mexico declare it a lawful prize. Not a word was said of the seizure and appropriation of all the merchandise, stores, provisions, &c., in the 'Iphigenia.' "Besides this vessel," said Florida Blanca's memorial, "there came a second, which the admiral detained; and a few days after a third, named the 'Argonaut,' from the above-mentioned place. The captain of this latter was an Englishman. He came not only to trade, but brought everything with him proper to form a settlement there, and to fortify it. This, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish admiral, he persevered in, and was detained, together with his vessel. After him came a fourth English vessel, named the 'Princess Royal,' and evidently for the same purposes. She likewise was detained and sent to Port St. Blaz, where the pilot of the 'Argonaut' made away with himself." The memorial further stated that the Viceroy of Mexico, being informed of all the circumstances, and counting on the ignorance of the English merchants and the friendship which subsisted between the courts of London and Madrid, gave orders that the vessels should be released, without being declared lawful prize, and that they should have leave to refit and return with their cargo to China, after capitulating with them as with the 'Iphigenia.' It complained of the haughty language used by the British government, of the harsh and laconic style in which they had replied to the Spanish ambassador;* and it said that this tone had made the court of Madrid suspect that the King of Great Britain's ministers were forming other plans; and they were the more induced to think so as there were reports that they were going to fit out two fleets, one for the Mediterranean, the other for the Baltic. It stated that, besides demanding restitution and indemnification for the losses sustained by English subjects trading under the English flag, the British government had asserted an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fishery, in those parts of the world, as also to the possession of such establishments as its subjects should form, with the consent of the natives of a country not previously occupied by Spain or any of the European nations: that an explicit and immediate answer was demanded by the British chargé d'affaires, who had also called for the suspension of the Spanish armaments; and that to the latter demand the court of Spain had replied that they were actuated by the most pacific intentions, that his Catholic majesty was sincerely inclined to disarm upon the principle of reciprocity, and would give every satisfaction and indemnification if justice was not on his side, provided England would do as much if she was found to be in the wrong. Mr. Fitzherbert replied to this long memorial in a short note. He asserted that the court of London was sincerely desirous of terminating the difference by a friendly negotiation, but could not treat until matters were put in their original state. "As certain acts," said Mr. Fitzherbert, "have been committed by vessels belonging to the royal marine of Spain against several British vessels, without any reprisals having been made on the part of Great Britain, that power is perfectly in the right to insist, as a preliminary condition, upon a prompt and suitable reparation for these acts of violence." He explained that, according to the practice of nations, such reparation would be limited to three articles. 1. The restitution of all the vessels. 2. A full indemnification for all losses sustained. 3. Satisfaction to the sovereign for the insult offered to his flag. To this note Florida Blanca replied on the 18th of June. The count said that he could not assent to the principles laid down by Mr. Fitzherbert; that the vessels in question were taken in a port, upon a coast, or in a bay of Spanish America, the commerce and navigation of which belonged exclusively to Spain; that the vessels so detained were attempting to make an establishment at a port where they found the Spanish nation actually settled; that it was not at all certain that the said vessels navigated under the British flag, although they were certainly English vessels, there having been some reason to believe that they navigated under the protection of Portuguese passports furnished them by the Governor of Macao; that, as the vessels, their furniture and cargo, or the value of them, had been restored for the sake of peace, everything was placed in its original state, and nothing remained unsettled except the indemnification for losses and satisfaction for the insult, which should also be arranged when evidence should be given that there had been an insult committed. "However," added Florida Blanca, "in order that a quarrel may not arise about words, and that two nations, friendly to each other, may not be exposed to the calamities of war, I have to inform you, Sir, by order of the king, that his majesty consents to make the declaration which your excellency proposes, and will offer to his Britannic majesty a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered to the honour of his flag, provided that to these is added any one of the following explanations:—1. That in offering such satisfaction, the insult and the satisfaction shall be fully settled both in form and substance by a judgment to be pronounced by one of the Kings of Europe, whom the king my master leaves wholly to the choice of his Britannic majesty; for it is sufficient to the Spanish monarch that a crowned head, from full information of the facts, shall decide as he thinks just. 2. That in offering a just and suitable satisfaction, care shall be taken that in the progress of the negotiation to

* The passage complained of in the memorial was that in which the British government called the seizure of the 'Iphigenia' 'an act of violence, and refused to enter into any discussion until an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain, &c.

be opened, no facts be admitted as true but such as can be fully established by Great Britain with regard to the insult offered to her flag. 3. That the said satisfaction shall be given on condition that no inference be drawn therefrom to affect the rights of Spain, nor the right of exacting from Great Britain an equivalent satisfaction, if it shall be found, in the course of negotiation, that the King of Spain has a right to demand satisfaction for the aggression and usurpation made on the Spanish territory, contrary to subsisting treaties. Your excellency will be pleased to make choice of any one of these three explanations to the declaration your excellency proposes, or all the three together, and to point out any difficulty that occurs to you, that it may be obviated, or any other mode that may tend to promote the peace which we desire to establish." After the interchange of these notes there was a suspension of correspondence between Mr. Fitzherbert and Count Florida Blanca, for more than six weeks. In the mean time warlike preparations went on, or seemed to go on, in the Spanish ports; and England prepared her shipping with admirable rapidity.

On the 22nd of June Lord Howe, who had been living in close retirement ever since his resignation of the admiralty, received a commission appointing him to the command of a fine fleet, which was already equipped and fit to proceed on any service. Howe hoisted his flag on board the 'Queen Charlotte,' of 100 guns; and, being soon afterwards joined by another squadron placed under the command of Admiral Barrington, he found himself at the head of 35 sail of the line, 9 of which were three-deckers. Parliament had passed unanimously a vote of credit for one million to enable his majesty to proceed in the armament. The Spanish king, no longer our old enemy Charles III., but his very inferior son and successor Charles IV., had thrown himself entirely under the management of Florida Blanca, a minister inimical to and prejudiced against England, a bold and adventurous statesman, who conceived it to be quite certain that France, as bound by treaty, would support and join Spain in any war that might be provoked. When he sent out his instructions to the New World, Florida Blanca had no foresight of what was about to happen in the Old World: when he was so ready to risk a war with England about Nootka Sound, in the comfortable belief that Louis XVI. would co-operate, he had not calculated the strange march of the French revolution, which would make any such alliance impracticable, or very dangerous. He must have known now the real condition of that branch of the house of Bourbon; yet, rather than make what he considered a humiliating concession to England, he instructed the Spanish ambassador at Paris to demand whether France, abiding by the treaty signed at Paris on the 15th of August, 1761, under the title of the Family Compact, would assist Spain in this quarrel. And, on the 16th of June, Count de Fernan Nunez addressed a note to M. de Montmorin, French secretary for foreign affairs, wherein, after giving the Spanish version of all that had taken place at and about Nootka Sound, he said:—"It is in consequence of the absolute necessity in which Spain finds herself of having recourse to the assistance of France, that the king, my master, orders me to demand expressly what France can do in the present circumstances to assist Spain, according to the mutual engagements stipulated by treaties. His Catholic Majesty desires that the armaments, if there are to be any, should be immediately prepared. He charges me to add, that the present state of this unforeseen business requires a very speedy determination, and that whatever measures the court of France shall take for his assistance shall be so active, so clear, and so positive, as to prevent even the smallest ground for doubt or suspicion." The French king, who continued to be nothing more than a state prisoner in the Tuileries, ordered Montmorin to lay the Spanish ambassador's note before the National Assembly, together with a memoir explanatory of the obligations of the Family Compact, and of the advantages resulting to France from a close alliance with Spain. This message led to vehement discussions as to whether the right of war and peace belonged to the king or to the National Assembly; but, after settling that point, the Assembly decreed—That the French nation, in taking all proper measures to maintain peace, would observe the defensive and commercial engagements which the French government had previously contracted with Spain:—that the French ambassador at Madrid should be immediately charged to open negotiations with the Spanish cabinet for the purpose of perpetuating and renewing, by a new *national* treaty, the ties so useful to the two nations, and so as to fix with precision and clearness every stipulation which should be conformable to the views of general peace, and to the principles of justice, which would be for ever the policy of the French. And the National Assembly further decreed that the French marine force in commission should be increased to 45 sail of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates and other vessels. But when preparations began to be made for equipping this formidable fleet, activity was repressed by a want of money, and it was found that the French sailors had been so successfully democratised that they would not serve under their old officers, who were all aristocrats, or considered by them as such. Fearful excesses were committed in the towns and harbours of Brest and Toulon. Some of the best officers of the French navy were massacred by their own men—a horrible crime, which Lafayette insinuated, in the Assembly, was brought about by England! The sailors formed committees on shore or in their ships to examine and report upon the professional qualifications and political principles of their commanders; and they drove away every officer that did not profess a rabid revolutionism like their own. Upon receiving this news from France the court of Madrid, who, after all their exertions, had only

equipped 30 ships of the line, became very eager to bring the dispute with Great Britain to an amicable and speedy conclusion. It was better to lose ten Nootka Sounds, and make a hundred apologies, than to expose the moral health of their own sailors to the French infection. Their greatest dread now was that the French fleet should come and join theirs. Lord Howe himself, who was soon cruising off the Spanish coast, could scarcely have been a more unwelcome visitor. To think of engaging in a war singly would have been madness, for England possessed at this time 158 ships of the line, whereas the whole Spanish navy counted only 70 sail of the line, and the finances of the country could ill provide for an augmentation of force, or even for the equipment of the ships they had. On the 24th of July Florida Blanca, suddenly lowering his tone, assured Mr. Fitzherbert, in a written declaration, that the king, his master, was ready and willing to give full satisfaction to his Britannic majesty for the insult of which he had complained; and that his majesty further engaged to make full restitution of all the British vessels and property which had been seized at Nootka Sound, and to indemnify the parties interested for the losses which they had sustained, as soon as the amount thereof should be ascertained—it being, however, to be understood that this declaration was not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which his Spanish majesty might claim to form an establishment at the port of Nootka. Mr. Fitzherbert, in a counter declaration, written on the same day, accepted the said declaration, with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire satisfaction—stating also, on his side, that the present agreement was not to preclude or prejudice the right his British majesty might claim to any establishment which his subjects had formed, or might hereafter form, in the said bay of Nootka. A negotiation was then commenced at Madrid; and, on the 28th of October, a convention was signed by Fitzherbert and Florida Blanca, in the view of setting the matter at rest for ever, and preventing similar disputes in future. Spain agreed that all the land and buildings of which British subjects had been dispossessed, on the north-west coast of America, or on islands adjacent to that continent, about the month of April, 1789, should be restored to them; that a just compensation should be made, according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence or hostility which might have been committed there subsequently to the month of April, 1789; and that henceforward the subjects of Great Britain should not be disturbed or molested in carrying on their fisheries in the South Seas, or in making settlements on the coasts of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purposes of commerce with the natives. It was agreed that, as well in the places which were to be restored to the British subjects, as in all other parts of the north-western coasts of North America, situated to the north of the parts of that coast, already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers might have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or might hereafter make any, the subjects of the other power should have free access, and be allowed to carry on their trade without any molestation: it was further agreed, with respect to the eastern and western coasts of *South* America, and the islands adjacent, that no settlement should be formed hereafter, either by English or Spaniards, in such parts of those coasts as were situated to the southward of the territory already and actually occupied by Spain; the subjects of both powers being, however, equally left the liberty of landing on those unoccupied parts of the coasts, for the purposes of their fishery, and of erecting thereon huts and other temporary buildings. His Britannic majesty engaged to take effectual measures to prevent the navigation and fishery of his subjects in the South Seas from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and it was expressly stipulated, on his part, that British subjects should not navigate, or carry on their fishery in the said seas, within the space of ten sea-leagues from any part of the coasts permanently occupied. In conclusion, it was agreed that, in all cases of complaint, the officers both of Spain and of England, without committing any violence or act of force, should be bound to make an exact report of the affair to their respective courts, who would terminate such differences in an amicable manner. Thus ended a dispute which, under other circumstances, might have produced a long war. Pitt was highly applauded by his friends for his firmness, energy, and activity; and it appears to us that his conduct was well entitled to this praise, and that the subject in dispute was far more important and national than the generality of our annalists have chosen to represent it. Mears's original scheme is a beautiful thing in commerce. Nootka Sound, it is true, was no very valuable settlement, and, after a few years of quiet occupation, it was voluntarily abandoned by the English; but it was essentially important to our trade and navigation that we should have free access to some ports along that coast, and not be exposed, every day and hour, to the capricious violence and occasional activity of the Mexicans or Peruvians, or other Spanish Americans; it was vitally important that British subjects should have the right of fishery in the South Seas—a right which had hitherto been always controverted—and that those hundreds of leagues of coast should not be barred against them. The rapidly increasing naval force of England, and the terrible misfortunes which awaited Spain, would soon, without any diplomacy, have upset or made useless all the extravagant pretensions and injudicious prohibitions of the court of Madrid; but still there could not but be a political advantage to England in having the rights of her flag previously acknowledged by treaty in such clear broad terms; and, though everything was not obtained, though Spain still clung to her unwise system of monopoly, and exclusion of foreign trade in the ports she occu-

pied, it was something to annul the right she had claimed of excluding our shipping from every port, bay, or island, that lay between Cape Horn and Alaska. Besides, by the high-handed proceedings of Don Estevan an insult had really been offered to the national honour, which was deeply resented by every right-minded Englishman. Mr. Grey—the venerable Earl Grey of our own day, and as high-minded a statesman as is to be found in any time—in opposing ministers, and in moving for the papers which they refused, had said, with proper spirit: "This national honour is not, as some have represented it, a visionary thing: a nation without honour is a nation without power. In losing this one inestimable attribute, it inevitably loses the genuine spring of its spirit, energy, and action. Every nation, therefore, ought to be vigilantly careful of its honour; to be careful lest by one mean submission it encourages an attack upon the dignity of its character, that best security for the preservation of its peace." After the conclusion of the convention with Spain, flattering eulogiums of the minister, in the shape of congratulatory addresses to the king, were sent up by the cities of London, Bristol, and Glasgow. In foreign courts the reputation both of Pitt and of his country was indisputably raised by the promptness with which he had prepared for war, and by the negotiations through which he had secured peace.

We return to the proceedings in parliament, which, however, were neither numerous nor interesting during the remainder of this session. On the 17th of May the king showed his sense of the services rendered to him, in his late malady, by Dr. Willis, by sending a message to the Commons through the chancellor of the exchequer, acquainting the House with his intention of granting to the doctor a pension of 1000*l.* a-year, nett, for twenty-one years; and requesting the assistance of parliament for that purpose. On the very next day a bill, in conformity, was brought in; and it presently passed both Houses. Mr. Wilberforce continued to devote time, life, fortune, and no common share of ability and eloquence, to the great subject of the slave trade. Once a week the "Slave Committee" dined with him. Clarkson, Dickson, and others, who had taken up the pen in the cause, and who were jocosely named by Pitt "Wilberforce's white negroes," were his constant inmates; and were employed in classing, revising, and abridging evidence under his own eye. His house was like an hotel, ever open to those who could in any way assist in the great work; and his influence out of doors, throughout the society he frequented, was very great, and was principally turned to the same purpose.* On the 25th of January he had opened the campaign in the House of Commons, by moving that the House would on Wednesday the 27th resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the question of the slave trade into further consideration; and, this motion having been agreed to after some debate, he had on the 27th carried the appointment of a special committee for the examination of witnesses. He became himself by far the most active member of this special committee, he and his friend the late William Smith conducting personally nearly all the examinations. After many witnesses had been examined, some in favour of the slave trade and some against it, a strong party in the House evinced a disposition to resist the admission of any more evidence. Upon this Wilberforce bestirred himself more actively than ever; not only imploring his friend Pitt to prevent the adoption of a course which would leave his case incomplete, but also making visits among Pitt's opponents, and calling upon Fox and Burke, and others of the opposition, for the same object. He found Burke engaged with all his enthusiasm upon another subject, and gently complains that he kept him an hour and a half talking about Warren Hastings.* On the 23rd of April, Lord Penrhyn moved in the Commons that no further evidence should be allowed; but through Wilberforce's zeal and activity there was found a majority against his lordship. Through the same untiring agency, many additional witnesses in favour of the abolition of the slave trade were found out, brought forward, and examined by the special committee. But here the business ended for the present, and the further consideration of the subject was adjourned till next session.

Upon the 16th of February the trial of Mr. Hastings had recommenced in Westminster Hall. Upon this day—the *fifty-fifth* day of the sitting of the court—Mr. Anstruther went through the charge relating to the corrupt receipt of presents. Disputes instantly arose about the evidence proper to be admitted; and the Lords adjourned to their own chamber to consult. Then fresh objections were made by Hastings's counsel, that the managers were going into matter that was not set down or made a charge of in the articles of impeachment. Burke said, that the Commons of England had a right to demand that they should *not be held to technical niceties;* and that, if the managers were to be debarred from giving evidence *not specifically stated in the charges*, it would be impossible for their lordships to determine the *amount of the fine* which ought to be imposed upon the prisoner, if he should be convicted. But their lordships, after another adjournment and consultation, sustained the objections made on the part of the defendant. The public were now beginning to complain that this business, which obstructed other business, would never be finished. On the 11th of May, Burke himself called the attention of the House of Commons to the protracted continuance of the trial. He would not admit that the managers

* Life of Wilberforce, by his Sons.

* Wilberforce's Diary in Id.—He adds, however, "I felt much when I saw poor Burke."

Burke was at this time poor indeed, oppressed with many cares, and rapidly declining in health and spirits; although the writings he produced after this date show that none of the powers of his mind were impaired—that both his fire of imagination and his capacity of labour remained as strong as ever.

were at all blameable for the slow progress made: he attributed the delay to Hastings himself, to the determination of the House of Lords, obtained upon Hastings's own petition, that all the articles of charge should be proceeded upon before the court came to any decision; and to Hastings's counsel, who had insisted all along upon reading papers at full length, instead of extracts from them. But what he considered the greatest cause of delay was the circumstance that the managers were not made acquainted with the grounds and extent of the principles on which the decisions of the House of Lords were framed respecting the admissibility of evidence. This, said Burke, *rendered it impossible for the managers to know* how far the next questions which they intended to put might, or might not, militate against those principles. He concluded by moving the following resolutions:—"1. That this House, taking into consideration the interruptions occasioned by the occupations of the judges and the House of Lords, as also the impediments which have occurred, or may occur, in the course of the trial of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq., doth, without meaning to abandon the truth or importance of the charges, authorize the managers of their said impeachment to insist only upon such and so many of the said charges as shall appear to them the most conducive to the obtaining speedy and effectual justice against the said Warren Hastings. 2. That the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, from a regard to their own honour, and from the duty which they owe to all the commons of Great Britain, in whose name, as well as in their own, they act in the public prosecutions by them carried on before the House of Lords, are bound to persevere in their impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq., late governor-general of Bengal, until judgment may be obtained upon the most important articles in the same." Pitt supported the first of these resolutions, but thought that the second ought to be dropped as unnecessary. Fox laid the blame of delay upon the obstructions raised by the Lords to the receipt of evidence; and he complained that every decision of their lordships was unaccompanied with reasons, and was confined to one particular case at a time, so that all other cases were left as uncertain as before. Hence great embarrassment to the managers, and continual adjournments of their lordships to their own chamber, where their deliberations were not public but close. A day or two after these proceedings there appeared in a newspaper a letter, containing a review of the trial, and very severe strictures upon the managers, who were accused of being guilty of a great crime in instituting the prosecution at all, and of a still greater crime in not having closed it long ago. The letter was signed by Hastings's old champion Major Scott. On the 21st of May General Burgoyne rose in the House of Commons to lodge a complaint against this publication, which he called libellous, and a gross attack, not only upon the conduct of the managers, but upon the honour and justice of the House—an attack made, too, by a member of that House. After the newspaper letter had been read by the clerk, the major was called upon for an answer. Scott avowed himself to be the author, at the same time protesting that no man living had a greater respect for the rules of the House than he had; and that, if he had broken any of them, he had done so unintentionally, and was sorry for it. But then the major entered into a general justification of the sense and wording of his letter, saying that, if he had been guilty of an error in publishing it, it was through the force of great examples, and citing a variety of publications by Burke, by Sheridan, and by General Burgoyne, his present accuser, all which he considered to be far stronger libels than any he had ever written. Having finished his defence, he then, according to the practice of the House, withdrew immediately. Burgoyne then moved, "That it is against the law and usage of parliament, and a high breach of privilege, to write and publish, or cause to be written and published, any scandalous or libellous reflections on the honour and justice of this House, in any of the impeachments or prosecutions in which it is engaged." This resolution being carried without a division, Burgoyne followed up his blow by moving; "That it appears to this House that the letter now delivered in is a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting on the honour and justice of this House, and on the conduct of the managers appointed to conduct the impeachment now proceeding against Warren Hastings, Esq." Pitt rose, and, after admitting the offence, very fairly urged that the House had of late years exceedingly relaxed its practice in restraining the publication either of their proceedings, or of censures bestowed upon them; that the common practice formed a rule, to which every man had a right to look, and which he had a right to expect should not be violated in his particular case; that, under a law formed by custom, or fallen partially into disuse, no individual instance ought to be selected for punishment, unless it was more heinous than those which were commonly overlooked; and, upon these principles, Pitt thought that, if the present offence required punishment, it ought to be a very gentle one. He then moved to adjourn the debate to the 27th, which was carried, as a matter of course, by the large ministerial majority. On the 27th, when the debate was resumed, many severe reflections were made on the prevailing abuses of the freedom of the press, and upon the anarchical doctrines promulgated, by imitation from the French, in sundry newspapers and other publications; and a disposition was already indicated to curb this spirit by force of laws, rather than by argument and exposition, or by ridicule, which last was, perhaps, the best weapon that could have been used, and which, when it was used afterwards by the Cannings and the Freres, produced a strong and lasting effect. Burke declared that he was afraid neither of the liberty of the press, nor of the licentiousness of

the press; but that what he was really afraid of was its *notorious venality*. And then he alluded to the newspapers which had advocated the cause of Hastings, stating as a positive fact that 20,000*l.* had been spent by the ex-governor-general among newspaper people. Burke called all the things which had been inserted *libels*, which they were not; but between the libels, and the foul attacks upon Burke himself, which were very numerous, and more moderate and legitimate matter, a good deal more than 20,000*l.* had been expended by Hastings. Major Scott, who did not do his work for nothing, is said to have received 20,000*l.* himself. Burke and the other managers were not at all disposed to adopt Pitt's leniency with respect to the libel upon the House; and they recommended more severity. Mr. Wigley thought, on the contrary, that the House ought to proceed in the mildest manner, seeing that the major had made an apology, and could plead in extenuation what had been done by so many eminent men: he quoted a number of strong pamphlets written by gentlemen sitting on the opposition benches, and thought that the House, as well as the honourable member now accused, had a right to inquire into the nature of those publications which reflected so boldly on the character of the House. Fox reprobated the argument of Mr. Wigley, that the House ought to take notice of or prosecute every individual breach of its privileges, or not prosecute them at all. In either case, he thought, the House would act most unwisely. It was by a prudent exercise of their discretion, and by distinguishing the nature of one breach of privilege from another, that they would best preserve their privileges. Were they to prosecute in all cases of breach of privilege indiscriminately, their whole time would be spent in criminal proceedings, and the House would become a nuisance to the country, instead of a security to its liberties. If, on the other hand, they were to fall into the other extreme, and prosecute in no instance, the House would incur the public contempt, and become altogether useless. He conceived that a libel on the managers of an impeachment authorized and instituted by the House was the most proper of all others to take up; that a libel on the House itself was not of such dangerous consequence, because the House was armed with sufficient powers to protect itself; but a libel on the managers might be considered as a libel on individuals, who were, comparatively speaking, helpless, and, not having the power to protect themselves, must necessarily look to the House for protection. For his part, it had been his lot, as it had been that of his right honourable friend (Burke), to have been libelled grossly through the greater part of his political life. They could treat the libels and their authors with scorn and contempt; but the case was widely different between a libel on individuals in their private capacity, and individuals sanctioned by the authority of that House, and acting as managers of an impeachment instituted by that House. He could not admit that the severity of the House had been relaxed so much as was stated by the chancellor of the exchequer. On the subject of the present impeachment only, the paper now complained of was not the first, the second, or the third, but the fourth libel which the House had taken notice of. Recently the 'Morning Herald' had been ordered to be prosecuted; Mr. Stockdale had been ordered to be prosecuted; and the 'World' had been both prosecuted and convicted. After several alterations and amendments had been proposed, it was agreed that a resolution should be passed in this softened form: "That John Scott, Esq., having avowed himself to be the writer of the said letter, is guilty of a violation of his duty as a member of this House, and of reflecting upon the managers of the impeachment." Burgoyne, who was one of the managers, and who had no mercy, then moved, "That Major Scott be reprimanded *at the bar* of the House, for his conduct in publishing the said libel." Pitt instantly moved, by way of amendment, to leave out the words "at the bar of the House," and insert the words "in his place." Wyndham, also one of the managers, strongly opposed this proposition. He thought it had ever been considered that, *pendente lite*, the subject should be confined to the court in which it was trying, and on no account be made a matter of discussion out of doors. He declared that for his own part he was actuated by no vindictive feelings or personal resentments; that it could not be worth a moment's consideration to him as a manager, nor indeed to any other manager, whether the avowed author of the letter complained of were reprimanded at the bar or in his place; but he fancied that the natural conclusion would be, that those who were for the milder censure, if they had dared to face the shame that such a proceeding would have drawn down on them, would have resisted any punishment of the author of the libel in question. Pitt replied to Wyndham in a warm and angry manner. Wyndham rejoined; and then Fox came to his support, making the debate very personal, and reproaching the minister for being *over-warm*—a fault which Fox was so very often guilty of himself, and which he did not eschew on the present occasion. He said that calling Major Scott the friend of Mr. Hastings was a prostitution of the name of friendship. With respect to the motion, he declared that, if it had been "that Major Scott be committed," and they had been called upon to show a precedent of a case of equal enormity in which a member had *not* been committed, he believed it would have scarcely been possible for them to have found one. As to a member being reprimanded at the bar, there was a famous precedent in the year 1660, when Lenthall had been so reprimanded, and that too for words spoken in the House. How much more, then, ought Major Scott to be reprimanded for his deliberate, indecent, and atrocious libels, published in a common newspaper! For his own part, he agreed with his honourable friend

(Wyndham) that this offence merited expulsion! In the end it was decided by the ministerial majority that the major should be reprimanded in his place. Pitt then moved, "That John Scott, Esq., do attend in his place to-morrow." When the morrow came, when the major was in his place, and all strangers had been ordered to withdraw, the Speaker, setting forth the magnitude of the offence, the lenity of the House, &c., concluded with saying, "The House have directed that I reprimand you for your said offence; and, in obedience to their commands, I do reprimand you accordingly."

The impeachment went none the faster for these angry debates. The Court of Peers sat in Westminster Hall only thirteen days during the whole of this session, and did not get beyond the charge which Anstruther had opened. On the 7th and 9th of June the sixty-eighth and sixty-ninth days of the trial, counting from its commencement in the Hall, Fox summed up and commented upon the evidence, in a speech which occupied the two whole days, and on the evening of the 9th their lordships adjourned to their chamber, where they agreed to postpone the trial to the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament. On Thursday the 10th of June, the king put an end to the session of parliament by a speech from the throne, in which he informed the two Houses of his intention of immediately dissolving the present and calling a new parliament.* He expressed his deep and grateful sense of their affectionate and unshaken loyalty, their uniform and zealous regard for the true principles of the constitution, and their unremitting attention to the happiness and prosperity of his people. He dwelt upon the rapid increase of manufactures, commerce, and navigation; the security given to our most distant possessions; the improvement of the public revenue; and he hoped that mutual good understanding and concert would continue to be productive of the happiest effects in the *present conjuncture of affairs* in Europe. The speech said not a syllable more directly or especially upon the affairs of France, which had not mended since the meeting of our parliament in January.

The session of the Irish parliament had not been quite so tranquil. Previous to its opening the Marquess of Buckingham, after a residence of two years, was recalled, and the Earl of Westmoreland† appointed lord-lieutenant in his stead. This change was occasioned by the violent quarrel which had broken out in the preceding session between the Irish parliament and the lord-lieutenant upon the subject of the Regency Bill; and was intended to prevent any obstructions to public business that might arise out of those differences and animosities. The session this year was opened the same day as that of the English parliament—on the 21st of January—when the Earl of Westmoreland delivered a speech from the throne. It was presently seen that government in changing their viceroy had not got rid of opposition. The Irish patriot party had already been studying French politics and French reforms; but they nevertheless began their present attack in a constitutional manner upon a real and flagrant grievance. It had too long been the custom of the English court and ministry to saddle Ireland with sinecure places and pensions for men who were not Irishmen, and who had never had anything to do with Irish affairs until they came to get their money out of the purse of that kingdom. In both Houses an amendment or addition was moved to the address—in the House of Peers by Lord Portarlington, in the Commons by Mr. Grattan—to express "the apprehensions which they entertained from the great increase of ministerial influence and corruption, and requesting his majesty to apply a remedy to the growing evil, by abolishing unnecessary and burthensome places and establishments." This was rejected in both Houses, after long and hot debates. On the 1st of February, Grattan, in one of his very eloquent speeches, exposed the corrupt system which prevailed in the country, and pointed out the necessity for the interference of the Irish House of Commons, who alone were likely to remedy the evil; and he moved "That the resolution of this House against increasing the number of the commissioners of the revenue, and dividing the boards, be laid before his majesty, with an humble address, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to order to be laid before this House the particulars of the representations in consequence of which two new commissioners of customs have been added, notwithstanding the resolutions of this House; and also that his majesty will be graciously pleased to communicate to his faithful Commons the names of the persons concerned in recommending that measure." The motion was seconded by Mr. Conolly, but, after a terribly loud debate, it was rejected by 135 against 80. Shortly after Mr. Forbes called the attention of the House to the recent increase of the pension-list, and moved an address to his majesty, to communicate to the House the names of the ministers who had advised the same. This motion was rejected by 136 against 92. Nothing discouraged, the opposition in the Commons continued the campaign. On the 15th of February Mr. George Ponsonby moved to represent to his majesty "That his faithful Commons, having taken into consideration the growth of public expense in the last year, could not but observe many new and increased salaries annexed to offices granted to *members of that House*, no fewer in number than fourteen; that so rapid an increase of places, together with the number of additional pensions, could not but alarm the House; and, though they never could entertain a doubt of his majesty's affection and regard for his loyal kingdom of Ireland, yet they feared that his majesty's servants might, by misinformation, so far have

* The parliament had sat seven sessions.
† The noble earl recently deceased. 1842.

abused his majesty's confidence as to have advised such measures for the purpose of increasing influence." Grattan seconded the motion; but neither his eloquence nor that of others could take captive any of the ministerial phalanx: the majority, upon a division, was as great as ever, or rather a little greater—the motion being rejected by 146 against 87. In the mean time government had deprived Lord Viscount Strangford, a very poor Irish nobleman, of a pension of 400*l.* a-year, which had been granted to him at the request of the Irish House of Lords, in consideration of his rank, his merits, and his poverty. Lord Strangford had voted with those who had so much embarrassed Pitt's government in 1789, by carrying the resolution that the regency, during the king's incapacity, belonged as matter of right to the Prince of Wales, and by sending the address to entreat the prince to assume the executive power in the realm of Ireland. The Duke of Leinster now moved, in the Irish House of Lords, "That, whereas the Lord Viscount Strangford has been deprived of a pension which, at the request of this House, his majesty was graciously pleased to grant him until an adequate provision should be made for him in his own line of profession; and whereas no cause has been suggested or communicated to the noble lord for such mark of his majesty's displeasure; the House, therefore, has every ground to believe that the same had reference to his conduct in parliament in the last session; and declare and resolve that the adviser of the measure acted disrespectfully to this House, unconstitutionally, and undutifully to his majesty." Upon a division this motion was negatived by a majority of twenty. The Duke of Leinster, with six lay lords and one bishop, entered a strong protest on the journals to record their disgust at the paltry measure of vengeance which had been meted out to Lord Strangford. In this protest their lordships did not complain so much of the amount of pensions with which Ireland had been saddled as of the wanton application of them. They said they were the more confirmed in their belief that Lord Strangford had been deprived of his pension on account of his conduct in parliament, "because at the period of the said deprivation, and of *many others*, *evidently on the same account*, they had seen pensions and places, some of them created for the occasion, and even the highest favours of the crown lavished with a more than usual indecency of profusion and corrupt extravagance, manifestly with the view of obtaining undue influence in parliament—the ministry having thus evinced the tendency of their punishments by that of their rewards."

On the 7th of February the Emperor Joseph was gently informed by his physicians that the disease under which he had been so long labouring was incurable. "I have weighty affairs on my mind that I wish to settle," said the emperor. "Do you think I may hold out a few weeks longer?" He was told that it was possible, but that the nature of his complaint rendered it not improbable that he might be carried off suddenly at any moment. Joseph, who had some practical philosophy, and many qualities that make one love and pity him, was silent for a few minutes, but did not appear dejected. He then signed a dispatch which his ministers had prepared for him, and the object of which was to apprise his brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was at Florence, of his approaching dissolution, and to press him to come to Vienna as soon as possible. The dispatch being sent off, the emperor appeared placid and composed. For several days he transacted business with his five secretaries, and dressed and walked about as usual, in spite of a cough which frequently threatened suffocation. On the 14th he was much worse: on the 16th he seemed to be struggling with death, and to be exceedingly anxious about the distracted state of Europe and the confusion into which his own dominions had been thrown by his precipitous reforms and the ruinous Turkish war. He wrote with his own hand a farewell letter to the Czarina Catherine, who had half tempted and half forced him into this unnecessary and unprovoked war with the sultan; and he wrote or dictated a letter to Prince Potemkin, to recommend peace. The last sand in the hour-glass was made to run the faster by a domestic shock. Early on the morning of the 18th his favourite niece, the Archduchess Elizabeth, died in childbed.* In the course of the 19th, the last day of his life, being no longer able to make use of his own hand, he dictated a letter to the excellent old Marshal Lacy, to express his gratitude for all the services and all the instruction he had received from him. "The only thing," said the dying emperor, "I regret leaving in this world are my few friends, of whom certainly you are the first." † On the same day, or, more probably, a day or two before, he said to the Prince de Ligne, a native of the Austrian Netherlands, "Your country has killed me! Ghent taken by the insurgents has been my agony; Brussels abandoned by my troops, my death!" He repeated several times to the prince—to the witty, light-hearted man, now crying like a child—"It is this that kills me!" After thanking the prince for his faithful services, Joseph said, "Go to the Netherlands; make them return to their duty to their sovereign; but, if you cannot do that, remain there. Do not sacrifice your own interests; you have children!" On the 20th, between night and morning, the emperor breathed his last, being then in the forty-ninth year of his age. "Joseph II.," wrote the Prince de Ligne to the Empress of Russia, "is no more: the prince that did honour to mankind, the man that was the greatest honour to princes, is no more. That ardent genius is gone out like a light that has consumed its substance; and that active body is

* This princess, of the House of Wurtemberg, was only his niece by marriage. She was the first wife of his nephew Francis, who so soon became emperor.

† Letters et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne.

now between four planks which prevent its moving. . . . . He has died, as he lived, courageously: he has finished in the same methodical spirit with which he began."* When his successor, Leopold, arrived at Vienna, his first care was to free himself from the Turkish war. The Austrian army was in the field, and was gaining some successes on the Danube; but these successes were not of sufficient importance to encourage a perseverance in hostilities. Negotiations for peace were opened at Reichenbach in Silesia on the 4th of June, under the mediation of England, Prussia, and Holland; and an armistice was immediately concluded between the Emperor Leopold and the Sultan. This was soon followed by a treaty of peace, settled on the *status quo* principle, or that each party should retain what it had before the war began, restoring all that it had conquered, and recovering all that it had lost. Russia was invited to be a party to the treaty, and Austria engaged to remain neutral in case Russia should refuse to accede. The congress at Reichenbach also interfered in the affairs of the Netherlands; and England, Prussia, and Holland guaranteed to the Emperor Leopold all the possessions of the house of Austria in Flanders, Brabant, &c., provided only he acknowledged and re-established the ancient privileges and constitution of those provinces. In the mean while the Flemings and Brabanters, with the rest of the Belgians, now styling themselves The United Belgic States, had called a congress of their own, and had issued the plan of a constitution, differing in some essential particulars from the ancient constitutions of the provinces, and being constructed with a view to complete independence of the house of Austria and of every other power. The Belgians had struck a medal to commemorate their independence and the throwing off of the Austrian yoke; and they had taken into their service a considerable number of English, Prussians, and Dutch, in order to form rapidly a regular army. They had, as a matter of course, called out their old militia and reorganized their corps of volunteers. The peasantry, urged on by the priests and monks, came in and enrolled themselves in great numbers, and the whole country was put in an attitude of defiance before the Emperor Joseph breathed his last. Most of the surrounding nations seemed to wish success to these efforts; but enlightened men found a great deal to condemn in the intolerant spirit in religion which was linked with this spirit of independence. The quarrel with the Emperor Joseph had, in a manner, begun about the Catholic clergy; the revolution had been driven on by Catholic priests and monks; and now the constitution-makers, who had complained of the emperor's tolerating other religions as an insufferable grievance, seemed resolved to carry intolerance to its utmost lengths. The constitution, or plan of constitution, they put forth excited great disgust among the liberal party even in England, who thought that they had thrown off the yoke of the house of Austria to little purpose, since they willingly submitted to the double yoke of a proud aristocracy and a persecuting superstition.* The superstition, the bigotry, the black intolerance were dear to the hearts of the great body of the people; there was no touching the new constitution on that side; the very propagandists of France had found themselves compelled to feign to be bigoted Catholics in Belgium; but in merely worldly matters they found the Belgians very ready converts, and they successfully preached an extreme democracy—a democracy like their own—though they could not make philosophes of the burghers and boors of those fat low countries. In old times, too, the Flemings and Brabanters had been the foremost democracy in Europe—the people that had waged one of the fiercest of the wars against the insolent and oppressive feudal aristocracy. On this side they were predisposed to sympathise with the French revolutionists. The Jacobin club in Paris had their agents in Brussels, in Ghent, in all the great towns; swarms of Frenchmen, inoculated with the revolutionary virus, and in search of employment and bread, which they could not find at home, kept constantly crossing the frontier, enlisting in the army of the Belgic States, or undertaking other services which brought them in contact with the people. A society, calling themselves "The Patriotic Assembly," met at Brussels, held regular and public meetings, and put forth their opinions almost in the shape of decrees; they were, at the least, calculated to overawe the Congress and Assembly of States, and to dictate the course they ought to pursue in constructing a separate and independent government. They complained—and so far there was some reasonableness in their complaint—that all the powers of government, all the legislative and executive functions, had been usurped, on the overthrow of the emperor's authority, by a few individuals, who formed a complete oligarchy, more odious and difficult to bear than the imperial despotism. These disputes began as soon as ever General Dalton and the emperor's troops were expelled; and they continued till great armies were ready to take the field against them. The revolution had been made by the concurrence and

* Lettres et Pensées.—Joseph II., who had been so very severe upon monks and friars, had passed all along for a thorough philosophe; but he died like a good Catholic, performing all the duties prescribed by that church. But even in these awful moments he showed his singular character, and incurable desire to meddle with everything, and regulate everything. When the *Hostia* was to be administered to him, he regulated the procession which was to bring it from the church to his bedside. He even got up to know whether everything had been arranged as he ordered. On receiving the finishing stroke, in the news of the death of his niece, afflicted as he was, he asked where they intended to put the body of that princess to lie in state? They told him in the Royal Chapel. "No! No!" said Joseph, "that is my place—that would make confusion: put the archduchess in some other place where she may lie in state quietly" (*tranquillement*). He appointed the time at which the priests were to come and read prayers to him, just as if he were making appointments with his secretaries for the dispatch of state business. As long as he could he read the prayers himself, seeming anxious to settle the business of his soul, as he had tried to arrange his empire, all by himself.—*Prince de Ligne.*

* Romilly's Correspondence with M. Dumont, in Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, by his Sons.

union of all the orders; but now these orders were divided among themselves, and a war, without truce, was declared by the people, by the clergy and monastic orders, against the high aristocracy; and then, in very brief space of time, the necessity of a new revolution was preached and proclaimed. The highest of the clergy took part, of course, with the aristocracy; but the great working body, the country curés, the parish priests in the towns, and most of the orders of monks, who had all been shaken and terrified by the Emperor Joseph, were on the democratic side, and disposed to go to very great lengths for popular liberty, reserving their antiquated intolerance in matters of religion. The magical words Tiers Etat were pronounced; Sièyes's definitions were accepted; and the grand and exclusive right of the democracy was proclaimed as a truth and an axiom. The aristocracy had pretended to too much; and the democrats would now allow them nothing. As in France, neither party would trust or tolerate the other. A jealousy arose between the congress and the army; and before this independence was two months old a portion of the army began to wish the power of the emperor re-established. On the accession of Leopold, before the meeting at Reichenbach, or before any kind of measure was attempted, either diplomatically or otherwise, a manifesto was dispatched from Vienna to the Netherlands. This paper condemned, as improper, unjust, and despotic, much that had been done by the late Emperor Joseph; made strong professions, on the part of the new emperor, of lenity, kindness, and affection for the people; gave them the strongest assurances of his wish and intention to redress all their real grievances; but at the same time it asserted, in high terms, the emperor's undoubted right to the sovereignty of the country, and intimated that he would maintain that right with all his might. If this manifesto hurt their pride, it conciliated the interest of many of the Belgians, for it solemnly assured them that their old institutions should be restored; and a very large portion of the people had already discovered that those old institutions were much better things for working and for every-day use than their new constitution or the theories of the men who had made an anarchy in France. The character of the new emperor also seemed to have a claim on confidence, respect, and affection. As Grand Duke of Tuscany he had gained universal applause by the gentleness of his disposition, by the mild and equitable spirit of his government. It was well known that he had left Tuscany in the condition of one of the happiest and best governed states in all Europe. The whole tenor of his life proved the humanity of his disposition; and he had never been known to commit any of those reforming freaks and violent attacks upon religious bodies which had rendered the reign of his brother Joseph so extremely odious, not only in the Netherlands, but also in Hungary, in Bohemia, in almost every part of the great disjointed empire, except in Austria Proper, where men's minds have a much larger portion of obedience and impassibility than are found in other parts of the world. Even men who had been most active in this Belgian revolution conceived that, now their enemy, Joseph, was gone to his account, they might make terms with his brother and successor. Though the rising had been so general, there was always in the Netherlands a strong loyal imperial party, composed of individuals of various classes who owed obligations to, or hoped benefits from, the house of Austria. This party now began to declare themselves pretty openly, to wear the old cockade instead of the new patriotic ribands; and they soon formed the nucleus of a numerous and imposing force. The inhabitants of several villages assembled under Austrian flags, beating and plundering, in the name of the emperor, those who, a few months before, had beaten and plundered them in the name of Liberty. For the present these bands were dispersed by the troops of congress; but the wounds and blows they received only made them the more eager to re-assemble again when circumstances should be more favourable, and when the pleasure of revenge might be added to their other enjoyments. Men of a superior condition, though averse to the extreme democratic principles, detested the oligarchy, and seriously doubted whether it were possible to establish a republican form of government that would act quietly and well, and preserve the country from feuds, factions, and perpetual disorder. The people, no doubt, had sundry good qualities, but in point of enlightenment they were about the most backward of all in Europe. The idea that these populous and fertile provinces should all be united into a separate kingdom, and have a king of their own choice, had been entertained by not a few of the Flemings and Brabanters from the first beginning of the quarrel with the Emperor Joseph. A certain party now revived a plan for calling the Duke of Orleans to fill this new throne; agents were dispatched to Paris, and, notwithstanding the disgrace the Duke of Orleans was in at court, and the dark imputations against him, a portion at least of the French cabinet had not been unwilling to favour his highness's promotion. If we may credit a thorough intriguer, the intrigue had been rather complicated. Montmorin, secretary of foreign affairs, was greatly attached to Louis XVI., and eager to restore the royal authority in France. He considered the Duke of Orleans as the greatest obstacle in his way, and he had found means, it is said, to fill the duke with a desire of becoming an independent sovereign as Count of Flanders, Duke of Brabant, &c. It is even said that, at the time when Lafayette so arbitrarily drove Orleans into exile, Montmorin furnished his highness with certain memoirs or overtures for the English court, in which the interests of the king's brother-in-law, the emperor, were but little regarded, inasmuch as they tended to tempt

England into connivance in a scheme for depriving the house of Austria for ever of their Netherland dominions. It appears that Orleans either did not press the scheme or met with no encouragement in London, and the intrigue was almost forgotten, when Dumouriez and Lafayette entered into discussions relative to those Belgic provinces, and held conferences with the agents and deputies who had come from Brussels to Paris. Dumouriez offered to go and examine the state of this revolution on the spot; "Not," he says, "to impose upon the Belgian people a despicable sovereign, for there was no longer any question of that, and Lafayette hated the Duke of Orleans too much to uphold his interests; but to ascertain the degree of confidence which might be placed in the Belgian revolution, and in its chiefs, who now openly solicited the assistance of France."* In short, this adventurous man, who had mixed in many revolutions, and who was scarred with the wounds he had received fighting in "the anarchy of Poland," went to ascertain whether it would be profitable to France to interfere, and whether the Netherlands might be made a barrier between the French frontier and the Emperor Leopold, in case Austria should resolve to declare against the French revolution, of which now there seemed but little doubt. Before starting for Brussels Dumouriez had an interview with the foreign secretary, Montmorin, who, at first, expressed a strong aversion to the journey; but he finally acceded to it, exacting, however, a promise from Dumouriez, that, in whatever situation he might find affairs, he would return to Paris and give an account of them, previously to entering into any engagement with the Belgians, or their congress sitting at Brussels. "This, indeed, was Dumouriez's own express intention. He was determined not to engage with the Belgians without first knowing whether he should be supported by the French nation. He recollected too well what had happened in this way in Poland. But it was his wish, if the thing were possible, either to produce a grand diversion in favour of France by means of the Low Countries, or to oblige the court of Vienna to desist from intermeddling with the French revolution."† Dumouriez set off from Paris in the month of June, after the ministers of England, Prussia, and Holland had assembled at Reichenbach. He travelled to Brussels with the two Belgic deputies, and was presented to the leaders of the insurrection as a person *secretly* accredited by the French court, and as a man proper to be consulted on the subjects of war and policy. This singular man, who had thoroughly the character of a political adventurer, but an adventurer of talent and even of genius, conceived no very favourable notion of the patriots or their revolution, for, poor and adventurer as he was, Dumouriez was no leveller or Jacobin. To him Vandernoot appeared to be just such another leader as Masaniello, and his brother patriot, Van Eupen, a hypocrite and an impostor; and he considered them both as instruments and creatures of the court of Berlin and the Hague. He found that these two chiefs deceived the people in the grossest manner; that they were driving from office all the higher orders of the nobility, and all the ablest men of the great cities; that the most shameful spoliation was practised under the cover of their patriotism; that intolerance and a blind fanaticism precluded the hope of any wise policy; and that an ignorant and insolent mob were gradually establishing the worst of despotisms. As for the patriot army, he found it full of courage, but wanting arms, clothing, ammunition, money, officers, discipline—everything but courage. He returned to Paris with the conviction that France at the present moment could derive no advantage from such a chaos, and that the people of the Low Countries were on the high road to anarchy and ruin. He told Montmorin and Lafayette that the scheme of supporting those revolted provinces ought to be abandoned. The minister fully agreed with him; but Lafayette, who thought that, because the Americans had succeeded in their revolt, every other revolt must necessarily be successful, treated him and his opinion very coldly.* Dumouriez was convinced that the fate of Belgium must depend upon the congress assembled at Reichenbach; and, as that body of diplomatists had started with the leading principle that the ancient constitutions of the provinces, with the conditions of the "Joyous Entry," and all other rights whatsoever, should be restored to them, and guaranteed by England, Prussia, and Holland, there seemed little ground for lamenting that the decision of the case should be left to that congress. Almost any state of things was better than the existing anarchy.

The Empress Catherine, though deprived of her Austrian ally, refused to take part in the pacific negotiations at Reichenbach, and carried on the war with the Turks on one side, and the Swedes on the other. Gustavus Adolphus, almost ruined by the great expenses of the war, and hoping nothing from the Swedish noblesse, whose enmities now seemed irreconcilable, threw himself more and more into the hands of the people. He became as great an advocate for the Tiers Etat, and almost as averse to the titled and privileged classes, as were any of the Frenchmen in the National Assembly. The noble officers of his army had mutinied against him even in the field, and with the armies of the enemy in his front; the noble officers of his navy had refused to serve even under his own gallant brother, the Duke of Sudermania; and, in the civil service, the noble heads of departments and bureaux had resigned almost universally. Under these circumstances Gustavus issued a declaration that all orders of the state, without distinction of birth or rank, had an equal right to serve the country in all situations; it being contrary to common sense that any particular order should be allowed to monopolise all those appoint-

* Life of Dumouriez, written by himself. † Id. ‡ Life of Dumouriez, written by himself.

ments. The road to honour and promotion was thrown open to every Swede that had character and abilities. This measure charmed the mass of the citizens and people quite as much as it enraged the aristocrats: the States, from which the nobles were now almost entirely excluded, voted subsidies and imposed heavy taxes to enable the king to maintain the war against Russia. The nobles murmured at these heavy impositions, and declared, wherever it was safe to do so, that the acts of the Swedish States were illegal, as wanting their consent. They appear to have felt the more deeply as the taxes were levied upon all classes alike, in just proportion to their property. Calling his men of iron into the field, at a very early season, in the midst of snow and ice, Gustavus sent the Prince of Anhalt in the direction of Petersburg. With a body which did not exceed 3000 Anhalt penetrated to within twelve leagues, or two days' march, of the proud Russian capital, and possessed himself of an exceedingly strong post, with a fort, redoubts, &c., at Karnomkoski, on the Saima lake. Here the Swedes were attacked, in the month of April, by 10,000 Russians, under the command of General Ingelstrom. After a tremendous conflict, the Russians were driven back by the Swedes; they renewed the attack, to be again repulsed; and, after a third attack, they retreated in good order, but leaving 2000 of their dead upon the field. The Swedes, however, lost their brave commander; and were not in force sufficient either to advance upon Petersburg, which was again in a panic, or to maintain their positions on Lake Saima. A short time after this affair —in the month of May—the Duke of Sudermania made a dash into the harbour of Revel, with the daring hope of demolishing that great naval arsenal, and destroying a division of the Russian fleet that lay at anchor there. He failed in this enterprise, was nearly destroyed himself instead of being destroyer, lost a 60-gun ship in escaping out of the harbour, and attributed his failure to the sudden shifting of the wind and a violent storm. The Duke of Sudermania then made some descents on the coast to favour the operations of the land army; and, towards the end of June, his brother, the king, commanded in person the rest of the Swedish fleet in an attack upon a Russian division of ships and gun-boats, anchored in the Bay of Vivorg. Before Gustavus could succeed in his object Admiral Chitschakoff, with the grand Russian fleet, and the Prince of Nassau, with his galleys, were upon him. The Duke of Sudermania came to his brother's rescue; but still the Swedish force was very inferior; and they were pent up in narrow water, among rocks and shoals, and with a shore covered with enemies under their lee. In the battle which took place two Swedish ships blew up, four fell upon the rocks and were taken; and a considerable number of small vessels or galleys were captured by the Russians, whose own losses were very serious, and whose high hopes were sadly disappointed, for they had laid their account with nothing less than the capture both of the King of Sweden and his brave brother. This desperate combat took place on the 3rd of July. Six days after, with a force still inferior, but with more sea-room, Gustavus attacked Chitschakoff and Nassau near Svenkasund with incredible fury. The battle waged by ships and galleys, crammed on both sides with men, soldiers as well as sailors, lasted for two days. Several English officers were now serving with the Swedes, and foremost in the number was the late Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, then a young man, romantic, brave, and daring to excess. On the second day, after a frightful carnage, victory declared for the Swedes, who took or destroyed 45 of the Russian galleys, ruined several of their large ships, and made above 4000 prisoners.* The Empress Catherin immediately sued for peace, in a manner that must have been grievous to her pride. Gustavus was still bound by his Turkish alliance, and the Sultan was more in need of his assistance now than when the Swedes had first taken the field. F the Swedish exchequer was empty, and Gustavu who had counted upon the assistance and co-operation of England and Prussia, found that nothing was to be hoped from those quarters. No very enormous vote of English money might have enabled him to prosecute the war, and keep up the important diversion in favour of the Ottoman empire; and the war might have been ended by such a treaty as should considerably have checked and put back the encroaching, grasping spirit of Russia, by putting Sweden in the position which she ought to occupy—that of a great power in the North. Gustavus complained that he was badly used; and we cannot but think he had sufficient reason for his complaint, for, though they had kept themselves out of any treaty or direct engagement with him, England and Prussia, and Spain and Holland, had certainly encouraged him to begi this war, for preserving the crazy Turkish empire from dismemberment. It was too selfish, it was monstrous, to pretend that this last great object should be worked out by Sweden alone, and at the sole expense of so poor a country. One million o English money disbursed now might have duced more effect than twenty millions sper a later period. Moreover, if Sweden had properly supported, and if this war had b vigorously sustained for another campaign or t not only might the bloody triumphs of Suvaroff on the Euxine and the Danube have been checked,

* In many respects the Swedish king and the English hero were formed to sympathize with one another, for they were about equally daring and adventurous; and, truth to say, both were exceedingly vain-glorious, and not a little mad. After the battle—before the smoke of the guns had cleared away—Gustavus gave Captain Sydney Smith the grand cross of the noble Swedish order of the Sword; and asked him what he should give as an additional memento of Svenkasund. Smith said, "Your majesty's picture." "No, my brave friend," said the king, "you shall have your own picture;" and the next day he sent him a fine portrait of Charles XII.—*Ker Porter's Travels in Russia, &c.* An ingenious compliment like this must have made Sydney Smith the happiest of men. He would, we believe, at any time of his life, have gone up to a cannon's mouth for such a distinction. Of his Swedish order of knighthood he was always particularly proud, although, when Sir Sydney was in gala dress, it was not very easy to distinguish it among his heap of ribands and decorations.

but the third, last, and worst partition of Poland—a project which Catherine was now entertaining—might also have been prevented or delayed. After a very short correspondence, in which care was taken by the crafty Catherine to flatter the vanity of his Swedish majesty, plenipotentiaries met at Warela, near the river Kymen, between the advanced posts of the two armies; and, with the interposition of Spain, a treaty of peace was concluded there on the 14th of August, upon the *status quo ante bellum* principle. The old treaties of Abo and Nystad were confirmed; each power was to retain what it possessed before the war, and Sweden renounced all claim to the possessions which had once belonged to it, and which it had overrun during the present war. Russia granted permission to export grain from Livonia;* but the empress, who had pledged herself to the disaffected Swedish nobles to support their rights and privileges, who had put Gustavus's infringements of the old aristocratic form of government in a prominent part of her manifestos, said not a syllable about his old constitution in the treaty. She left the Swedish noblesse, who had plotted for her, entirely at the mercy of their king. It was mutually agreed to appoint commissioners to settle, in a clear and amicable manner, the line of frontier between the two countries; and the two courts promised themselves that they should strengthen their connexion by a close alliance.† The treaty stipulated that "whatever was past should be forgotten." Gustavus appeared determined on his part to carry into effect this very difficult stipulation, for he began to extol the wisdom and greatness of the Czarina on all occasions.

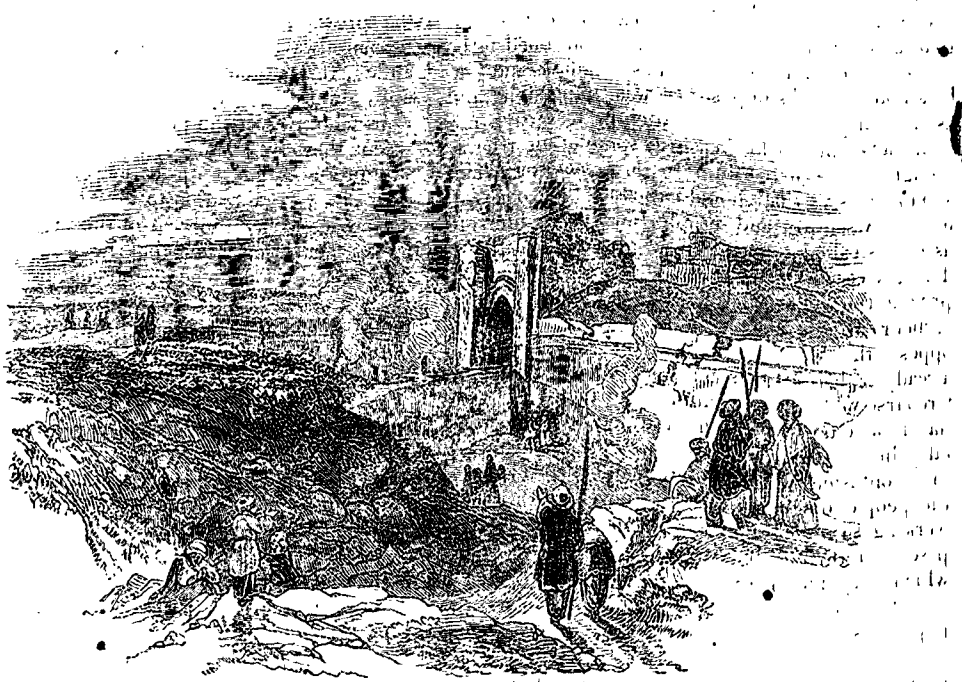
For some time the Russian army on the Danube remained very inactive: the empress was uncertain as to the intentions of the King of Prussia, who was collecting troops on the Polish frontiers; and she was apprehensive lest some strong representations made to her by the courts of London and Vienna might be the forerunners of a declaration of war. She was, moreover, in a bad state of health; and whenever that was the case all kinds of business languished. It was late in the autumn Suvaroff received reinforcements, supplies, and itive orders from Prince Potemkin to invest the ress of Ismael, a place of some strength, teemed the key of the lower Danube, and which ould open to the Russians the road to Schumla nd the Balkan mountains.‡ It was the only fortress of any value that remained to the Turks in those parts; and there was nothing between it and Constantinople except an entrenched camp at Schumla, and a rather difficult mountain-pass. Being assisted by a fleet of galleys under Admiral Ribas, Suvaroff invested Ismael by land and by water, and summoned the Turks to surrender, as the place must be considered untenable. The Turks never surrender upon summons, and seldom know whether a place is tenable or not until they are driven out of it: the garrison returned a haughty defiance. It was now the month of December—no time for making regular sieges in that inclement, uncomfortable climate:—if Suvaroff had attempted a regular siege he would have had to undergo the same difficulties and hardships which had been encountered in 1788-9 at Oczakoff, where Potemkin's army had been almost ruined. Nor were such slow and regular processes at all suitable to the genius of this rude, rough, and ignorant soldier of fortune. On the 25th of December—Christmas-day in our calendar, but not in that of the Russians—he ordered an assault, which was executed by an army of 23,000 men, and by the galleys, which mounted 567 pieces of artillery. The Turkish troops, who had from 200 to 300 heavy cannon in battery, and who were joined and assisted by every man, and nearly by every woman and child in the place, held their fire until the Russians were within a few toises, when they fired from every cannon and every musket, making old Ismael look like a volcano in its most active eruption. The galleys rowed off with a terrific loss in men and officers; the columns on land were brought to a dead stop, and then driven back, the Turks sallying out upon them, to swell with the sword and yataghan the slaughter made by balls and bullets. In vain Suvaroff stormed and cursed and beat his Russians over the head, as his fashion was; there was no stopping this retrograde movement, and for some time there was no possibility of getting them back to the assault. To allow his men time to recover their spirits, and to distract the attention of the Mussulmans, Suvaroff opened a fire of red-hot shot from all the batteries he had raised round the place, and from all the galleys on the water. He then made another attack in different columns, but he was driven back again and again. It is said that the Russians were repulsed six or seven times from every quarter, and that Suvaroff was obliged to make nearly all his cavalry dismount, and take an equal share with the infantry in the desperate assault. At last, one ill-constructed earthen battery was carried, and Suvaroff, the first to apply the scaling-ladder, planted the standard of the empress within the Turkish works. His bravery was not of the merciful and generous kind: Suvaroff was a brute in manners, a savage in body and soul. It is reported of him that, as he was leading or driving his people to the assault, he said, "Brothers, no quarter to-day, for bread is very scarce!" The losses they had sustained and were still suffering made the survivors mad with fury and revenge; and, as all kinds of barbarous hordes were

* This corn clause of the treaty was rather curious: "Her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias agrees that his Swedish Majesty shall be at liberty to buy every year corn to the amount of 50,000 roubles, in the ports of the Gulf of Finland and of the Baltic Sea, provided it be proved that it is for the use of his Swedish Majesty, or for the use of some of his subjects duly authorised by his majesty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, *barren years* shall not be included, nor *such years* in which, *for some important reasons*, her Imperial Majesty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever."

† Segur.—Articles of the treaty in Ann. Regist.

‡ Potemkin's order to Suvaroff was as brief and peremptory as could well be. The whole letter consisted of the words—"You *will* take Ismael, cost what it may."

mixed with the Russ and Muscovites, there was small chance of Suvaroff's being overburdened with prisoners to eat his filthy bread. If the Turkish works had been only tolerably constructed he must have been repulsed even now; but the traverses were all wrong, or were everywhere except where they ought to have been; the palisades were set right in the middle of the parapet, which enabled the assailants to form behind them; and, through all these blunders of construction, the storming parties were enabled to carry the first parapet. Though assailed all round, and fired upon from the battery which Suvaroff had taken, and from other parts of their own works, the Turks fought on with shouts of "Allah! Allah! Hu!" and without a thought either of giving or taking quarter, they defended their second parapet as desperately as they had done the first; and, though the ground was strewed with their dead and dying, and though fresh columns of assailants came up to relieve those that were exhausted, they showed as bold a front behind the third parapet as they had shown at the second. At last, at about an hour after sunset, this third line was carried; and then Russians, Cossacks, Zaporavians, and all the savage bands who followed that congenial leader, Suvaroff, burst into the very heart of the town, and began a carnage as horrible as any recorded in authentic history. Every horror was committed; and in the midst of that hell upon earth, with mosques, serais, and houses burning around him, and with his ears filled with the



Ismael. From an Original Drawing.

shrieks of women and children, Suvaroff sat down, and wrote in Russian rhyme, "Glory to God and to the empress, Ismael is ours."* Scarcely a Turkish officer was left alive; the old seraskier pasha, who had the chief command in Ismael, was found pierced with sixteen bayonets; including the inhabitants, the women and children, above 30,000 perished. The loss of the Russians themselves was estimated as high as 9000 or 10,000, including an amazing number of officers, and some of them of the highest rank. The Prince de Ligne, who, now that Joseph was dead, preferred serving the czarina to going among his own mad countrymen in the Netherlands, witnessed this scene of horror, and was wounded in the assault. The Duke de Richelieu, then a young volunteer, and afterwards the founder and benefactor of Odessa, had a narrow escape; and practised a generous humanity where few would follow his example. Several of the most famed of the Russian commanders were killed on the spot, or died of their wounds. On board the flotilla one-third of the officers were killed or wounded. Catherine triumphed in Petersburg; but Sultan Selim did not yet despair in Constantinople; and, when the

* Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie. This account, written by a French officer in the Russian service, is the one which Lord Byron has followed very closely, as far as the incidents are concerned, in Cantos vi., vii., and viii. of 'Don Juan.'—Comte de Segur.—Ann. Regist. Some years after the event, when Suvaroff was asked by an English traveller whether, after the massacre at Ismael, he had felt perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the day, he replied that he went home and wept in his tent!—*Remains of the late John Tweddell, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

Turks had seen the head of the grand vizier taken off and laid in the niche by the seraglio gate, they hoped for a better campaign next year. The first time the czarina saw Sir Charles Whitworth, the British ambassador, after receiving the news and the trophies from Ismael, she said, with an ironical smile, "Since the king your master is determined to drive me out of Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople."* Having thus brought the great affairs of Europe down to the close of the year 1790, we may resume the far more interesting narrative of what was passing in France, in which relation the finale of the Belgian revolution will find a natural place.

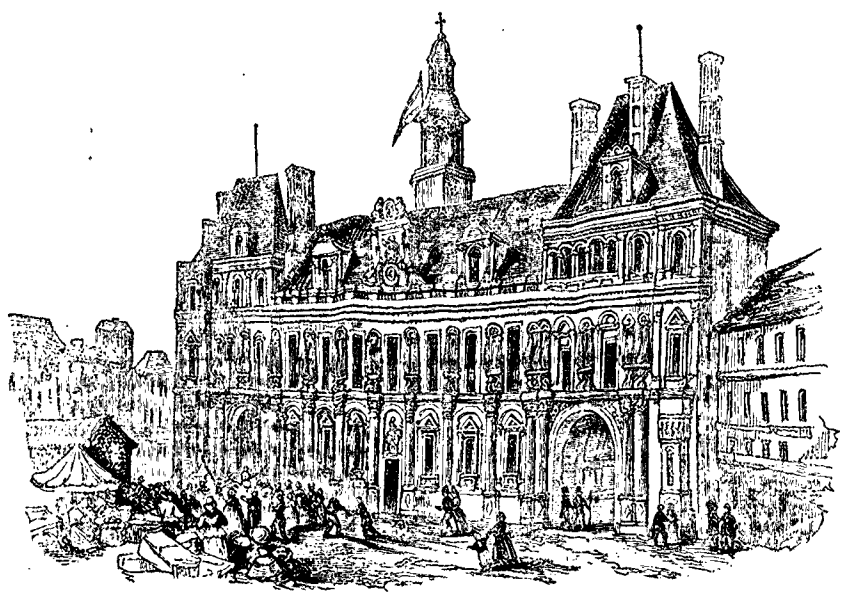
Early in the year the National Assembly transferred themselves from the archbishop's palace to the Grande Sallé de Manège, or Riding School, which had been prepared and fitted up for them, and which stood conveniently near to the Tuileries Palace, wherein the royal family continued to be watched and guarded in the most vigilant and jealous manner. As opposition was impossible, and as the king would neither attempt to escape nor adopt any other bold measure, some of his friends thought fit to advise him to do something, as if spontaneously, that should captivate the good will of the Assembly and people, and place himself, as it was called, "at the head of the revolution." The advice was condemned by others of the king's private counsellors as inept or perfidious. Gouverneur Morris addressed a note to the queen, to oppose the idea; to submit that the king had already gathered fruits, but too bitter from his intercourse with the Assembly, and that all that he had now to do was to remain quiet, and let things take their course; that disasters were thickening; that confusion would follow; and that ere long the people, disgusted with the novelties that were working so much to their injury, might be disposed to return to the king, to offer him the spoils which they had wrested from him; that then it would depend on the king alone to ensure the happiness of France—and then a constitution, securing the liberties of the nation, and adapted to its condition, might be framed. The great point with Morris was, that nothing should be done by the court at present.† But the opposite advice was adopted at court, nor can we think what was done of much consequence, or that it made matters worse, except as tending to lower the character of the king afterwards, and to give the people the opportunity of accusing him of insincerity, perfidy, and perjury. The step was taken under the impressions of alarm and fear, and the anxious trial of the Marquis de Favras, when all Paris were accusing the queen of complicity in that plot. To make the measure the more striking, the Assembly were to be taken by surprise. On the 4th of February, while the deputies were debating, the door-keepers cried of a sudden, "Here is the king, the king!" and immediately afterwards Louis entered the hall, the deputies rising and receiving him with some applause. A vast number of strangers followed the king, and, not finding room enough in the galleries, they spread themselves through the body of the house, and mixed with the deputies, even as Maillard's mob had done at Versailles. There was, however, a respectful silence when the king, followed by Necker, and by no one else, stood up near the president's chair to speak. He spoke standing, the deputies being now all seated. Louis began with representing the terrible disorders to which France was a prey, and the efforts he had made to calm those troubles and provide for the subsistence of the people. He then recapitulated the works and acts of the Assembly, declaring that he had attempted to do the same good things by means of the provincial assemblies, before they met; that he had always been desirous of reforms, &c. He added, that he felt it to be especially his duty to unite himself to the National Assembly, to the representatives of the people, at a moment like this, when they were finishing a constitution, and submitting to his approbation decrees destined to give a new organization to the kingdom. He then declared that he approved of the principles of this new organization; and that he would favour the new constitution, when it should be finished, to the utmost of his power, and consider every attempt made against it as an offence to be pursued with all the rigour of law. At these words the king was greatly applauded. He reminded the Assembly and all classes of his subjects that he had made many sacrifices; and he hoped that all those who had lost anything by the recent changes would imitate his resignation, and find a compensation for their losses in the gain and advantages which this new constitution promised to France. "For myself," said Louis, "I find a compensation that suffices me, a full and entire compensation, in the increase of the national happiness; and *it is from the bottom of my heart that I here express this sentiment!* I will then defend, I will then maintain this constitutional liberty! I will do more: *in concert with the queen, who partakes in all my sentiments*, I will prepare betimes the mind and heart of my son for this new order of things which circumstances have brought about. I will accustom him from his earliest years to be happy in seeing the French people happy, and to acknowledge for ever, in spite of the language of flatterers, that a wise constitution will preserve him from the dangers of inexperience, and that a lawful liberty will add a new value to the sentiments of love and fidelity of which the nation for so many ages has given such touching proofs to its kings." He ventured, however, to express his anxiety about the respect due to the ministers of religion and the rights of property; and even to recommend to the Assembly not to undertake too many things at once, but to reserve for a future season some of the plans and changes—"a part of

* Ann. Regist.

† This well-meant note was secretly delivered to the queen by M. Vicq. d'Azir, her physician.

the good things their intelligence suggested"—for a future and quieter season. He also represented how necessary it was to establish the authority of the executive power, without which there could be no lasting order within the kingdom, no respect abroad, and no effective government. After observing that they could not reasonably entertain any suspicion of his sincerity, the king added, "You will surely bear in mind that without that executive authority all the parts of your constitutional system must remain disjointed and without any correspondence. In occupying your minds about liberty, which you love, and which I also love, you will not lose sight of the fact that any disorder in administration, by bringing on a confusion of powers, often degenerates, through a blind violence, into the most dangerous of all tyrannies." He hoped that this day, on which he, as king, came down to unite himself with the Assembly and people in the frankest and most intimate manner, would be a memorable epoch in the history of that empire! And he concluded, "It will be so if my ardent wishes, if my earnest prayers may serve as a signal of peace and reconciliation among you. Let those who would still avoid this spirit of concord sacrifice to me all the remembrances which afflict them; I will pay them for it with my gratitude and affection. From this day let us profess, let us *all* profess—and *I* will set you the example—but one opinion, one sole interest, one only will, attachment to the new constitution, the ardent desire of the peace, happiness, and prosperity of France."* The applause was tremendous; and as soon as the king had taken his departure, to be reconducted to the Tuileries by a shouting multitude, all vowing and swearing that now, indeed, he merited his title of restorer of French liberty, a vote of thanks, not only to his majesty, but also to the queen, was proposed in the Assembly and carried by acclamation. Forthwith a deputation was appointed to carry up the address; and when the deputation returned the House and the galleries were charmed with the account of their most gracious reception from the king, and also from the queen, who had met them with the little dauphin in her hand. Before the enthusiasm grew cool, somebody from the tribune, or among the deputies on the benches, suggested that, as the king had so solemnly promised on his part to be true to the constitution, they, the members of the National Assembly, ought, on their parts, to swear to be so. The proposition was adopted by acclamation; and there immediately began a wholesale swearing to a constitution which was not yet finished—a strange oath indeed! The president swore first—"To be true to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the king." Every deputy was to take this oath separately and distinctly; and there followed a loud, quick, running fire of *Je le jure!*—I swear it. Before the deputies had done swearing the people in the galleries began to swear; and the crowd in the body of the house, and the mob out of doors, began to swear, so that nothing was heard for a long time but sonorous *Je le jure! Je le jure!* In the evening mayor Bailly and the committees and all the municipals took the oath in the Hôtel de Ville, and another mob took it in the

* Hist. Parlementaire.



Hotel de Ville, Paris. From a View by Lespinasse.

Place de Grève, but in a more regular and formal manner than the crowd in and about the Grande Salle de Manège, for, on the suggestion of Danton, "that the public would like to partake," Bailly, with an escort of twelve municipals, stepped out to the front of the building, stretched out his hand, pronounced the words, and took the *jures* of the people, with a thunder of rolling drums and with shouts that rent the air. Then in the streets of Paris the people "spontaneously formed groups and swore one another." Every square, street, and alley was illuminated. The revolution was surely safe now! The illumination was continued through a series of nights; for, not contented with the spontaneous irregular swearing which took place on the day and the night of the 4th in all parts and corners of Paris, the districts would swear separately and in a more formal manner, and each district, after it had done swearing, had a particular illumination of its own. The professors of the universities, schools of medicine, &c., paraded the streets with their students, who were so exuberantly riotous that they could not be quiet even in taking oaths, but broke people's windows and heads, all out of love to the constitution which was to be made, and which was to make every man happy and free, except such monsters as dared to differ in opinion with the patriots! In imitation of Paris, every city, every commune or municipality, every mob in the kingdom took the oath; from the British Channel to the shores of the Mediterranean—from the sand-hills of Dunkirk to the Pyrenees and the mightier Alps, was one prolonged, continuous echo of *Je le jure! Je le jure!*

Surely the constitution must be safe now. Alas, no! In a week or two the old doubts and suspicions were revived, and, while the court alleged, in private, that no sign of confidence would satisfy the Assembly,—that no friendship and affection could restrain the Assembly and the people from carrying the revolution farther,—the Assembly and people openly proclaimed that the queen and the aristocrats were plotting against the revolution and constitution; that no faith whatever could be put in the court, who were corresponding with the Count d'Artois and other royal or noble emigrants, and urging them to make haste with their levies of mercenaries and their foreign armies. A royalist and religious reaction began to manifest itself in several parts of the south, where the new philosophy had been somewhat slow in taking root, and where, in a good many districts, the common people and bourgeoisie were determined royalists and bigoted Catholics, prompt to take offence at the least injury or insult offered to their priests or to their faith. These Frenchmen were not even sufficiently enlightened to regard otherwise than with horror the full toleration granted to their countrymen of the Protestant profession; and it was fanaticism that chiefly led to riots and disturbances in Nîmes, Montauban, and two or three other towns where the Hugonots were rather numerous. It is necessary to be impartial: the French Protestants, who had embraced in the beginning the Calvinistic branch of the reformation, had carried the national heat and intemperance into their religion, often provoking persecution, which, without any sacrifice of principle, they might have avoided; and since the commencement of the revolution they had been extravagant in their admiration of it, and rather too much in the habit of coupling Catholic priests with kings as the curses of mankind. They fought downright battles with the Catholics in various places; and, this time, being aided by the patriots, the Protestants, in most instances, obtained the victory. The Catholics, before this, had sent addresses to the National Assembly, lamenting that the monarchy was in danger, and demanding that, in the midst of changes and reforms, their religion should be declared the national faith, the religion of the state. The revolution party accused all these zealous Catholics of the south of being in league and correspondence with the Count d'Artois and the court of Turin; and there is no doubt that many of them were in communication with the princes beyond the Alps, though they required no such incentive to disaffection and insurrection. The national guards of other districts, where the revolution was more acceptable, suspected some of the governors of towns and other officers of plotting with the Count d'Artois and the zealous Catholics for a counter-revolution. In Marseilles these civic *militia* assaulted and took, not without considerable carnage, the castle and all the forts, driving out the king's officers, and making the troops swear to the constitution which was to be made. At Valence, on the Rhone, about midway between Lyons and Avignon, the national guards and the town mob rose against the Vicomte de Voisins, the commandant, accusing him, in the first place, of punishing an artilleryman who was a good patriot and member of the branch Jacobin club, and next, of a horrible design to put the citadel in a state of defence and turn its guns upon the town, in order to favour the advance of the Count d'Artois, at the head of an army of Piedmontese and Savoyards. The vicomte might have defended himself in the castle; but the municipality of Valence invited him to meet them in the church of St. Jean, in order to justify himself and tranquillize the people; and he went to the church, as if fearing no mischief. But on his way back, almost on the threshold of the church, in spite of the escort of four officers of the municipality, he was assaulted, shot, stabbed by two knives, and dragged through the streets in triumph by the people. Other excesses followed closely upon this assassination: the hot men of the south—*les hommes du midi*—were let loose upon one another, with all their passions, old antipathies, and grudges, like a set of rabid wolves, excess provoking excess, murder a retaliation in murder. It was not without reason that Mirabeau's brother, the barrel-bellied

royalist and vicomte, mounted the tribune and announced to the Assembly that the civil war had begun, that the whole south was getting into flames!* It was in the gay and pleasant valley of the Rhone that a beginning was made to those federations which so materially forwarded the plans of the Jacobin club. People there thought themselves nearest to danger, and federated in order to defend themselves against foreign invasion, and the rising of the fanatic Catholics and royalists who were scattered over Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, in the Venaisin, and more particularly about Avignon, and whose numbers were exaggerated by fear and suspicion. The idea had been suggested in various places in the south, towards the close of the year 1789, but the first place that actually federated was the little town of Etoile, on the Rhone, where, in the preceding month of November, the municipality, the national guards, and people of the town and surrounding country bound themselves by oath, sworn in public to the accompaniment of drums, fifes, and trumpets, and feux de joie, to stand by one another in whatever storm might happen. The people of the larger neighbouring town of Montélimart took the cue, and, besides making a federation of their own, affiliated or federated themselves with the brave men of Etoile, swearing, "in the face of God and their country," to be true to one another, to liberty, and to the National Assembly, even unto death. When these associations, entered into by armed men, and by numerous towns in rapid succession—for the train, when once laid, ignited and ran along the land like gunpowder—the National Assembly, instead of taking into consideration the inevitable result, were transported with joy at these spiritedly patriotic demonstrations, and they encouraged the federates to go on with their work. Lafayette gave the federations the sanction of his great name, and recommended the associations to the people of Auvergne and Bretagne. They spread more rapidly than ever after the universal oath taken to the unfinished constitution recommended by the example of the National Assembly, on the famous 4th of February: towns federated with towns, districts with districts, whole provinces or departments with departments—for provinces were no more, new-modelled France being mathematically divided into *départemens*—and all taking the same oath to stand by one another, by the Assembly, and by all the laws it had made, *or might hereafter make!*

The discussions in the Assembly continued to be storms and hurricanes whenever any opposition was attempted on the part of the feeble, trembling minority. Only Abbé Maury seems to have preserved his boldness, archness, and address. Towards the end of March they took into consideration the very important question of how and when their own powers were to cease; for, when they met as

Abbé Maury. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

States General, no common fixed term had been settled, or rule taken to regulate and terminate their sitting; and, as for the royal prerogative of prorogation or dissolution, they had not, for the present, agreed to submit to it. In fact, they held that they were a *convention*, and that, as such, the king had no right to dissolve them. Some of the *cahiers*, or written powers which deputies to the States General had received from their constituents, did, indeed, bind them not to sit longer than a year, and eleven months of that time had already elapsed: but these were only exceptions, and, besides, all the *cahiers* had been annulled by their own votes soon after they had declared themselves to be a National Assembly; and they had, moreover, bound themselves by their oaths in the Tennis Court at Versailles, not to separate until they had *finished* the constitution. Some deputies, however, hazarded a hint that, as the constitution was all but finished and perfected, and as the people of France were assembling to elect new municipalities and magistrates according to the new scheme of organization, it might not be improper to intimate to the electors that they did not intend to sit for ever, but wished the said electors to select other deputies to take their places in the Assembly. Abbé Maury, putting himself in a patriotic attitude, urged that it was highly necessary to take the sense of the people, and that the Assembly could not pretend to occupy the place of the nation without the nation's consent, or prolong powers which were only temporary when given. He demanded to know by what right the Assembly had invested itself with the attributes of sovereignty? The distinction they drew between a constituent power, which they pretended to be, and a legislative power, which their successors were to be, when it should please them to permit their election and give place to them, he treated as an absurd

* Gabriel Honoré, the great orator, said of his brother the vicomte, "The fellow might pass for a scoundrel and a wit in any family but ours!" The fat vicomte, who really had wit, used to say, when reproached for being so frequently drunk, even in the Assembly, "My friends, this is the only vice my brother left for me." One evening as he was going into the palace to pay his court to the king's old aunts, the usher of the apartments mistook him in the dusk for Monsieur the king's brother (afterwards Louis XVIII.), who was equally fat and heavy in his walk, and, throwing open the door, announced him as "*Monsieur frère du Roi.*" "It is only Monsieur brother of King Mirabeau," said the vicomte, rolling into the room, and setting all the circle laughing.—*Dumont.*

and chimerical distinction. He attacked the term *convention*, and the sense they gave to the word. He asked when they had become a convention? A sovereign convention, he thought, could only exist in the wreck or absence of all government. If the Assembly were really a convention, they ought to dethrone the king, and declare the throne vacant!* Mirabeau rose to muzzle this terrible abbé. "We are asked," said he, "when the deputies of the people became a national convention? I answer, it was on the day when, finding the entrance to their hall blocked up by soldiers, they went and united themselves in the first place they could find (the Tennis Court) to swear to perish rather than betray or abandon the rights of the nation. Our powers, whatever they were before, changed their nature on that day. Whatever may have been the powers we have exercised, our efforts, our labours have legitimated them: the adhesion of the whole nation has sanctified them. You all remember the saying of that great man of antiquity who had neglected legal forms to save his country. Being summoned by a factious tribune to say whether he had observed the laws, he replied, 'I swear that I have saved the country!' Gentlemen, I swear that you have saved France." At these words there was a universal enthusiasm, or, what the French writers call, "a sudden inspiration;" the discussion was closed, and they decreed that the electoral assemblies met in the provinces to choose their new municipal magistrates should not occupy themselves about the election of new deputies to the National Assembly.† In other words the present deputies declared that they would continue to sit as long as they should think proper. Thiers is delighted at their decision. Mignet says, that, if Abbé Maury could have succeeded in his bold attempt, in invoking the sovereignty of the people, the aristocrats must have gained a great advantage thereby; but, considering the lengths to which the thoroughly democratic spirit of the revolution had already been permitted to run, we can scarcely adopt Mignet's opinion, or, in fact, believe that any appeal to the people at this time, any new election, or any other merely mortal measure, could have prevented the revolution from finishing its mad course. The aristocrats, as all men were called that had some name and property, had no influence left that could have told on the re-elections: a great part of the real noblesse and of the clergy had already emigrated, or were living in constant alarm, and afraid to show themselves in any scenes where the people were likely to be excited.

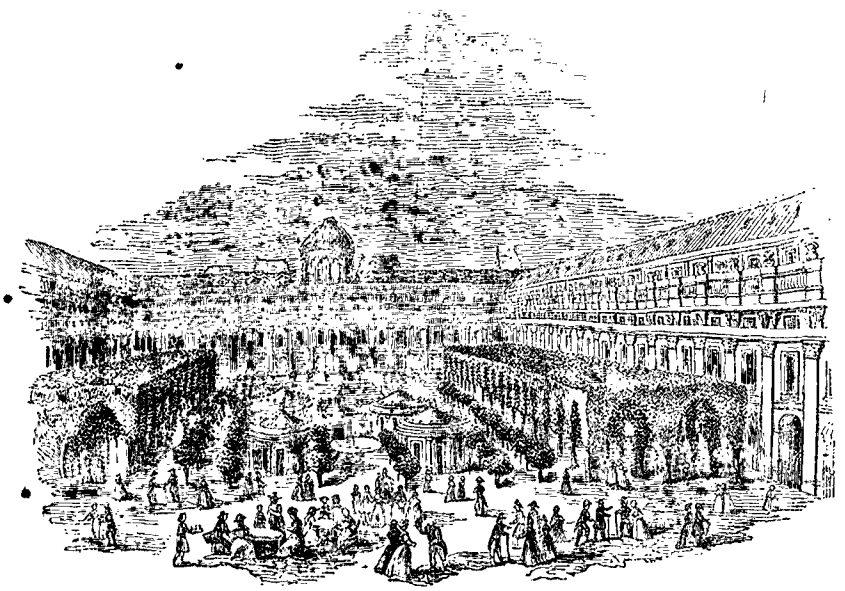
The National Assembly, though they could decree for themselves an indefinite period of political existence, could scarcely, even at this moment, control the political clubs. The Jacobins installed in the Rue St. Honoré, close to the Salle de Manège where the deputies sat, made thunder that was more pleasant and acceptable to the popular ear than any they heard—except now and then from their favourite Mirabeau—in the National Assembly, or Constituent Assembly, as it was now more generally called; and the Parisians frequently deserted the galleries in the riding-school to crowd the hall of the Jacobin friars. The new lay brothers that occupied the place, and were preparing for a fraternity of blood, were already in the habit of discussing the same state questions as the Assembly, contriving generally to be a day or two before them. As they went into bolder extremes, their debates, votes, and decisions were almost always more highly prized than those of the deputies; and, whenever there was any wide difference between the Assembly and the Jacobin club, the people espoused the views adopted by the club, declaring, in their way, and very expressive dialect, that messieurs the deputies were little better than a set of scoundrels or noodles, who, taking very incorrect notions of things, were attempting to slacken the march of the revolution. In their hall the Jacobins' president had his *fauteuil* and his hand-bell to ring to order, just like the president of the Assembly; and out of doors they had their journal which published regularly all their debates, harangues, motions, and projects. It could not but happen that in brief process of time the Assembly should be overawed by their near neighbour the club, and stand in greater dread and fear of it, backed by the faubourg St. Antoine and nearly all the Paris districts, than they had stood in of the court and a regiment or two of soldiers at Versailles. The most violent members of their own body, with Robespierre at the head of them, were members of the Jacobin club, and very constant attendants on all the grand field days: there they received from the hot popular breath the kind of inspiration they loved, and there they harangued with far greater freedom and force than in the riding-school, for as yet, in the Assembly, there were some rules and limitations, and a well-educated minority, who possessed the manners and spirit of gentlemen, produced some check and embarrassment. The name of Lafayette was soon pronounced in this club in a manner not at all flattering to his vanity, and was occasionally coupled with remarks and comments well calculated to excite uneasiness; and that other great man Mayor Bailly fared no better than Lafayette.* To check this terrible influence, Lafayette

* Thiers.—Hist. Parlement.

† Thiers.—Mignet.—Marquis de Ferrières.

* "The prime object of this celebrated club," says Lafayette himself, "was to lessen his—*i. e.* Lafayette's—influence with the national guards and the municipalities of France, and to establish, in direct opposition to every civil or military corps intended for the preservation of legal order, a society of informers and disorganisers. Such was the principal bearing of their plan: it was managed by a committee from the Jacobin club in Paris and all its affiliated clubs in the provinces, who all finally referred to the Messieurs de Lameth. Among their measures of detail we need only quote the one termed by themselves the *Sablat*, that is to say, an association of ten men devoted to them and all Jacobins, who received the order of the day, each man being bound to deliver it afterwards to some one of the ten battalions of the Paris national guard, so that all the battalions and sections received at the same moment the same proposal for a tumult, the same denunciation against the constituted authorities, the president of the department, the mayor of Paris, and the commander-in-chief of the national guards."—*Note of Lafayette on the Messieurs de Lameth and their friends, in Memoirs and Correspondence published by his family.*

and Bailly thought that nothing better could be done than to get up a counter-club, to be composed entirely of *respectabilities*—of enlightened men, nay of the *most* enlightened men—*des hommes les plus éclairés;* that is to say, of men who thought about politics, and about things in general, as Messieurs Bailly and Lafayette thought. "Constitution and public order," said Lafayette, rather too late, "must be our motto and the rallying cry of all good citizens." About a hundred subscribers were found, and on the 12th of May the club was formed: it bore at first the name of the club of Eighty-nine, but it soon took that of the *Feuillants*, from the convent of the monks of that name (a subdivision of the order of St. Bernard) in which it held its meetings. Soon after their establishment they celebrated the event and the anniversary of the 17th of June, the day on which the States General had declared themselves a National Assembly, by giving a grand dinner at an hotel or coffee-house in the Palais Royal. One hundred and ninety members of the club met at table: among them were Sièyes, Chapelier, Talleyrand, Barrel-Mirabeau, and, as a matter of course, Bailly and Lafayette. Among visitors of distinction that were invited was General Paoli the Corsican, who had left England for France in the delusive hope that the new French liberty, philosophy, philanthropy, and the rest of it, would restore freedom and happiness to his native island, and convert even the rude shepherds and the very banditti of Corsica into blessed constitutional subjects, being governed or governing themselves even as the English people among whom he had lived so long. The club dined to music: a choice orchestra was stationed in the room; the day was fine—a gay bright day of June—and the windows were all thrown open, so that the multitude in the Palais Royal might hear the music and the toasts. Still farther to charm the mob or to conciliate the masters of them all, Lafayette, Bailly, and the most distinguished members of the club presented themselves from time to time at the balconies and windows, "and



Palais Royal. View by Lespinasse.

saluted the public, who, in return, applauded them."* Nor was this all the popular part of the exhibition or entertainment: those rough patriotesses the Dames des Halles, who had played so important a part in the revolution, sent up a deputation, which was admitted into the banqueting room with all due honours, and listened to with deference and attention. We have again to regret that the eloquence of these ladies has not been reported. We have no doubt in our own minds that there must have been a great deal more substance —*beaucoup plus d'étoffe*—than is to be found in the patriotic couplets composed for the occasion of the festival by M. Piis, and which were sung out at a window to the patriots and patriotesses in the Palais Royal. This song was, in very truth, what it has been called by a man of wit and of infinite humour—one of the feeblest songs ever sung.* "Indeed," says a French compiler, "it is impossible to think well of a political meeting that could

* Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française.

* Thomas Carlyle, French Revolution.

consent to hear so pitiable a song."* This *Feuillant* club was born dying, and, though it survived for some time, it never had strength sufficient to stand upon its legs against the Jacobin club—it never, after this feast in the Palais Royal, was anything but an object of derision with the people. But at this moment the great Jacobin itself, hot and lava-like as it was, was not sufficiently hot and quick in its eruption to satisfy the temperament of some of the revolutionists, at whose head stood Danton and Camille Desmoulins. These patriots accordingly branched off into the club of Cordeliers, and continued separate for a while, until the temperature of the Jacobin was raised, when they returned to the mother bosom, and there remained as one and indivisible. The Cordeliers took their name from another order of monks, in whose salle or hall they established themselves. Danton, their real chief, was, at the beginning of the revolution,

DANTON. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

a poor, friendless, unknown lawyer. He had brought himself into notice by his harangues in the city section to which he belonged, and by his writings in newspapers. He was a tall, brawny man, with a harsh, daring, and striking countenance, terrible black brows, and a voice like that of Stentor, or, perhaps, still more like that of the Marquis de Saint-Huruge, whose louder notes were compared to the bellowing of a bull. This voice, this colossal figure, this daring visage seem to have been Danton's greatest advantage; but he, nevertheless, possessed a very considerable portion of real eloquence, as also a greater aptitude for business than was common to the French orators of the day. He already ruled the whole section or quarter to which he belonged, his voice was all-potential in the Cordelier club, and it ought to have been easy to perceive that he was on the high road to revolutionary promotion, that he would soon be one of the greatest men in all France. Danton was in fact a sort of plebeian Mirabeau, rougher and coarser, and more vulgar, as suited the progress of a drama like the present, wherein those who played the first parts in the first act were not at all fitted to play any part, except as mere victims of the guillotine, in the succeeding and closing acts. Danton's fire and energy were at least equal to Mirabeau's: we should hesitate in saying that his genius was inferior; and there was this difference between the two men,—nearly everything in Danton was his own, while nearly everything in Mirabeau belonged to some other man. The most noted of the Paris prostitutes that went with Maillard to Versailles to bring the king and court to Paris, was a constant attendant at the Cordelier club, for the debates in the Jacobins seemed to her a great deal too tame, and she was besides much attached to Camille Desmoulins. *Mademoiselle* Théroigne—as she is still courteously and complaisantly styled by French writers—was not a French woman, but a native of Luxembourg: she had received some education, was fond of books, but evidently mad. She had been a principal actress in nearly every émeute that had taken place since the beginning of the year 1789; and to her seductions the sudden defection of the regiment of Flanders was chiefly attributed. She not only attended, but she also harangued in the Cordelier club. Whenever Camille Desmoulins was brought into trouble by Lafayette, Bailly, and their respectabilities, the voice of this dark lady was sure to be heard. Camille Desmoulins has left upon record the first speech of the Luxembourg oratress, pronounced in the district of Cordeliers, in the swearing month of February, when she went like other citizens and citizenesses to take civic oath and swear to the constitution which was to be made. Through the eloquence and agency of Danton, the whole district, which was named in early times after the monastic order in whose hall the club now sat, had become the holy-land of the Paris patriots, and an asylum and refuge to all that feared the respectabilities. "I had taken my own oath," says Camille, himself as mad as the Demoiselle, "and was going to retire, thanking God, if not, like Doctor Pangloss, for being in the best of possible worlds, at least for being in the best of possible districts, when the sentinel at the door called to the porter on duty,

* Hist. Parlement.—It may not be amiss to give a specimen of this wretched platitude. Here are four verses of it.

AIR—*Des dettes.*

Les traitres à la nation
Craignent la fédération;
C'est ce qui les désole:
Mais aussi depuis plus d'un an,
La liberté poursuit son plan;
C'est ce qui nous console.

L'instant arrive, où pour jamais
Vont s'éclipser tous leurs projets;
C'est ce qui les désole:
Et l'homme va pour jamais
Rétablir l'homme dans ses droits:
C'est ce qui nous console.

Il arrive souvent qu'au bois
On va deux pour revenir trois,
Dit la chanson frivole:
Trois ordres s'étaient assemblés,
Un sage abbé les a mêlés;
C'est ce qui nous console.

Quelques-uns regrettent leurs rangs,
Leurs croix, leurs titres, leurs rubans;
C'est ce qui les désole:
Ne brillons plus, il en est temps,
Que par les mœurs et les talens:
C'est ce qui nous console.

and the porter on duty announced to the president that there was a young lady that insisted absolutely on entering the hall. It was thought she must be a petitioner or supplicant; and it will be understood that among Frenchmen and Cordeliers no opposition was made to her entrance. But it was not a supplicant, but one that came to deliver her opinions — it was the celebrated Mademoiselle Théroigne, who came to demand permission to speak and to make a motion. There was but one voice, and that was that the lady should be admitted. At the sight of her an enthusiasm seized one of the district men, who exclaimed, 'It is Queen Sheba coming to see the Solomon of districts;' 'Yes,' rejoined Mademoiselle Théroigne, 'it is the renown of your wisdom that has brought me amongst you. Prove that you are Solomons, that to you is reserved the task of building the temple, and hasten to construct a temple to the National Assembly. This is the object of my motion. Can good patriots any longer endure to see the executive power lodged in the finest palace in the universe, while the legislative power dwells under tents, now in the Menus Plaisirs, now in a Tennis-Court, now in a Riding-School, like the dove of Noah, not finding ground to rest its feet? The last stone of the last dungeon of the Bastille has been removed: the ground on which the Bastille stood is vacant; a hundred thousand workmen are wanting work. Why do we delay?

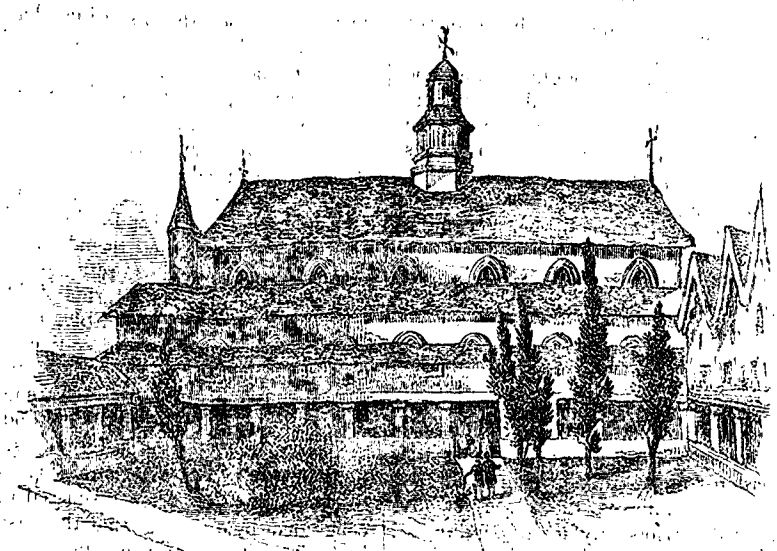
Armed Parisian Citizen. French Print.

Hasten then and open a subscription for building a palace for the National Assembly on the site of the Bastille. All France will eagerly second you; she only waits the signal; give it her: invite all the best workmen, all the most celebrated artists; open a competition for architects; cut down the cedars on Mount Lebanon, the fir trees of Mount Ida. Ah! if ever stones ought to move of themselves, it cannot be to build the walls of Thebes, but to raise the temple of liberty. It is to enrich, to embellish this edifice that we must part with our gold and our jewels: I will myself give the first example. You have been told that the vulgar are captivated by the senses; they must have external signs to attach them to their worship. Turn away their eyes from the pavilion of Flora, from the colonnades of the Louvre, to direct them upon a basilicon more beautiful than Saint Peter's at Rome or than Saint Paul's in London. The veritable temple of the Eternal, the only one worthy of him, is the temple wherein has been pronounced the Declaration of the Rights of Man! Frenchmen in the National Assembly, re-vindicating the rights of man, and of the citizen! that—that is the spectacle, without doubt, upon which the Supreme Being looks down with complacency!"* The oration of the Luxembourg and Palais Royal Aspasia was received with enthusiasm. When the fury of applause was somewhat calmed several members of the district discussed the motion, and concluded by agreeing that the basilicon ought to be built, that a committee ought to be appointed to draw up a report, and that an address conformably should be sent to the fifty-nine other districts of Paris, and to the eighty-three departments into which the realm was now divided. The Demoiselle then demanded to be admitted a member of that district assembly, and to have a deliberating voice—*voix consultative*—therein. The district assembly—the very proper Solomons for a fille de joie to come forth for to see—determined, after due deliberation, that thanks should be voted to that excellent citizeness for her motion; that, since a canon of the council of Mâcon had formally recognised the fact that women have souls and reason like men, they could not interdict their making so good a use of it as the Demoiselle had just done; that it would always be free to Mademoiselle Théroigne and to all of her sex to propose here whatever they might believe to be advantageous to the country; but that with regard to the state question—*question d'état*—whether the Demoiselle Théroigne should be admitted a member of the district, with deliberating voice only, that assembly was incompetent to decide.†

Another great motion-maker and orator in the Cordelier club was Fabre d'Eglantine, homme de lettres, from Carcasonne, who had tried besides the various professions of painter, engraver, music-master, actor, and had failed in them all, but most notably as an actor. He was closely connected

* Camille Desmoulins' newspaper, as quoted in Histoire Parlementaire.

† Hist. Parlementaire.—A committee was actually appointed by the Cordelier district-men, consisting of Paré president, Danton ex-president, Fabre d'Eglantine vice-president, Camille Desmoulins and Dufournoy de Villiers; and an address, with a fraternal salutation—*salut fraternel*—was drawn up and sent to all the departments, "to all the regenerated people of the north, south, east, and west, to all Frenchmen, now all equal, all brothers, all active citizens." In language nearly resembling that of the Théroigne, the district of Cordeliers called upon the regenerated to contribute to the building up of a temple, worthy of the splendour of the capital, worthy of the majesty of the French people, worthy of the philosophy of the age, worthy of liberty. The proclamation, however, remained without any results, for no money was ever subscribed. The revolution was a mighty builder—but only upon paper; and nearly all her statues were of wax or of plaster of Paris.



THE CORDELIER CLUB-HOUSE. From a View by Champion.

with Danton and Robespierre, and was very active in newspaper work. He will soon re-appear much greater and more pre-eminent; for he, like Danton, was well fitted for some of the after acts of the drama! In this club-world of Paris there was also a monarchic or royalist club, styled *Club de Monarchiens*, which consisted of men of high name, and which could boast splendid apartments and damask sofas; but its hours were already counted: such a society could not possibly be allowed to exist in a land of liberty.

Terrified at the power of the Paris districts, the National Assembly reorganised the municipality, and decreed that, instead of sixty districts, there should be forty-eight sections, properly dependent on the great municipal body representing the whole of the city, and sitting in the Hôtel de Ville. It was said with perfect truth that the sixty district assemblies were becoming so many independent republics. Robespierre had strongly resisted the change, insisting that danger to liberty and the revolution was not yet blown over, and that the royalists and aristocrats had not ceased from plotting. The speech he had delivered was typical of Robespierre's future career: "In this city," said he, "the sojourn of principles and of factions so opposite, we must not rely on ordinary resources for guarding against what may threaten liberty. The majority or generality of this city must preserve their work and yours. Reflect where you are—in what a moment!—Although you have done a great deal, you have not yet done all. I dare to say it, you ought to be now as uneasy and anxious as if you had never begun your work. Who among you will guarantee that, without the active surveillance of the districts, more efficacious means might not have been adopted by your enemies to retard your operations? Let us not be seduced by a calm which may prove deceptive. Peace must not be the sleep of carelessness. I will dwell no longer upon the matter. I believe I may conclude from the little I have said . . . . . What do I say? little? I have already said too much for those who desire to see the people in a state of nothingness."* Camille Desmoulins supported Robespierre in his journal, for he had now a whole newspaper to himself. "All *republicans*," said Camille, "are thrown into consternation by the suppression of our sixty districts . . . . . What harm have the districts done? Is it not to them that we owe the revolution? As for noise and confusion, it must be confessed that they have been found more frequently in the National Assembly itself than in the sixty districts altogether. What speaks still louder in their favour is the fact that their majority has always voted for the patriotic interest. Can we say as much for the National Assembly, where the black ones have carried more than one signal victory? Oh, my most dear Cordeliers, farewell then to our president's hand-bell and fauteuil, and to our tribune re-echoing and filled by illustrious orators! They are going to melt the sixty districts *into forty-eight* sections; they wish that the very name of district should perish, that formidable name which would recall to the Parisians their glory, the taking of the Bastille, and the expedition to Versailles!" Camille accused Bailly of duplicity and treachery, and told him very plainly that he must not hope to continue long mayor of Paris. Against Abbé Maury, who had taken a large share in the debate, Camille was still more spiteful. "It is known," said he, "that sculptors have taken the brazen forehead of Maury to represent Impudence; and if they would take him from head to foot, the abbé is the hieroglyph and emblem of the seven mortal

* Hist. Parlement.

sins. There was wanting in the list of his perfections the quality of drunkenness, but last Friday he was drunker than Vicomte Mirabeau." Decency forbids our quoting the rest of the passage. In this fashion did the patriots begin already to call themselves openly, and in spite of their oaths to a constitution which, when made, was to recognise royalty, republicans. In the National Assembly a feeble effort was now and then made to support the kingly dignity. In a debate on the great question whether or not the power of declaring war should be part of the royal prerogative, Robespierre, who spoke for the negative, said it was incorrect to call the sovereign the representative of the nation; that the king was nothing but the servant and delegate of the nation—*le commis et le délégué de la nation*—to execute what the nation willed. He was called to order by several members; but, in explaining, Robespierre reaffirmed that the king could only be considered as holding a supreme employment, "the sublime charge of executing the general will;" and that the power of war and peace ought to rest in the Assembly, in the legislative body, which could never abuse it. Like other orators of the same party, he argued that, if the power of the sword were only taken from kings, and given to the people and their representatives, wars would be at an end for evermore. In their eagerness to deprive the sovereign of every shadow of authority they forgot, or they did not choose to dwell upon, the fact, that wars are not to be made without money, and that, so long as the representatives of the people had the sole control of the public purse, no hostilities could be undertaken or prolonged without the concurrence and approbation of the people through their representatives. Eight or ten days were employed in discussing this question; and many of the members who were far from entertaining the same general views as Robespierre and his party joined with them in denouncing the royal prerogative of war and peace. During the debates the Riding School, now the Hall of the Assembly, was constantly surrounded by the mob, and the gardens of the Tuileries close at hand were crowded with a most noisy multitude. This gave great occupation to Lafayette, who put all his national guards under arms, so that the neighbourhood of the royal palace and of the Assembly, the temporary temple of liberty, was bristling from morning till night with thousands of bayonets. Mirabeau, on the sixth day of the debate, ventured to recommend that the power of peace and war should be nicely divided between the representatives of the people and the sovereign; that the king, or the executive power, should be allowed to declare war, the legislative power reserving to itself the right of continuing the war or demanding peace, as circumstances might require. He was instantly attacked by Barnave, who hated him and envied his popularity, and who proclaimed that there would be an end of all liberty if Mirabeau's proposition was adopted. Barnave was applauded by the galleries, and carried home in triumph by the people; Mirabeau was held up as a traitor, was accused of having basely sold himself to the court; and a pamphlet, entitled "Grand Treason of Count Mirabeau," was cried through the streets of Paris with terrible uproar. According to Fréron, one of the fire-and-sword journalists, the schoolfellow of Robespierre, and who was destined to eminent republican honours and places, and to execute a mission which bathed the south of France in blood, several persons told the deputies, as they were entering the hall on the following day, that they had pistols well loaded for Mirabeau if his conduct and discourse were not altered.* Those who pretended to accurate information named the precise sum for which the count had sold himself; it was, according to them, just 400,000 francs, which he had received from the minister. More than a hundred thousand Arguses had their eyes upon him. It was a critical moment; and so much the more critical, as Mirabeau had really been for some months receiving considerable sums of money from the court, and had himself betrayed the secret by his luxurious and most extravagant way of living. But orators can do great wonders, can perform miracles among a people who prefer rhetoric to reason, take their passions for their guides, and act on the impulse of the moment. Mirabeau mounted the tribune, shook his long black mane in the presence of an immense multitude crowding every part of the House, and swore he would only descend with death or victory. "I too," cried he with his sonorous voice, "I too have been carried in triumph; and yet to-day they are crying through the streets the 'Grand Treason of Count Mirabeau!' I had no need of this example to remind me that it was only a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock." He then proceeded with a torrent of words to show that his proposition and Barnave's amounted to the same thing; that the attacks upon him proceeded from jealousy and malice, from vile calumniators who had sucked the milk of courts and received the benefactions of the queen—intending hereby more particularly to designate the Lameths, who were at present closely united with Barnave. He reproached that fluent orator for indulging in culpable rivalry, when all patriots ought to live together like brothers in arms. He adroitly introduced, as he had often done before at a pinch, some loud-sounding commonplaces against tyrants or kings; and he enchanted the galleries by talking of the scaffold and the axe. "You have no longer to fear," said he, "that a rebel king, in making war against your will, and thus abdicating, will expose himself to the risk of running from victory to the block." D'Espréménil, the ex-parlement patriot, who yet lingered at his post, called Mirabeau to order, and reminded him that the person of the king had been declared inviolable: but the galleries and

* Fréron's paper, "L'Orateur du Peuple," as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

the greater part of the Assembly rapturously applauded the orator; and from that moment his life was safe. The constitutional question, however, was settled in a way somewhat different from what he had proposed. According to the decree which was finally passed, the king and the nation shared between them the power of war and peace; the king was to dispose of the armed forces, was to notify to the Assembly any commencement of hostilities, was to convoke the Assembly if it were not sitting at the time, and propose to them a decree of war or peace; the Assembly were to deliberate on the king's express proposition, and the king was to sanction and adopt whatever conclusion the Assembly came to. "If," wrote the terrible Fréron, "the right of war and peace had been granted solely to the king, there would have been an end of it! Civil war would have broken out on Saturday night or Sunday morning, and Paris would have been now swimming in blood. At midnight the tocsin would have called the citizens to arms; the palace of the Tuileries would have been delivered up to the flames; the people would have taken under their protection the monarch and his family; but Saint-Priest, but *Necker*, but Montmorin, but La Luzerne—all the king's ministers—would have been lanterned, and their heads have been promenaded upon pikes through the capital. Only figure the crimes which such a night would have covered with its shades! Massacres, robberies, the sound of bells, the roar of artillery, the rattling of arms, the glare of torches, the horror, the confusion, the cries of women and children! not a single aristocrat would have escaped from the fury and resentment of the people, who would have made of all of them a grand sacrifice, a solemn hecatomb to the constitution!" This infernal screech-owl, who put forth these comments two, or at most three, days after the excitement and the decisive vote, would not yet forgive Mirabeau. "We advise the count," said he, "to march straight in the paths of patriotism. If on Saturday last he had not retraced some of his steps, all his eloquence would not have saved him from a cruel fate ..... He had good reason to say that there was only a step from triumph to death. O Mirabeau! Mirabeau! less talent and more virtue, or beware of the lanterne—*gare la lanterne!*" * Such were the oracles and advisers of the French people; and this journalist, Fréron, was intimately connected with no inconsiderable portion of the National Assembly, and was, in due course of time, to be himself a member of the National Convention. Other journalists were as bad as he; and Marat, who wrote "L'Ami du Peuple," was, if possible, worse. Among them they kept up the excitement for weeks. As for the royalist papers and the moderate papers, they were all suppressed for a time by the violence of the people, who threatened to lanterne all who wrote in them, or printed, published, or sold them. A bookseller named Gattey was surrounded in his house, and only escaped destruction by solemnly engaging not to publish or sell any more royalist pamphlets; and the office of the "Gazette de Paris" was broken open, and type and everything in it destroyed. Several houses occupied by aristocrats, or suspected of giving shelter to disaffected priests, were broken open or besieged. Abbé Maury and Barrel-Mirabeau had more than one narrow escape for their lives. Lafayette had a hard time of it, and so had his white charger, for he was constantly galloping hither and thither to put down émeutes, and prevent the mob from decorating the lanterne with daily victims. The people had taken it into their head that the officers of justice were very lax in their duties, and that the Châtelet court was in the habit of releasing prisoners that ought to be hanged, in order to clear the crowded gaols and save trouble. On one occasion the mob seized three fellows that had stolen some silver forks and spoons in a cabaret or pot-house, and carried

A MOB CITIZEN OF PARIS. French Print.

them to the Marché Neuf or New Market of the Faubourg St. Antoine, to try them and deal with them in their own way. This Paris rabble had learned, from their frequent attendance in the galleries of the Assembly, in the Jacobins, and other clubs, the forms and ceremonies of deliberative assemblies; and they made on all occasions some sickening parody of what was but monkey-work in the original. They deliberated in the market-place, and put the fate of the three thieves to the vote. Some thought that it would be over rigorous to hang them for an offence which the laws of the country only visited with the punishment of the galleys. The observation made some impression on the multitude; but a little lawyer of the Faubourg begged to observe that, though the law only punished such offences with the galleys for the first time, it decreed pain of death for the second time; that these three rogues had probably been guilty

* L'Orateur du Peuple.

of the like theft before now; that nothing was heard talked of in Paris but robberies, continual robberies; that property was no longer in security; that the tribunals no longer pursued even murderers and assassins; that the butcher that killed a man in his wife's bed-room had not yet been either condemned or acquitted; that the Swiss soldier who had killed one man and wounded two others in a brothel had not been judged yet; that the Prince Lambesc, who had charged the people on the Sunday before the capture of the Bastille, had not yet been hanged, although for the last six months the Châtelet Court had been incessantly promising to hang him within a week; and, finally, that, though it grieved him in the spirit, he found himself forced by the prevarications of the Châtelet to recommend the lanterne in the present case. This harangue settled the matter, and the fate of the three thieves. Two of them were instantly hauled up to a lamp-iron in the Marché Neuf, and the third, "being very difficult to hang," had his brains knocked out. The thing could not have been done more expeditiously in old Constantinople. In less than an hour the trio had been taken, judged, and executed, without confession.* These summary executions were regretted by the moderate and enlightened directors of public opinion, chiefly because the victims were not priests and aristocrats. "It was afflicting," says the gentle Camille, "to see the use of the lanterne becoming too common, and serving for the chastisement of thefts and petty offences, instead of being reserved, as it ought to be, for the crime of treason against the nation, and in cases wherein the people have recourse to their own martial law. . . . . The mischief of it is, the people are familiarizing themselves with these sports. . . . . Twenty-four hours after the death of the three robbers, another thief was taken *in flagrante delictu*, and hanged on the spot. He was dangling from a lanterne, twelve feet from the ground, when a cry was set up, 'Here is Lafayette! Lafayette is coming!' In an instant the hangmen let go their rope, and let the rogue fall on the pavement. Some people picked him up. He was not quite dead, but he was not worth much more than a corpse. M. de Lafayette, whom I wish I could praise more frequently, certainly showed a good deal of firmness on this occasion; he ran almost alone up to the place of execution, and had the courage to expose his own life for that of a thief. He arrived at the moment when some fellows were knocking the thief on the head; he seized with his own hand the fellow that struck the last blow, and carried him himself to the Châtelet prison. After getting his captive locked up, he returned into the midst of the mob, and preached to them. 'That robber,' said he, 'would have been condemned by the law to be branded, to stand in the pillory, to go to the galleys, or perhaps he might have been hanged. . . . . You are assassins!' The people listened very quietly, then shouted Vive Lafayette! and separated, saying to one another, 'Parbleu, the commandant is right.'"* Mayor Bailly represented all these things to the National Assembly, explaining how great was the trouble it cost him and Lafayette to prevent these lanternings. Several honourable deputies thought that the operations of the people were very natural, seeing that the courts of justice would neither try nor hang, and that a number of villains guilty of high treason against the nation, or of other capital offences, were not only liberated, but sent out of prison with money in their pockets—with money given them to make mischief and disturb the peaceful patriots. Bailly himself said he had heard say that money had been given to enlarged prisoners in this way. A M. de Vilas was quite sure, not only that the brigands were paid, but also that poor people were paid twenty sous a day to go a begging in the streets, in order to make the distress appear greater than it really was, and so bring discredit and unpopularity upon the revolution, and hatred and vengeance upon those who had made it. Another honourable deputy said that he knew that the committee of research had received letters from Nice in the king of Sardinia's dominions, and from Turin, the capital city of that sovereign, where the Count d'Artois and so many of the emigrants had taken up their residence, announcing as certain that a great many beggars had been sent from those cities to inundate Paris. M. Talon, who, besides being a deputy of the Assembly, was a member of the Châtelet Court, endeavoured to excuse the slowness of its proceedings. Formerly, he said, the maximum number of prisoners for trial was about 350; but now it exceeded 800. The new forms of procedure permitted much less celerity than the ancient ones. Under the old system eight trials had been begun and finished all in one morning; but under the new system it was difficult to get through two trials. Since counsel had been granted to prisoners, there were no more confessions of guilt to shorten the process; since witnesses had been examined in public, they deposed much more slowly and with more circumspection than before. The Assembly ordered that Talon's discourse should be printed; and Mayor Bailly and the municipality issued a proclamation, forbidding the people to take the law into their own hands, or do any more lanterne work. Yet this very proclamation contained insidious hints and even open accusations that were fitted to excite the mass of the people to still more terrible deeds of vengeance against the court, the king's ministers, the aristocrats, or the priests, or against all these suspected classes in common. It also took care to throw a friendly veil over the old Parisian ferocity. "Do not the people see," said Bailly and his municipals, "that by these excesses they are serving the enemies of the revolution, who cannot fail to contemplate with pleasure frightful disorders which will make the revolution hateful to those who con-

* Camille Desmoulins' newspaper, as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

* Camille Desmoulins' newspaper, as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

found the licentiousness it sometimes gives rise to with the liberty which it ought to secure to us for ever? But no, the municipality cannot believe that it is the people of Paris, the real citizens, that voluntarily commit such culpable acts of violence. A crowd of foreigners and of vagabonds infests the capital. They are paid to injure us, to disturb everything. We are informed that money has been scattered in the design of keeping up a dangerous fermentation; and, but for the continual vigilance, the sustained efforts, the indefatigable patriotism of the national guards, the gold which has been prodigalised to men without principle, without a country, without any other resource than crime, might perhaps have overthrown our constitution which is building. These are facts of which the good people of Paris ought to be fully warned."* We leave our readers to make their own reflections on these proceedings and on this precious proclamation. To assist their conclusions, we may merely state that the suspension of nearly all trade and industry continued, that a very large part of the populace were without work, and directly encouraged in their excesses by many of the journalists and by some of the clubs.

The 5th and 6th of October of the preceding year—the days on which the mob marched to Versailles and brought the king to Paris—began in a manner the reign of the Jacobins: it was no longer liberty, but equality, that became the aim and object of the revolution; and the inferior classes of society began from that time to gain, by rapid strides, ascendancy and dominion over all.† As a necessary and indispensable sacrifice to this Moloch equality, followed the annihilation of all titles of nobility, of all names derived from estates, of all aristocratic prefixes or affixes, of the particle *de*, which was considered to establish a damnable distinction between man and man; and, in short, the abolition and destruction of hereditary nobility, and of every kind of hereditary honour, now and for evermore. The hatred of the people to gentlemen had burst forth in the very first days of the revolution; it had gone on increasing ever since, and that legislative act, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, had long seemed to call for a practical realization. One warm evening in the month of June, and in a moment of great fermentation, a deputy mounted the tribune in the Riding-School, and proposed abolishing hereditary nobility, titles, &c. It has very generally been said and written that the motion was made by a member of the very ancient and very noble house of Montmorency. According to the Histoire Parlementaire it was made by M. Lambel, deputy from Ville-Franche de Rouergue, and seconded by M. Charles de Lameth, a man of noble birth, who declared that titles were destructive of that equality which formed the very base of the constitution they were making; that titles were derived from the feudal system, which the Assembly had destroyed; that titles could not be allowed to exist without committing an absurd anomaly; that hereditary nobility shocked reason and wounded true liberty, &c. Lafayette, who followed Charles de Lameth, said, "This motion is so essentially necessary that I do not believe that it has any need of support: I announce that I adopt it with all my heart." The Marquis de Faucault reminded the Assembly that a similar proposition had been made at Versailles on the famous 4th of August, and that then the noblesse were told the nation was but too happy to be enabled to establish and confirm such recompences to merit. Lafayette rejoined that, henceforward, it would be more proper to say "Such a man has served or saved the state," than to say "Such a one has been made noble for serving the state." M. Goupil de Préfeln, a lawyer from Alençon, told the Assembly that he had been reflecting for a very long time on the propriety of doing away with all such distinctions, and that he had got the project of a law all ready in his pocket, and, with their permission, would read it to them. After Goupil had read his project, Lafayette took him to task for proposing that the title or address of Monseigneur should be left to the princes of the blood-royal. "How!" exclaimed the French Scipio Americanus, "In a free country there are only citizens and public officers. I know that great names are necessary to the hereditary magistrature of the king. But why should we give the title of prince to members of his family, to men who are in my eyes nothing more than citizens with votes." The Count de Faucigny professed that he had ever been a steady friend to liberty and equality; but he thought that the question before them ought not to be carried precipitately that night—ought to be adjourned at least till the following morning. He even ventured to hint that, when they had destroyed the distinctions of nobility, there would remain other distinctions equally alien to a perfect equality—that when there were no more ducs, marquis, comtes, there would remain bankers, stock-jobbers, money-lenders with their two hundred thousand crowns of yearly income. M. de Noailles, who belonged to the high nobility, but who shared nearly all the sentiments of his relative Lafayette, thought that the Assembly had already wasted time enough on the question; thought that all kinds of titles were the frivolous children of pride and vanity, and ought to be annihilated. "Let us," said he, "no longer acknowledge any other distinctions than those of virtue, wisdom, and valour. Do we say Marquis Franklin, Count Washington, Baron Fox? No! We say plainly Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Charles Fox; and those names require no titles—those names are never pronounced but with admiration." The Count de Noailles finished his speech by calling the attention of the Assembly to footmen and livery servants, "a class of citizens until now humbled and debased;" and it was he that demanded that no more liveries should be

* Hist. Parlementaire.

† Madame de Staël, Considérations sur la Révolution Française

allowed in the land. Abbé Maury made a daring speech against these innovations. "In France," said he, "the noblesse is *constitutional*: if there is no longer a nobility, there is no longer a monarchy. Might we not say to those who so furiously demand all these abrogations of rank what was once said to a proud philosopher?—'You trample upon pomp and pride, but with still more pride and pomp.' The question is sufficiently important to call for a deliberation by daylight. I demand that it be adjourned till to-morrow morning." For this boldness he was sharply rebuked by M. de Montmorency. Barnave demanded that the question should be settled for ever before the House rose; and Lafayette seconded him. Abbé Maury demanded to be heard again; but there arose a terrible tumult in the hall and in the galleries; and the abbé was obliged to descend from the tribune. After a good deal of nonsense had been ranted by various deputies, the bold abbé ventured to speak again, and even succeeded in obtaining a hearing for a very few minutes. "Every line, every word of your project," said he, "proves the necessity of an amendment. You say that nobility proceeded out of feudality; this is an extreme ignorance. Nobility existed two hundred years before fiefs ..... (here he was interrupted by loud murmurs). I say that nobility existed in the kingdom long before fiefs. Before the conquest of the kingdom by the Franks, an hereditary nobility existed among the Gauls. Read the commentaries of Cæsar. There you will see the names of the chief Gauls existing as a noblesse ..... (a louder roar from the galleries interrupted him). I entreat those who would refute me to hear me! Cæsar says that he always beat the infantry of the Gauls, but never their cavalry, because their nobility only served in their cavalry. There was an order of knights among the Gauls; if it had not existed, the Romans would have introduced it, because the knights at Rome were distinguished from patricians and from plebeians ..... (here he was interrupted by thousands of voices demanding that the question should be instantly put to the vote). I say, I repeat, that it is not wise to destroy without discussion an institution which is as ancient as the monarchy." ..... Here he was told that he must not recommence the discussion; and, hooted, hissed, cursed by the galleries, Maury left the Hall—feeling, as we imagine, his pockets to be sure that his pistols were there. The Marquis de Loncôme attempted to declare that he must protest against these precipitate resolutions; but his voice was drowned by the tumultuous galleries. The Comte de Montlausier was not more fortunate; nor could any one of the noble deputies that wished for delay and circumspection obtain a patient hearing. No noble of the popular party—and there remained very few nobles in the Assembly but were, or pretended to be, of that party—durst refuse his support to the motion, which was carried by acclamation. And, before they rose that night, the following irrevocable decree was passed:—"The National Assembly, considering that hereditary nobility cannot exist in a free state, enact, in consequence, that the titles of duke, marquis, baron, excellency, abbé, and the like, shall be abolished; and that all citizens whatsoever shall take in future their family and patronymic names; that no one shall, in future, cause liveries to be worn by his servants, or bear a coat of arms or escutcheon; that the title of my lord (Monseigneur) shall never be given again to any individual," &c. The Assembly called this decree "the triumph of Reason over Prejudice." They sent it up immediately to the king for the poor form of the royal assent. In the king's council of state only Necker, a plebeian, a republican, a man born and bred in a democratic republic where titles were unknown, and where the magnates were bankers, traders, and opulent watchmakers, condemned and resisted the decree, and advised Louis not to sanction it. But the king had made up his mind to sign without distinction whatsoever decrees the Assembly thought proper to send him: his present system was to make the world consider him in a state of captivity and coercion—in which in fact he was, and had been ever since the 6th of October. If he had taken Necker's advice and rejected the decree, which for a moment was as dear to the people as the Declaration of the Rights of Man, or as the apple of their eye, could Necker have guaranteed the palace of the Tuileries from an attack like that which had been made upon the palace of Versailles? If Louis had said there must be such words in the language as prince, duc, marquis, would not the people have said so much the sooner that there should be no such word as *roi*? The decree, passed on the night of the 19th, received the royal assent, if so it could be called, on the 21st of June. In virtue of this decree Count Mirabeau became plain M. Riquetti, the Marquis de Lafayette M. Mottié, the most noble Montmorency M. Bouchard, &c. This was robbing France of her history, and no man, however democratic, ought to have consented to renounce the name and the memory of his ancestors in this strange fashion. The very next day the reporters and the journalists, who had been violent advocates for the change, began to speak of all the noble deputies by their family names—by names that were little known even to the French people, and altogether novel, cacophonous, and unintelligible to foreign nations. Mirabeau, anxious for his European celebrity, was excessively indignant at this decree and at the newspaper people. Approaching some of the journalists in the House who had called him Riquetti the elder, instead of Count de Mirabeau, he said to them in a fury, "With your Riquetti you have puzzled all Europe for three days!" This encouraged many individuals to resume instantly the names of their fathers—the names by which they had always been known; and the people, who had in a manner to learn a new language to be enabled to call men according

to the decree of the Assembly, willingly and almost of necessity disregarded the law, calling Mirabeau Mirabeau, Lafayette Lafayette, and so on with all men or names of note. The titles, however, were all dropped except in the aristocratic societies of the Faubourg St. Germain, and the particle *de* was wholly relieved from one of its services. Necker put the advice or memoir he had presented to the king into a brochure or pamphlet, and boldly published it in Paris, together with various reflections which were exceedingly unpalatable, but not unwise or even ineloquent. Necker now saw very clearly that the reign of the Jacobins was beginning, and would be most despotic. Nobody, however, except his own daughter, could ever possibly have attempted to praise his foresight in this particular; for he only saw the fact when it was evident to all the world, except some few scores of Frenchmen that were absolutely mad with vanity and conceit.

In the course of the same day and night on which the Assembly abolished hereditary rank and titles, and passed their anathema on coats of arms and livery coats, there was a great deal more of popular and mob-exciting nonsense of a similar tendency. A long and earnest debate took place on the propriety of instantly removing four figures of men in chains sculptured on the base of the statue of Louis XIV., and intended to represent Franche Comté and three other provinces which the grand monarch had annexed to France, or, in the language of his flatterers, had conquered. Alexander Lameth thought it monstrous to leave these figures to insult the brave citizens of those provinces, in a land of liberty and equality, where all Frenchmen, of whatsoever province, were equally free citizens. "A free people," said he, "can never tolerate such a spectacle of men in chains: these monuments of pride cannot exist in the reign of equality." Madame Genlis's husband, and d'Orleans's friend, M. de Sillery, suggested that the legend or motto impressed upon guns and cannons, ULTIMA RATIO REGUM, should be effaced, as kings—French constitutional kings at least—had no longer the right to make war of their own accord; and as the artillery belonged, not to the king, but to the nation. There was also a long discussion about the rewards and honours due to the conquerors of the Bastille; and those most troublesome heroes were admitted to the bar of the House. Camus, the Jansenist, was principal orator on this topic. He assured the conquerors that their great exploit had eased the Assembly of a great deal of work; and thought it was now time for the Assembly and the nation to signify their gratitude for such inestimable services. He read the project of a decree, according to which the Assembly was to promise to every one of the conquerors of the Bastille a complete suit of uniform and a complete set of arms; each sabre to bear inscribed on the blade, "Given by the Nation to A. B., conqueror of the Bastille;" also an honourable brevet expressive of the gratitude of the country; also an honourable brevet to the widows of such as had fallen in the attack: [this was cheap gratitude; it might have been thought that these widows, who must have been very few in number, would have preferred a small pension, or some assignats, with which bread was then to be bought, to a bit of paper that would buy nothing:] also that, at the first great national festival which was to be held, a seat of honour should be reserved to these heroes, in order that France might contemplate at its leisure the first conquerors of liberty; and after mentioning that their names were to be inscribed in the archives of the nation, the project of decree ended with saying, that the National Assembly reserved to itself the right of taking into consideration the cases of such as might be entitled to pecuniary gratifications. It was adopted by acclamation. As soon as these conquerors had retired, a deputation from the federation of the national guards of Chartres were admitted to the bar, and there demanded permission to deposit on the table of the Assembly the solemn act by which they had bound themselves to live and die faithful to the nation, law, and king; and as soon as this was granted, and they had withdrawn, another deputation presented themselves from the federated national guards of Tours, who made a speech or speeches about that old tyrant Louis XI. and his iron cages, felicitating themselves on the indisputable fact that tyranny and cruelty had disappeared for ever from the soil of France. This Tours deputation had scarcely left the bar ere the president announced, with a solemnity of manner and an emphasis of voice befitting the grand occasion, that there was now going to appear at the bar a deputation composed of Englishmen, Prussians, Sicilians, Dutchmen, Russians, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Italians, Spaniards, Brabançons, Liegeois, Avignonois, Swiss, Genevese, Indians, Arabs, Chaldeans, &c. &c. This was by far the most bombastical farce of this whole evening or night of the 19th of June, 1790. But before proceeding we must say a few words upon the life and character of the chief comedian, Clootz, who has already been slightly introduced to the reader's notice as one of the innumerable correspondents of our great Burke. Anacharsis Clootz, or, as he was named by those who were his sponsors at the christening font, John Baptist Clootz, was a baron, a subject of the King of Prussia, and a native of Cleves, where he was born in 1755. He was nephew, and was to have been heir, to that well-known paradoxical writer Pauw, canon of Xanten, in the duchy of Cleves, whose madness and dogmatical turn were fortunately confined to literature. The young John Baptist was sent to complete his studies at Paris at a time when the new philosophy was getting into vogue, and when many rectors, professors, and teachers in the universities and schools thought they were teaching young Frenchmen how to be like ancient Greeks and Romans. Clootz became an incurable classical, substituting a strange sort

of theism, which gradually became atheism, for the religion in which he had been born and bred. Being ashamed of bearing the name of him who cried in the wilderness, he changed John Baptist into Anacharsis; and, like the Anacharsis of Abbé Barthelemy, he set forth upon his travels to examine the manners, laws, and customs of different peoples. He visited England, and made himself known here by the extravagance of his opinions and of his expenditure: he travelled through Germany, Italy, and other countries, finding nowhere a government comparable to that of the ancient republics, and spending his money so fast, that when, at the aurora of the revolution, he returned to Paris, he appears to have had little left to live upon except his wits—and all his wits were first cousins to madness. He was as sincere in his republicanism and democracy as insanity and want could make him; and, as in the case of the Marquis de Saint-Huruge, the flights of his disordered mind passed with Paris mobs and clubs for inspiration and genius. The National Assembly was by this time little better than an enraged club; but it has been supposed that there was some meaning in their countenancing and encouraging Clootz's madness. Though they talked so loudly of braving all the crowned tyrants in Europe, they were not without their apprehensions of a coalition of kings to liberate Louis XVI. from his thraldom and re-establish him on his throne and in the former absolutism; and they considered that it would be possible and very politic to make those sovereigns tremble at home for their own thrones, to appeal from them to their subjects, to insinuate the belief that their revolution was essentially of a cosmopolitan character, already dear to such Englishmen, Prussians, Germans, Russians, Poles, &c., as had taken a near view of it, and were in a place where they could freely express their opinion, and that their Rights of Man would soon enfold, in ample illimitable embrace, all the nations of the earth that had the slightest pretension to civilisation. In these views Anacharsis Clootz's farce, though so very ludicrous, might indeed be considered as very significant. As soon as the president had done announcing the deputation, and pronouncing the names of the nations, a very motley group appeared at the bar; and "M. the Baron de Clootz of Val-de-Grace, Prussian, and orator of the committee of foreigners"—for such was the style and title by which he introduced himself to the Assembly who were just going to abolish all titles—having obtained the necessary permission, put himself into a proper attitude and began a long oration, the ostensible object of which was to ask for mankind in general—*tout le genre humain*—permission to assist at the grand festival to celebrate the federation of all France, which was to be held in Paris in the month of July at the Champ de Mars, "on the very spot," said Anacharsis, "where the Emperor Julian trod underfoot all prejudices (*i. e.* the Christian religion), and where Charlemagne surrounded himself with all the virtues." "Gentlemen," continued the great Clootz, "this civic solemnity will not be the festival of the French alone, but the festival of all mankind! The trumpet that sounds the resurrection of a great people has echoed to the four quarters of the globe, and the songs of gladness proceeding from a choir of twenty-five millions of freemen have awakened the nations that were sleeping in a long slavery. The wisdom of your decrees, Gentlemen, the union of the children of France, this ravishing spectacle, gives bitter cares to despots and lively hopes to their oppressed subjects. A grand thought had struck us, and may we dare to say that this idea will give a completeness to your great national day! A number of foreigners from all the countries of the earth demand to be allowed to range themselves in the midst of your Champ de Mars, and the cap of liberty which they will raise, with transports shall be the pledge of the approaching deliverance of their unhappy countrymen and fellow-citizens. The Roman conquerors in their triumphs dragged the people they had conquered behind their cars; and you, Gentlemen, by the most honourable of contrasts, you will see in your train freemen whose countries are *in chains*, but will soon be free through the influence of your unshaken courage and your philosophical laws! Our prayers, our wishes, our homage, are the ties that will attach us to your triumphal car. Never was there a more sacred embassy than this! Our letters of credit are not written upon parchment; but our mission is engraven in indelible ciphers upon the hearts of all men, and, thanks to the authors of the Declaration of Rights, those ciphers will no longer be unintelligible to tyrants. Gentlemen, you have acknowledged in a formal authenticated manner that all sovereignty resides in the people: now the people are everywhere under the yoke of dictators who call themselves sovereigns in spite of your principles. The dictatorship is usurped, but the sovereignty is inviolable; and the ambassadors of the tyrants can never honour your august fête as we can do, we whose mission is *tacitly* avowed by our countrymen, those sovereigns under oppression. What a lesson for the despots! What a consolation for their poor unfortunate people, when we shall inform them that the first nation of Europe, in collecting its banners, has given the signal of French happiness to both worlds! Gentlemen, we attend, in respectful silence, the result of your deliberations on our petition, which has been dictated by the enthusiasm of universal liberty!".* But the enthusiasm of the galleries and of the vast majority of the assembly had not allowed Anacharsis Clootz to finish his oration without many interruptions: when he had done it seemed as if roof and walls of the great Riding-school must be cracked and rent by that thunder and hurricane of applause. The president very soon informed Clootz, who from this time assumed the name of The Orator of Mankind.

* Histoire Parlementaire.

—*l'orateur du genre humain*—that the National Assembly willingly permitted him and the rest of the foreigners to be present at the festival of the federation of all France in arms; but upon one condition—which was, that when they returned to their own countries they should relate to their fellow-citizens all that they had seen. When the president had finished, a Turk begged leave to speak; but, in the phraseology of the reporters, "the difficulty with which he pronounced French did not permit one to retain his discourse." We believe that this Turk was of the nature of those masquerade Turks that bamboozled M. Jourdain with their "Se ti sabir," "Anabatista zuinglista Coffita," "Joc, joc, joc," "Brimina Moffina Zurina," "Star bon Turca Giourdina." * The Indians, the Arabs, the Chaldeans, and the rest appear to have been merely what are called, we believe, in our theatres, "walking characters," that is, people who are not hired to talk, but merely to strut across the stage with a given dress upon them. The fellow that played Chaldean stopped a M. de Biancourt, whom he mistook for M. de Liancourt, another deputy who was probably in the secret, as he was going into the Assembly a day or two afterwards, and told him that he had called in vain at his house. M. de Biancourt protested that he had not the honour of his acquaintance. "Not know *me!*" said the fellow; "You must know me very well." "No, friend," said the deputy, "indeed I do not." "Why," said the fellow, "I am the man that did the Chaldean, and am come for my twelve livres." †

The grand fête, the universal federation of which Anacharsis Clootz had spoken, had for some time been announced by the National Assembly, and had been definitively fixed for the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. The federations in the provinces had begun without the knowledge of Lafayette, and had gone on in most places without any acknowledgment of his weight and influence; but he lays claim to the honour of being the first to conceive the notion of a general federation and a national festival in Paris. We are little disposed to question his claim, and would willingly leave him all the honour derivable from such a political measure, which went directly to tell the armed people of France that they were the absolute masters of the kingdom and of everything in it: but it is necessary to mention that the famous Abbé Fauchet, who preached the memorable sermon in the church of St. James of the Butchery, and there told the people that it was the aristocracy of old that had crucified the Son of God, also put in a claim for the glory of having conceived this federation. The Assembly decreed that the directors of all the districts of the kingdom should order the commandants of their respective national guards to assemble their citizen soldiers; and that the citizen soldiers themselves should choose six men out of every hundred to repair to the chief towns of their districts, and there choose one man from every two hundred to go to Paris before the 14th of July, to represent on the Champ de Mars and in the general federation the corps to which he belonged. The Assembly, moreover, appointed a special committee of federation, which was to regulate everything connected with the great spectacle and the grand coup d'état; and this committee forthwith issued an address to all the people of France, as if they wanted this additional excitement. The address was very like Anacharsis Clootz's speech, and quite as republican. "Yes," said the Assembly, "we are brothers, we are free, we have now one country. Too long bent under the yoke, we assume at last the proud attitude of a people that have learned their proper dignity. . . . . We are no longer Bretons, Angevins, Parisians, &c.; but all Frenchmen, all brothers, all equals. How beautiful will be the day that is to witness the alliance of all Frenchmen! A people of brothers, the regenerators of the empire, a citizen king, rallying, by a common vow, round the altar of the country: what a new and imposing spectacle for the nations of the earth!" The committee of the Assembly resolved to prepare the Champ de Mars in a safe and splendid manner, and to make on either side, and along the whole length of the oblong, elevated terraces, or banks of earth, on which the spectators might stand with more security than upon wooden platforms, which, in Paris, always broke down. The earth to form these banks or parapets was to be taken out of the area itself, which was to be hollowed and nicely levelled. All this was to be done in a very brief space of time, for it was the 22nd of June before the committee published a proclamation to contractors and workmen; but, as there was little other work to do, as Paris and the neighbourhood were swarming with idle hands, 25,000 men were presently collected on the spot; and as the grand day approached thousands of the enthusiastic patriots, of better condition, took up spade and mattock and joined the common day-labourers, ennobling their occupation by comparing it to work which Roman consuls and generals had not disdained to perform. The Paris national guards attended to the number of three or four thousand a day, each of their sixty battalions furnishing a given number. The fashion spread—it became quite a rage—even the gentler sex and young men of bon ton joined in the toils, which, as of necessity, were intermingled and lightened with singing and dancing, love-making and gallantry, eating and drinking. An enthusiastic eye-witness writes, "What variety! What movement! What ac-

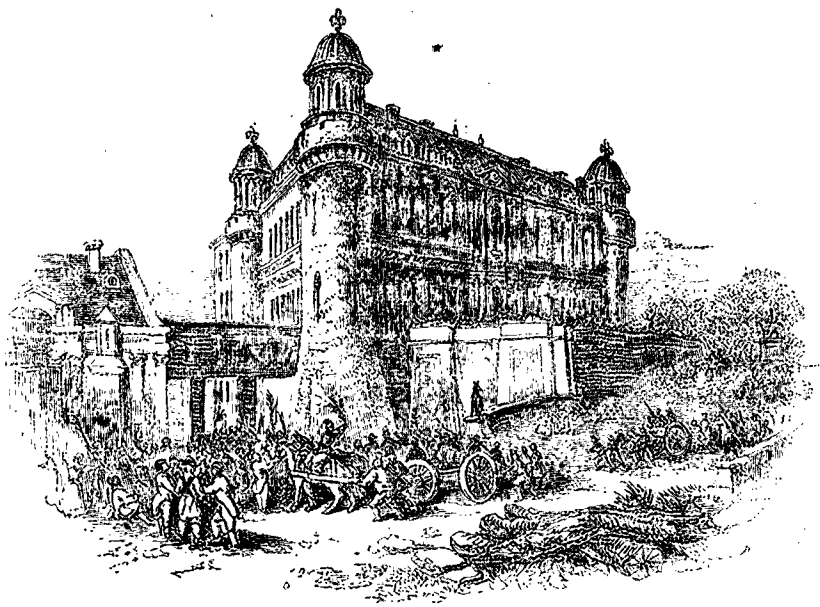
* Molière, Bourgeois Gentilhomme.

† Journal Politique.—The grossness of the whole representation did not prevent people, who must have been as insane as Clootz himself, from wasting a deal of sympathy and admiration upon it. An English contemporary annalist says, with seeming seriousness:—"The patriotic feelings of the Assembly were raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm, by a deputation of foreigners from every nation, who came to testify their respect for the new constitution, in a warm panegyric, and to request a seat at the ensuing solemnity. They were answered by the president with dignity, and dismissed with respect." —*A History of the French Revolution.*

tivity! What a magnificent scene! Never did the eyes of man behold anything grander, gayer, more touching, more generous! Towards evening 60,000 individuals are running, labouring, exciting one another, and toiling on with joy. The earth moves under their multitudinous efforts. The air re-echoes with encouraging shouts and with national songs. One sentiment animates this vast family of citizens. Joy is painted on every visage; tears of tenderness steal from the eyes of all spectators. In these moments of hilarity, I have seen, at one time, all working near me, a Benedictine monk, a young lady with her father and mother, students, schoolboys, veterans, invalids. I remarked an inhabitant of the town of Luzarches, who had come seven leagues to take part in the labours; and he assured me that many men had come from a much greater distance. I also saw two aged dames, whose dress announced their serious religious character, joining their hands, raising their eyes to heaven, and exclaiming, 'It is a miracle of God! It is the work of Providence.'"* The Marquis de Ferrières, a deputy of the Assembly and a member of the federation committee, has left a still more rhetorical account of this digging in the Champ de Mars:—"People in easy circumstances, people in indigence, people well dressed, people in rags, old men, children, comedians, Swiss, clerks, shopmen, were there all working together, offering to the astonished eye a scene full of life and movement. Ambulatory taverns, portable shops augmented the charm and the gaiety of this vast and ravishing picture. Songs, cries of joy, the roll of drums, the inspiriting sounds of military instruments mingled with the noise of pickaxes and spades, rolling wheelbarrows, and the voices of the labourers. . . . . The soul felt itself overcome by the weight of a delicious intoxication at the sight of all that people who had returned to the sweet sentiments of primitive fraternity. As soon as the clock strikes nine the mixed multitude separate into groups; every citizen joins the section of the city to which he belongs; the foremost bands begin to march off, and by degrees they all return into Paris, preceded by lighted torches, drums, and fifes: *from time to time they give vent to some sarcasms against the aristocrats; and they go home singing,* '*Ca ira, Ca ira!*'"† According to other and less enthusiastic accounts these *sarcasms* were partly expressed in a very significant manner. They could not, in all this jubilation, and in all these gay summer-labours, when the cheerful sun and the bright blue heaven ought to have tranquillised their spirit, get rid of, or keep out of sight, the old Parisian ferocity. There were things and circumstances that recalled the bloody memory of Robert Lecoq, Stephen Marcel, and the Paris butchers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of the voluntary labourers in the Champ de Mars marched in separate bands, composed exclusively of the trade or calling to which they appertained, and each of these trades was distinguished by its banner and its motto. The bakers' banner bore the words, "The last sigh of the aristocrats;" the printers' banner the words, "Printing, first torch of liberty;" other corporations had other devices, such as, "Live free, or die;" "The slaves of despotism are become the darling children of liberty;" but the flag of the butchers carried the threatening inscription, "Tremble, aristocrats! Here are the butchers."* Lafayette thought it necessary to pay a visit to the heterogeneous labourers in the Champ de Mars, to dig a little with a spade, and to wheel a little way a barrowful of earth—in which performance he was enthusiastically applauded. That the suspicion which sharpened the ferocity might not sleep in this high jubilee, uncomfortable reports were spread, in the manner recommended by the yellow-faced priest in the Barbier de Seville. It was at first whispered or intimated by shrugs and gestures, that Paris, always an object of envy with the provincials, might expect terrible things from the sudden arrival, and union within her bosom, of all these provincial national guards. Then danger was announced under more definite and positive forms; and by degrees a great number of persons thought it would be wise to quit the capital, and a still greater number that it would be prudent to be on the alert, and ready to take vengeance on the strangers or the aristocrats in case of anything going amiss during the national festival. Some of the patriots took it into their heads that the catacombs, or subterranean stone-quarries, extended under the Military School and the Champ de Mars, which was close by that edifice; that the queen and the aristocrats had been cramming that particular part of the excavations with gunpowder, in the intention of blowing up all the federation, all the National Assembly, all the patriots, all the militia, all the people of Paris, by one tremendous mine—an explosion to which Guy Fawkes's exploit, if it had succeeded, would have been a mere popgun affair. The National Assembly or the municipality called upon the engineer who had the superintendence of all the catacombs to examine and report. The engineer reported that those subterranean stone-quarries did not extend to that point, or even near to it. But this was not satisfaction enough: he was ordered to examine with the most scrupulous attention all the catacombs, the military school, the cellars, the drains, and the subterranean water-course under it. In the course of his troglodytic pursuits many strange and unsavoury smells saluted the nose of the engineer, but he smelt gunpowder nowhere, and made his report in conformity.* Mayor Bailly and the municipality, who were otherwise put to much travail by the fête and matters connected with it, took several precau-

* Description des Curiosités de Paris, as quoted by Dulaure, Esquisses.
† Mémoires.

* Dulaure, Esquisses.
† Millin, Confédération Nationale.



CHANTILLY—MARCH OF THE PROVINCIAL FEDERALISTS FOR PARIS.

tionary steps, and issued several proclamations to counteract malicious insinuations and remove the popular alarm. In one of their proclamations they said, "Let those who pretend to be afraid go away from Paris since they wish it; let them fly from the feast of liberty, under pretext of chimerical dangers; but let the friends of the revolution remain; let them reflect that such a day is not to be seen twice." By the 11th of July the preparations in the Champ de Mars were terminated; and on the 12th the provincial deputies to the federation, having nearly all arrived, had their appointments and powers verified at a bureau erected for the purpose in the Hôtel de Ville. Lafayette, who had been honoured by acclamation with the titles of president, father, and commander-in-chief of all the national guards of France, headed a deputation of these provincials to the National Assembly, and delivered an harangue to that body. "Fear not," said he, "that this holy enthusiasm will ever carry us beyond the limits prescribed by public order. The standard of liberty will never become the banner of licence: we swear it to you!" After this honour had been paid to the Assembly, the deputation bethought themselves of the king. They were instantly admitted into the Tuileries and into the presence of Louis; and there Lafayette was delivered of another oration, in which he magnanimously swore for all the national guards of France, that their obedience to his majesty should know no bounds but that of law, and their love to him no end but with their life. The king delivered an answer written for him by his terrified ministers, and containing hollow assurances of his exceeding great joy at this general federation, and at the sight of his faithful subjects from all parts of the realm. He bade the deputation tell their friends and fellow-citizens in the different departments of the kingdom that as soon as circumstances would permit he would accomplish a wish that he had formed to visit them with his family. The National Assembly had already taken upon themselves to regulate the order of the ceremonies at the Champ de Mars, to determine rigidly the etiquette to be observed, and to fix the form of the *oath* now to be taken by the king, although the constitution was not yet finished. M. Target had—on the evening of the 9th of July—presented the project of a decree in four articles: 1. That the king should be requested to take the command of the national guards, &c., on the 14th, and name officers to execute the command in his name and under his orders; 2. That in all public ceremonies the president of the National Assembly should be placed at the right hand of the king, and without any one between the king and him; and that the deputies of the Assembly should be placed immediately at the right of the president and the left of the king; 3. That, after the oath had been taken by the deputies of the national guards and other troops of the kingdom, the president of the National Assembly should repeat the oath taken on the 4th of February; after which, each member of the Assembly, standing up, and with his hand raised, should pronounce the words, *Je le jure*, or I swear it; 4. That the king should then swear, and that his oath should be conceived in these terms:—"I, first citizen and king of the French, swear to the nation to employ all the power which is delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state, to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me, and to cause the laws to be executed." At the reading of these

articles, which pronounced in other words the absolute dethronement of Louis XVI., there arose murmurs and half-suppressed words of disgust and indignation from various parts of the House; but no one had courage to speak out, and there followed a dead silence. At length, however, the bold Abbé Maury ascended the tribune, declaring that, however dangerous it might be to express his opinion, he could not and he would not remain silent. After observing that it had been admitted that France was to remain a monarchy, Maury continued: "If there should exist in France a force independent of the monarch, France would no longer be a monarchy. The most essential principle of a monarchy is, that the supreme chief of the state should be the sole depository of the public force. I have, therefore, been sensibly affected at hearing it proposed to request the king to take the command of the troops and of the national guards. Such a proposition seems to me but little conformable to the majesty of the King of the French. Such a formula seems to indicate that we might propose to another citizen to take, under the very eyes of the king, the command of fifty or sixty thousand men. The day on which that citizen shall receive from you that command, you will have established *two* kings in France, as there were in Sparta." Here many men's hearts named Lafayette. The bold abbé went on: "This political manicheism will overthrow the monarchy. I demand then, as an amendment to the first article, that the Assembly declare that all the troops to be assembled in the Champ de Mars shall have no other chief than the supreme chief of the nation, whom the constitution declares supreme chief of the army." Here applauses rose from every side. Maury then fell upon the second article somewhat more timidly, for he knew how sensitive the Assembly were on the score of their dignity, and of what they considered the proper etiquette. "I think," said he, "that the president of the National Assembly ought to be placed at the king's right hand without any one between them, and that the deputies ought to be placed some at the right hand of the president, and some at the left of the king, who, without doubt, cannot have a more noble retinue. But in an hereditary monarchy, where it is a constitutional principle that royalty shall pass from male to male, according to the order of primogeniture, ought we not to pay a particular respect to the princes that may succeed to the crown?—Ought we not to grant a place of honour to the princes of the blood that may accompany his majesty?" Here there was loud murmuring from the galleries and from various parts of the House. The abbé said he had explained himself very badly if they understood him to mean that any one should be placed between the king and the nation. "But," he continued, "the distinctions which are granted in public assemblies to those whose birth unites them to the majesty of the throne are but an additional homage rendered to the king. Is it not known that there always exists between those blood relations and the monarch, according to the very familiar but very energetic expression of Montesquieu, the thickness of a kingdom? (*l'épaisseur d'un royaume.*) The dauphin, the spouse of the monarch, ought not they to enjoy the same honours as the monarch himself? If we were going to establish an hierarchy of *powers*, I would certainly say that there is nothing, that there can be nothing, between the king and the nation. But our present business is to honour the nation and the king, in honouring the king's family; all that we have now to settle is a mere ceremony; in which the king is not to appear for the exercise of any power." Against the third article Maury raised no objection; but he thought that the fourth ought to be altered. "I could wish," said he, "that the oath of the king of the French should not differ from the oath of all other Frenchmen..... There are oaths which are peculiar to the king, but he takes them at his coronation. What I propose will not affect the signature which you will exact from him *when our constitution is finished.* Can there be anything more proper to maintain harmony between the nation and the king than the hearing his majesty pronounce, in the midst of the deputies from all parts of France, the same oath as all the individuals that live under his empire? Such is the oath which, in my opinion, the king ought to be invited to take at the festival of the federation." The president here said that yesterday, when he waited on the king with some decrees for his sanction, his majesty told him that it was his intention to go to the federation with his family and his principal officers. In the debate which followed upon Maury's speech—for, if the abbé had not spoken, there would, apparently, have been no debate at all, but a vote by acclamation—M. Cazalés, the brave dragoon officer and constitutional royalist, attacked with great vehemence what he denounced as the absurdity and the indecency of prescribing the form of oath. He contended that to impose any oath different from what his own free will should suggest would give to the king the character of a mere party chief. The groans and murmurs were terrible; and, while some called upon the president to call the orator to order, others demanded what he meant by this phrase, "party chief." "I say what pleases me," rejoined Cazalés, "I owe no explanations to any man. I will repeat what I said: any other oath will give to the king the character of a mere party chief." Here a voice of thunder exclaimed, "President, do your duty! Call him to order." Nevertheless Cazalés continued: "I know how to submit to the decrees of the Assembly when they are passed; but, before they become laws, I say of them what I think." And after some further argument he concluded by moving that the first and the last of the proposed articles should be rejected, and that at the festival of the federation a distinguished place should be assigned to the princes of the blood. Dupont de Nemours gave

the aid of his eloquence to the same side; but all was of no effect. The first article was left to stand as originally drawn up: the second was amended, but the very amendment was conceived in embarrassing and insulting terms—it was to this effect; "His majesty shall be begged to give his orders that the royal family be placed properly" (*pour que la famille royale soit placée convenablement*): the third article was adopted without any change: the fourth article, concerning the king's swearing, was also adopted by a great majority, and without any alteration except the suppression of the words "first citizen." *

The soberer part of the republican citizens of the United States of America that were staying at Paris at this time had as little reverence as Gouverneur Morris for the bastard republic the French were building up, and they retained the national English shyness and aversion to making theatrical figures of themselves; but there happened to be another set of Americans—a set who believed that George Washington was an aristocrat, and, in heart, as great a despot as King George—a set that thought that their own constitution wanted a little French tinkering, and that the American Declaration of Rights was a poor, tame, defective thing compared with the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. It grieves us to say that two born Britons—one Englishman and one Scot—were at the head of these political fanatics; but the two were renegades, and one a traitor who had been covered all over with the blood of his countrymen. They were Thomas Paine, the staymaker, the disaffected exciseman, the secretary of the committee of foreign affairs to the first American Congress, the author of 'Common Sense,' &c.; and Paul Jones, whose real name was John Paul, the gardener, the sailor, the skipper, the privateer, who had soon grown weary of the Russian service, or the Empress Catherine of him, and who had come to Paris in the hope that the revolution and a war with England would present a favourable opening for one of his temper and talents. These Americans, having Paul Jones among them, and calling themselves, with a boldness almost equal to that of Anacharsis Clootz and his squad of Turks, Chaldeans, Indians, and Arabs, a deputation of the citizens of the United States residing in Paris, went to the National Assembly to beg to have a place allotted them at the festival of the Federation, and to be allowed to express to the Assembly their feelings of gratitude, joy, and unqualified admiration. On the demand of the president they were admitted to the bar; and there their orator extemporized or read a flaming speech in true revolutionary French. He called the Assembly the fathers of a great people, and the benefactors of mankind. He told them that liberty would everywhere claim the Rights of Man with a voice that men could not smother; that luxury would lose its rights; that kings, those gods of the earth, would now become men; that religion would throw aside the murderous arms of intolerance and fanaticism, and take up the sceptre of peace. He lauded the virtues of the patriot king, who was worthy of changing the glare of arbitrary power for the love of his fellow-citizens. "Louis XVI." said he, "will be called in the language of France the first King of the French; but in the language of the universe he will be called the first king of men!" It was precisely this order of Americans that were very soon to celebrate in New York and other towns the anniversary of the execution of Louis with indecent and revolting orgies. At the present moment, however, their orator was loudly applauded by the Assembly for his extravagant panegyric. But presently there was a still more enthusiastic round of applause from the House, and from the galleries, who always acted as a part of the House. "When the French," continued the orator, "poured out their blood in America for the defence of liberty, we learned to love them. Now that they are free themselves, we feel for them in our hearts as for brothers and fellow-citizens. It is at the foot of that altar of their country where they are going to renew the oath of fidelity to the nation, to the law, and their king, that we will swear an eternal friendship to the French. Yes, to all Frenchmen that are true to the principles you have consecrated. For, like you, we Americans cherish liberty; like you, we love peace." There were thunders of applause. The president, in granting the permission required, praised the Americans as much as this bad specimen of them had praised the French. "It was," said he, "in assisting you to conquer liberty that Frenchmen learned what it was and how to love it. The hands which broke your chains were not made to wear chains. More fortunate than you, the French nation owes this conquest to the virtues and patriotism of its king; it cost you torrents of blood. Courage broke your chains; reason has broken ours. It was in your country that the throne of liberty was first established, but now it reposes on two worlds. We are fellow-citizens, we are brothers—may we form but one people!" The president was as loudly applauded as the American orator had been. Then Robespierre demanded permission to make a proposition. The House and the galleries, probably thinking that enough had already been said on this matter, began to murmur. Robespierre, however, would not be stopped. "The profound impression," said he, "which the discourse of the deputies of America (here there were louder murmurs)—I mean the deputation of the United States (fresh murmurs)—American citizens then ....." Here the orator seemed confused, and the House determined not to listen to him. Nevertheless, he persevered. "You have all heard," said he, "your fellow-citizens speak the language of liberty; but never has any one of them expressed himself with more nobleness and energy than the American citizen the Assembly has just heard. I demand in the name of the persons who have been just heard . .

* Hist. Parlement.

....." Here there was something more than murmuring, and Robespierre, with a face becoming more livid than usual, stopped short. But it was only for a minute: he collected his thoughts and his energy, and exerted them in making a claim which it was eternally necessary to make in this great madhouse. He continued, " I demand rather from the persons who have interrupted me, not to give the lie, by smothering the voice of a member who wishes to speak the language of liberty, to the admiration which the Assembly have merited: it was this sentiment which inspired me with the boldness—surely pardonable in one of your members—to think that I might freely render a sincere homage." (The impatience of the Assembly manifested itself in fresh murmurs.) " If in the midst of circumstances and interruptions, of which you are witnesses, I persist in my resolution of saying a few words, it is from no other motive than to convince all those who are present at your deliberations that no member is interdicted from exercising his right of suffrage, the essential character of liberty in a deliberative assembly; and I was departing neither from this principle nor from this sentiment, when I wished to propose giving to the citizens you have just heard some marks of consideration worthy of them, worthy of you." There now arose so loud a noise from the benches and from the galleries that scarcely a word of the remainder of his speech could be heard. The proposition with which he concluded was, that, as a sign of honour and distinction, the oration of the American orator and the president's answer to it should be printed. Abbé. Maury ironically suggested that Robespierre's rambling, interrupted, unintelligible oration should also receive the honour of being put into type.* Robespierre took accurate note of those who had been foremost in disconcerting and insulting him. On the 13th of July, the very day before the grand Federation, Robespierre received some other humiliations. He presented a petition from a number of prisoners, and attempted to get up a debate; the Assembly stopped him by voting the order of the day, and some of the newspapers began to call him from that evening the advocate of convicted felons, *l'avocat des galériens.*† These accidents and interruptions became very frequent, but they did not slacken Robespierre's zeal and boldness. It had been well for some of these journalists, and for many of these deputies, never to have meddled with the blear-eyed man, whose vengeance was terrible, and whose day was coming —coming much faster than those who thought worst of this revolution could have imagined.

On the evening of the 13th, by decree of the Assembly, *Te Deum* was chanted in the cathedral of Notre Dame in the presence of some of the provincial federates, some members of the municipality, and other public bodies. These mock-praises and thanks to Almighty God were preceded in that metropolitan church by a performance, which was in the most detestable taste, and which could have been little else than a parody of the scriptures. This *Hiérodrame*, as they called it, was a piece in scraps or *centoni*, set to music. " All the words of it," says the incurable Dulaure, " were taken from the Scriptures, and had been happily chosen and put together by M. Désaugiers. The subject was the taking of the Bastille. The noble, grave, and oriental style of the sacred books, and a ravishing music, painted, in the opening, the sadness, the trouble, confusion, and alarm of the Parisians in the two first days of the revolution; and then the public joy caused by the capture of that fortress. A great bell was one of the instruments of music used, and its lugubrious tolling recalled the sounds of the tocsin which had so often thrown Paris into fear and alarm."* At last the 14th of July, the great to-morrow, came. The elements seemed determined that, if this was to be the finest day that France had ever seen, it should be so only in a metaphorical sense; dense clouds covered Paris and all the country round about, and the rain descended in torrents, wetting the jackets of the patriots and confederates most uncomfortably. At an early hour however, the national guards of the capital, and the army deputations from all the departments, with deputations from the regular army of the king and from the navy—for these two bodies had been commanded by the Assembly to send deputations to parade and swear in the Champ de Mars—began to collect on the Boulevard of the Temple, and to form an immense line from the square of Porte St. Antoine to the Porte St. Martin. Each deputation carried a distinctive flag, and on each of the eighty-three flags of the departments was written the name of the department, and these words surrounded by a wreath of oak: " National Confederation at Paris, the 14th of July, 1790." It was observable, however, that these departmental deputations only wore their side-arms. At eight o'clock in the morning this long line began to march in the direction of the Champ de Mars, with bands playing and colours flying, and with the rain still descending in torrents; their progress was very slow, their halts very frequent; and, according to an enthusiastic narrator, who finds that everything they did was well done, and describes as sublime what to us seems ridiculous, at every halt the national guardsmen joined hands and danced in the midst of the inundated streets, while the ladies, spectatresses at the windows, " shut up their umbrellas, and got wet on purpose, in order to partake in their pains."† There was a good deal of eating and

* Hist. Parlement. † L'Ami du Roi.

* *Esquisses.* The circumstantial narrator adds, " This was, I believe, the first time that a bell was ever introduced into an orchestra. The recitative in dialogue, the music, now describing the agonies, and now the rapturous joy, of the people, produced the strongest emotions on the soul of all present."

† Dulaure, Esquisses. Of course there were not wanting touches of the pathetic; or, if they were wanting, the ingenious writers of Paris invented them. *Thiers*—ex-prime minister Thiers—who finds the whole spectacle just as sublime as Dulaure, the mere littérateur, says—" The deputies from Béarn, in passing through the street of La Ferronnerie, in which Henry IV. was assassinated, rendered him an homage, which, in this moment of emotion, manifested itself in tears." Henry IV., it will be remembered, was a Béarnois.

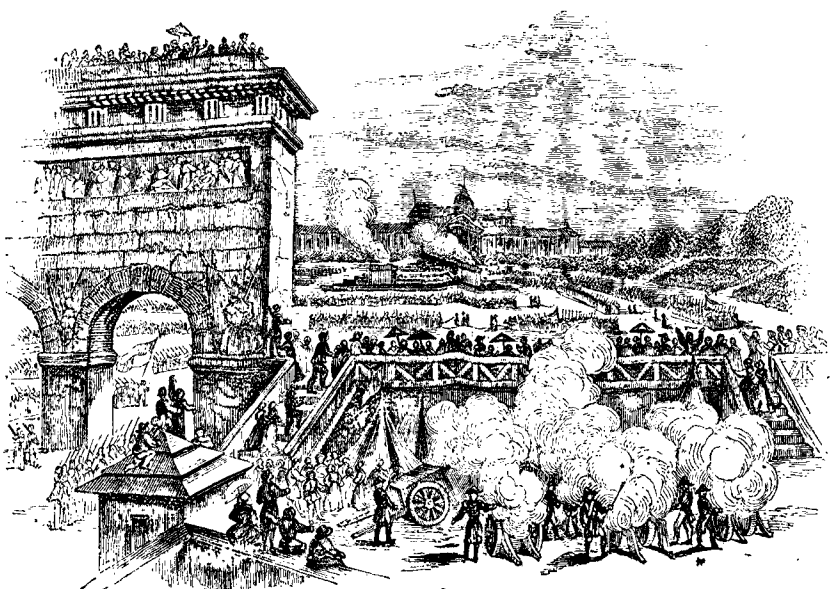
drinking on the way, for the restaurateurs, patissiers, cafétiers, and cabaretiers knew that patriots must want sustenance, and were all on the alert in every street and square through which they had to pass; and, moreover, the families and friends of the Parisian national guardsmen had furnished themselves with ropes and baskets, and let down from their windows into the street to the father, son, or brother of the house, looking so martial and glorious in his blue uniform, loaves of bread, patties, cold chickens, cold meats, and other comestibles, according to family circumstances, together with bottles of wine and thimblefuls of Cognac brandy to prevent the catching of colds. It was nearly ten o'clock before the confederates reached the great square of the Tuileries. Here they were joined by the municipality, who placed themselves at the head of the long line of march or procession, and also by the deputies of the National Assembly, who marched in the middle of the line. Messieurs the deputies must have needed their ceremony mantles and their umbrellas, for it rained on most pitilessly. They were immediately preceded by a battalion of little boys, from twelve to thirteen years old, belonging to the military school, and they were immediately followed in the line of march by a troop of veterans, all grey-headed sexagenarians, or older. "This," says Thiers, "recalled the ancient memories of Sparta!" —*rappelait ainsi les antiques souvenirs de Sparte.* "Thus placed between the two ages of life," says Dulaure, "the Assembly, occupying the mid-space, represented the virile age, in which the intellectual faculties display themselves with most energy."*

* Esquisses.

God help Dulaure and Thiers also; but, above all, God help the French people who take such men for their teachers and legislators, and admire such inanities and puerilities as pure eloquence! Traversing the Seine by one of its bridges, in the midst of the smoke and roar of guns, for the artillery were drawn out upon the quays to fire salvos, they all wended their way along the left bank of the river, by the interminable Quay d'Orsay to the entrance of the Champ de Mars, where was erected a temporary triumphal arch, decorated with flags and almost covered with corresponding inscriptions, some in prose and some in rhyme. In the midst of the arena—the vast parallelogram, flanked by the terraces, which were calculated to hold 160,000 persons sitting, and 150,000 persons standing—stood the altar of the country, good twenty feet high, and, though only made, like the triumphal arch, of wood and canvas, described as a simple and majestic structure. It was furnished with flags, trophies, bas-reliefs, wreaths, garlands, and inscriptions relating to liberty and equality.† Upon this altar of the country, which savoured of Paganism, there was a Roman Catholic altar, with candelabra, crucifix, and incense, and everything proper and ready for high mass. It took the federates more than two hours to find out the stations allotted to them and to range themselves in order, although nothing like military order or time was attempted. It was now one o'clock, and the rain fell more violently than ever. One of the bands

† One of the inscriptions consisted of the hackneyed couplet of Voltaire:—

"Les mortels sont égaux; ce n'est point la naissance,
C'est la seule vertu qui fait la différence."



FÊTE OF THE FEDERATION. From a View by Duplessis-Bertaux

piled their arms, took each other's hands, and began dancing; the rest followed this example, for no true Frenchman can see a dance without joining in it; and sixty thousand citizens and soldiers, old men and young, as if all bitten by the tarantula, were presently seen dancing round the altar of the country, shaking the rain from their dripping figures, and braving the storm with gaiety. It is supposed that from the beginning of time there had never been so multitudinous a *corps de ballet* performing on one spot. But everything was numerically grand. The umbrellas that were hoisted by the spectators sitting or standing on the terraces were estimated at *one hundred thousand* at the least. We are not told that the deputies of the National Assembly danced; but we believe that many of them did, together with the grave municipals. The dancing was accompanied and followed by singing; so many thousand throats straining at the *Ca ira* made a noise that was heard for leagues down the valley of the Seine. At about three in the afternoon the king, the queen, and the royal family, with a still brilliant court, issued from the military school, and entered the Champ de Mars. Near to the altar of the country there was a grand gallery, covered overhead, prepared for the deputies of the National Assembly; and in the midst of that gallery there was a sort of throne for the king, covered with violet velvet, sprinkled with *fleurs-de-lis*, in gold; but precisely of the same height, in the same line, and only at three feet distance from this throne, there was another for the president of the Assembly, covered with azure-blue velvet, also sprinkled with *fleurs-de-lis*, in gold. *Behind* the seats of the king and president was a space reserved for the queen, the dauphin, and the rest of the royal family. Eight ushers were stationed near the seat of the president, but the king was only allowed two. When his majesty took his seat the deputies took theirs, being careful to act up to the decree of the Assembly, and to permit no one to intervene between them and the king. As soon as Louis was seated there were tremendous shouts of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!* and at that auspicious moment the clouds rolled away from the face of the sun, and the rain ceased. All the banners were unfurled, and all the bands united in one loud martial air. There were eighteen hundred instruments all playing together. In the midst of this warlike noise, a lame but stately bishop approached the Christian altar to celebrate the mass. To make the farce and mockery complete, this prelate was the bishop of Autun, the unbelieving, sneering Talleyrand. He was followed by sixty chaplains of the Paris national guards, who all wore tri-color scarfs over their albs, so that they looked like Romish priests Jacobinized. The sweet scent of the incense was soon lost in the smell of gunpowder, for a park of artillery marked the time and movements of the mass, and at the elevation of the Host fired a salvo that seemed to shake the whole Champ de Mars. When he had finished that part of his performance, Talleyrand very pontifically did benediction upon the flags and banners of the national guards and federates, that is, he blessed them and sprinkled them with holy water. The chief performance now devolved upon Lafayette, who, dismounting from his white charger, ascended the steps of the gallery in front of the throne, and received from the hand of the king the written form of oath which the Assembly had decreed. Lafayette then repaired to the altar, and, having laid down his sword upon it, he read the paper, swore himself, and raised his hand to heaven as a signal to the rest, performing oath-fugleman to nearly half a million of people. The banners were waved triumphantly; the president, the deputies of the Assembly in the gallery, the federates in the arena, and the spectators on the terraces, all raised their right hands and pronounced the *Je le jure*. This was followed by bands playing and cannons firing, and by shouts that seemed to frighten away the last retiring clouds. Then in bright sunny air Louis stood up in the gallery, and, stretching his right hand towards the trebly-profaned altar, he pronounced in an audible voice the oath which the Assembly had prescribed for him: "I, king of the French, swear, &c." At this moment the queen held out the little dauphin in her arms to show him to the people, who thereupon strained their throats once more. When the king had done swearing, the deputies set to hugging and kissing one another, and the cannons roared, and the flags waved, and the eighteen hundred musical instruments played again. According to Carra, who was driving his journal—*Annales Patriotiques*—with Jacobin vigour, there was a great deal more swearing than what took place in the Champ de Mars. "When the bombs and the cannons announced the taking of the oath, such of the inhabitants as had remained in Paris, men, women, and children, raised their hands in ecstasy and cried, *Je le jure*. Happy they to have remained in the city! their joy was pure and without mixture. They did not hear those timid cries, those shameful voices, that uttered in the Champ de Mars *Vive la Reine! Vivent les gardes-du-corps!* They did not see the hateful white flag; they did not witness the insolence of that throne allotted to executive power, nor the debasement of the nation, nor the complicity of Bonnay, that cowardly president!" At about five o'clock in the evening the king and the royal family withdrew into the military school, and the federates and the multitude began to retire. The municipality of Paris had ordered a grand dinner in the royal château of la Muette, at the distance of a short mile from the Champ de Mars, for the federates, and thither about twenty-five thousand of them repaired immediately after the swearing. Tables were arranged in the avenues of the park, and Lafayette, as head of the federation, as commander-in-chief of all the national guards of France, was to take the chair. There were so many unprecedented things on this great 14th of

July! and Lafayette, on his way to the château de la Muette, was near meeting an unprecedented death—was well nigh being killed by accolades and men-embraces. One of his aides-de-camp saw his danger, called up some soldiers, and relieved him by force from a crowd that would have smothered the hero of two worlds. It appears, however, there was a dark suspicion that it was not with kindness and enthusiasm that the mob were killing him; at least Dulaure hints significantly that the crowd was composed of unknown men, *d'hommes inconnus*; that the embraces might have been perfidious, like the kiss of Judas. That night all the streets of Paris were illuminated, and there were feasting, dancing, reviews, and spectacles for four or five days. On Sunday, the 18th, Lafayette reviewed the federates in the *Champ de Mars*, and in the evening, besides numerous balls and amusements out of doors in other places, there was a grand dance on the spot where the Bastille had stood. On Monday morning the king, with Lafayette capering on his white charger at his side, passed in review all the federated troops, the deputations of the troops of the line and of the marine, &c., as well as the national guards. The uppermost passion of the French in all these celebrations was vanity. Every man thought that the eyes of the universe were upon him. Romilly, who had made a trip to Paris in the preceding year in order to take a nearer view of the revolution, relates an anecdote which in itself tells a great deal of the story of this revolution:—"What struck me as the most remarkable in the dispositions of the people that I saw was the great desire that everybody had to act a great part, and the jealousy which, in consequence of this, was entertained of those who were really eminent. It seemed as if all persons, from the highest to the lowest, whether deputies themselves, declaimers in the Palais-Royal, orators in the coffee-houses, spectators in the gallery, or the populace about the door, looked upon themselves individually as of great consequence in the revolution. The man who kept the hotel at which I lodged at Paris, a certain M. Villars, was a private in the national guard. Upon my returning home on the day of the benediction of their colours at Notre Dame and telling him that I had been present at the ceremony, he said, 'You saw me, sir?' I was obliged to say that I really had not. He said, 'Is that possible, sir? You did not see me! Why I was in one of the first ranks—all Paris saw me!' I have often since thought of my host's childish vanity. What he spoke was felt by thousands. The most important transactions were as nothing, but as they had relation to the figure which each little self-conceited hero acted in them. To attract the attention of all Paris, or of all France, was often the motive of conduct in matters which were attended with most momentous consequences." *

It is incorrect to say, as Thiers, Madame de Staël, and so many French writers do, that the feast of the Federation diffused a universal joy and harmony, undisturbed by any act of violence or by any quarrel whatsoever. No doubt the pleasurable excitement was very general during the spectacle; yet before the morrow dawned the severest criticisms were set in type, calculated to discredit alike the court and the Assembly. Carra was not alone; Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, all the republican or Jacobin journalists, found that nearly everything had been done amiss, and that the nation had been insulted, humiliated, seriously injured by the *excessive honours* paid to the sovereign. This numerous, and by far most influential, class of writers, were unanimous in protesting against the acclamations and "idolatry" which had been paid to the king, against the adorations which Lafayette had shared with his white horse, against the very humble throne and its golden fleurs-de-lis, against the want of respect shown to the conquerors of the Bastille and to the real people and sovereigns of France. They declared that the fête, that the anniversary, was a disgrâce to the glorious day and the immortal deeds it celebrated; that the heroes had conquered the Bastille in vain if such royalist and aristocratic atrocities were to be allowed. They read awful lessons to the people, taking care to suggest that they had been deceived by a few empty appearances. "An idolatrous people," said one of them, "who only see in our National Festival M. de Lafayette, and then the king, and who do not see themselves and their own importance, are on a wrong road. But everything was wrong; the deputations from the federates dancing to brave the elements; others of them killing dogs with their swords as they were running through the streets; Frenchmen receiving white flags, and suffering a white flag to float near the throne; a king, that, when he goes a shooting, will bear the most abundant rains, not walking down among the armed and deliberating nation, because, forsooth, it rains, not taking the pains to go from the throne to the altar, to afford the people, who, in all their poverty and distress, allow him twenty-five millions of livres a-year, the satisfaction of seeing him take the oath as he ought to have done, with his hand upon the altar; the absence of every recompense and of every honour to sciences, arts, trades, civic courage, and virtues; the conquerors of the Bastille left confounded with the crowd, and not a word, not a single homage paid to the memory of those who, this day last year, perished under the walls of that horrible fortress. . . . . And then that dinner at la Muette, in going to which M. Lafayette ran the risk of being stifled with embraces! And after that dinner divers bands of them came under the windows of the Tuileries, shouting Vive le Roi! and crying a little, Vive la Reine! This is very suspicious. . . . . In these days of equality there are perfidious distinctions; the people in uniform are constantly separated from the people without uni-

* Narrative of his Early Life, written by himself; in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., edited by his sons.

form."* These reflections were published on the 15th. In a day or two the complaints grew louder, and Lafayette and his white charger were still more severely criticized. "At the review on the 18th people have had the baseness to kiss the hands, the knees, the boots of Lafayette. If an election had been proposed at that moment there is reason to fear that the popular madness might have lavished on his white horse the honours which Caligula decreed to his horse. . . . . Some shameful slaves, yes, slaves dressed in the uniforms of different departments, gathered under the windows of the queen's apartment, to sing a song, and put forth long cries of Vive la Reine! Ah! yes, without doubt, Vive la Reine! But, if this be the grand day of reconciliations and pardons, why did they not cry also Vivent les Polignacs! Vive the red book of noblesse! Vive Trianon! Vive Lambesc! Vivent the protectors of the conspiracy against Paris! Vivent the iron railings of the Tuileries, with cannon-balls behind them! Vivent the authors of the project to carry the king to Metz! Vive the grant of twenty-five millions to the king! The perfidious indifference which our public officers have testified to the conquerors of the Bastille has fully proved that the civil and military chiefs of the city of Paris bore no part in that grand day, the 14th of July, 1789. . . . . M. Chénier wrote a patriotic hymn, and M. de Fontanes a secular poem, or chant, for the Federation; and yet neither of those two people-poems have been sung in any of these fêtes."† Marat, the People's Friend, filled his journal with still more severe animadversions. Appealing more

Marat.

particularly to the poorest and most desperate part of the populace, he bade them reflect on the money that had been spent in so many days' fooleries. He pointed out Mayor Bailly, in a manner that showed he was a very proper subject for the lanterne. "I will not," said this ex-horse-doctor and lecturer upon optics, "amuse myself with epilogues descriptive of these ridiculous fêtes. It would be lost time. . . . . That the administrators of the city, that Bailly and all the rogues and swindlers that manage our affairs, should dream of nothing but prosperity and happiness, is not at all astonishing, for they are themselves wallowing in luxury and opulence; but after this universal decay of trade and manufactures, after the interruption of all kinds of work, after the suspension of the payment of the public rents, after seven months of famine, they dare hold a similar language to a ruined people, to unhapy men that are dying of hunger! . . . . . In the midst of this universal misery, eight entire days are consecrated to fêtes, balls, diversions of all kinds, and every night a general illumination. Do they think they can impose, by this false image of public felicity, upon men who have constantly under their eyes the great crowd of indigent starving people? Do they flatter themselves that they shall get their scandalous prodigality pardoned by speaking of public happiness? . . . . . How shameful that gaudy throne set apart for the king, who is nothing but the first servant of the people! What a revolting spectacle to see the king disdaining to swear fidelity to the nation upon the altar of the country! . . . . . Ah! thoughtless citizens! Are you ignorant of the fact that liberty is not made for a vain and frivolous nation, without morals, without character, without principles, changing with every wind and every new doctrine? . . . . . You have been sadly deficient in prudence. Let not your enemies, however, count on your support or your momentary enthusiasm. Whatever may be the form of oath your lips have pronounced, your heart has only sworn to be true to the *country*, and to *liberty and equality*. Any other engagement into which you may have been surprised will vanish like a dream, and, at the first palpable treachery of the court and aristocracy, your audacity will be the spark to kindle the fire that is to consume them all!"* "If," wrote another Jacobin journalist, "I had had the honour of being a deputy of the National Assembly, I should have exacted that the throne in the Champ de Mars, upon which M. Louis Capet seated himself sans façon, should have been left altogether empty, in some elevated place, to represent the sovereignty of the people. I should have willed that, at the foot of that throne, the two powers—the executive and the legislative—M. Capet and the Assembly—should occupy the same seats, without any distinction which is contrary to our equality. . . . . It destroyed my good humour to see the insolence of that executive throne, and the adulation and meanness of that legislative throne; to see again that odious uniform of the Gardes-du-Corps; to witness that kind of evasion on the part of the king, who neither has the gout, nor is otherwise lame, but who disappeared and ducked under on hearing voices cry, 'To the altar! To the altar!

* Révolution de Paris, a newspaper, cited in Hist. Parlement.
† Id. id.

* L'Ami du Peuple, as cited in Hist. Parlement.

Swear there!'—voices so numerous and loud in the Champ de Mars, and that were on the point of becoming imperative, and stronger than the royal veto. . . . . My friend Carra, in his charming and animated description, has thanked God that the rain fell in torrents. He pretends that all was for the best; that that rain cooled the too ardent imaginations and dephlogisticated heads like that of M. de Launay, who, at the head of the Federates of Angers, addressed to the king's wife so servile a discourse, a more abject adulation than all the compliments put together of the French Academy itself; from all which the patriotic Carra concludes that never did a deluge of rain fall more à propos than on this occasion, for it hindered the adorers of the executive power from committing some grand idolatry to the golden calf at the very feet of our legislators and of Mount Sinai; it prepared men's minds for coolness and a wise and reflective admiration, and it showed how brave and enduring the French people have become since the revolution."*

This bitter satire, these exasperating comparisons, and these long-continued denunciations, produced an amazing effect, not only upon the mob in Paris, but upon the mob in all parts of the kingdom, who neither read, nor could tolerate the sight of, any newspapers except those which excited their passions and flattered them with the notion that they were each and all so many sovereigns, with the absolute and indisputable right to divide immediately among them, on the pure equality system, all the property of the state, church, and aristocracy, all the land and houses belonging to the monstrous scoundrels that had grown rich under the old régime.

Although the republicans found so much fault with the Federation festival, the royalists, the constitutional royalists, all sensible foreseeing men who wished the revolution should go no farther, regarded it at the time as having most essentially served the cause, and enlarged the views and hopes of the anarchists. Lafayette and his respectabilities should have thought of this beforehand. It was, in fact, a sort of solemn league and covenant between the national guards and the troops of the line. Every regiment of the latter had sent a detachment as a deputation; and these detachments, particularly those that came from the army commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé, were soldiers firm and steady to their officers before they came up to Paris; but there they were initiated in all the mysteries of the clubs, were feasted and affiliated, were flattered and fully proselytized. They, of course, carried the virus with them back to their quarters in the provinces, and inoculated their comrades. De Bouillé, who gives all the honour of the invention to his kinsman, Lafayette, says, "This confederation poisoned the minds of the troops. On their return from the capital they brought with them the seeds of corruption; these they instilled into their comrades, and in a fortnight, or, at most, a month, the whole army was in a state of the most terrible insurrection."* But other measures were adopted by the great legislative body, which materially contributed to the destruction of all discipline among the troops of the line. The Assembly, for example, issued a decree ordering all general officers, and all officers whatsoever in the regular army, to give a writing under their hands, engaging, upon their honour, faithfully to conform to the constitution, and to obey no orders which should appear contrary to its principles. The Assembly hereby meant that the officers should execute no orders sent to them by the king or his ministers, if they were at all likely to be contrary to the aims or wishes of the Assembly; that, in short, the legislative power, and not the executive, should control the whole army. Their decree left the officers to judge of what might be constitutional and what unconstitutional; and it gave to every subaltern officer the right of differing in opinion from, and disobeying the commands of, his superiors. It also excited suspicion of their officers in the minds of the common soldiers, at a moment when it was necessary that the greatest harmony should subsist between them; it seemed to show openly that the National Assembly doubted the faith of the officers, and thus it greatly diminished the respect due from the soldiers to those who commanded them; it irritated the officers, who were already discontented at the abolition of all titles of nobility; and it was entirely useless and superfluous, as all these officers had already several times taken the oath of fidelity to the constitution.† "These oaths," adds de Bouillé, "were afterwards so frequently repeated, that they came to be treated by everybody with derision. . . . . I imagined this decree to be one of those little artifices which Lafayette had, before this time, frequently employed to divide the soldiers from their officers, and disgust the latter, who were permitted to quit the service, if they were unwilling to enter into the proposed written engagement. . . . . Lafayette was at this time vigorously attacked by the party of the Duke of Orleans; he was fast losing his popularity at Paris and in the provinces, and his influence over the Assembly was already much diminished. He derived his importance rather from the circumstance of having the person of the king in his possession, than from any force of which he himself was master. Indeed, it had been in agitation to disband the army, and assemble a new one modelled upon the principles of the revolution. This was, for them, a perfectly reasonable measure; for the army of the kings of France, commanded by the nobles, could not possibly be the army of the new constitution which had destroyed nobility. To gain over the troops in favour of the new establishment, it was necessary to corrupt them, to alienate their affections from their officers, to diffuse among them a spirit of disobedience, and,

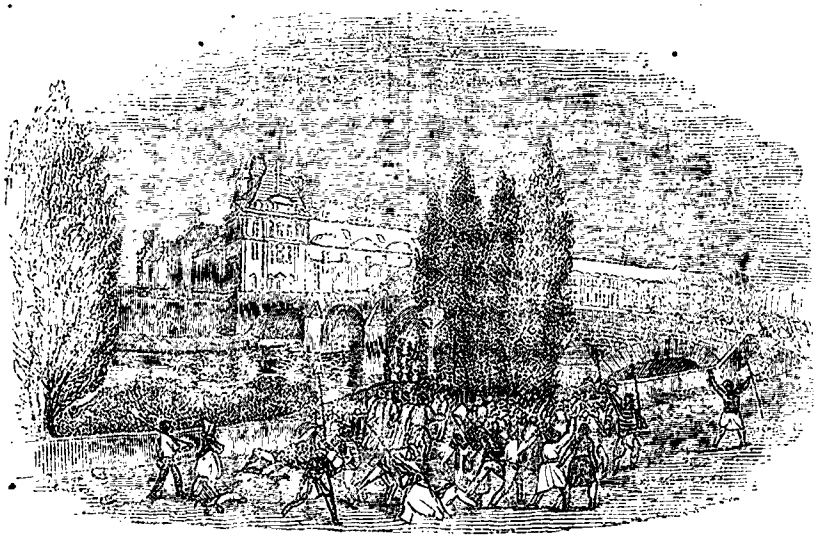
* Révolution de France et de Brabant, another republican newspaper, cited in Hist. Parlement.

* Mémoires. † Marquis de Bouillé, Mémoires.

perhaps, even prompt them to mutiny and licentiousness."*

Of the deputations of national guards that attended the federation, not a few were sensibly touched and affected by a near view of the real situation of the court, and by the graces of the queen, who neglected no opportunity of deepening the impression by kindness and flattering attentions. Many people thought that the king might have availed himself of these favourable sentiments to effect a counter-revolution at Paris; but Louis was incapable of any such bold attempt, the final success of which must have been very doubtful. It is said by some who had the best means of knowing the truth that he never, in his heart, entertained the idea, but shrank from it even when everything proved that, with or without his concurrence, there would be a civil war in France. He could scarcely make an effort even to captivate the good-will of those provincials who had never approached royalty before. He indeed possessed in a singular degree the faculty which has been attributed to him, of heating his enemies and cooling his friends. When these provincials passed in review before the king, a day or two before the federation fête, Marie Antoinette said with her sweet voice to one of them, "Sir, from what province are you?" "From the province where your ancestors reigned," replied Roussel, the gallant Lorrainer, lowering the point of his sword. "What," said the queen, "you are!....." "Your faithful Lorrainers," responded Roussel. "And," adds the warm-hearted young lawyer, in relating the incident, "I only said what was true. She thanked me with a bow accompanied by a look which I still see, so much did it penetrate me; and then, leaning towards the king, she said to him, 'These are your faithful Lorrainers;' but the king only nodded, and all the while we were defiling before him I saw him do nothing but nod. *Eh bien!* Those few words from the queen, that look, which none of my comrades lost, had moved us to such a degree, that we were ready to execute whatever those two unfortunate beings might have ordered at the moment. I only cite this personal feeling to show how easy it would have been then for the king to have disposed, in his own way, of about sixty thousand men united at Paris, and who, like myself, saw the royal family for the first time."† But these sixty thousand men were not all Lorrainers, in whom there was a great deal more of the good-natured German blood than of the French infusion. A few days after Roussel mounted guard in the interior of the palace. The queen came out from her own apartment to go to the king's, leading the dauphin by the hand. Roussel presented arms with all the grace and respect he could. "She looked at me," says he, "and honoured me with a bow and an enchanting smile. Her little boy was marching straight on without noticing me, but she stopped him and said, 'Salute the gentleman, do not be unpolite.' The dauphin bowed, and then she walked on." During the night the Lorrainer stood centinel in a long and narrow corridor, immediately behind the queen's bed-chamber; and his imagination was so excited, that when the relief arrived he mistook them for assassins, or for visitors like those at Versailles, and threatened to fire upon his own comrades. On the following morning the queen, who could not go anywhere without giving notice to her gaolers, who could not move from one apartment of the palace to another without being watched, or without having to pass some sentinel or sentinels of the national guards on her way, sent to announce that she was going to walk with her children in the dauphin's garden, as they called a small plot which had been railed off at the end of the garden of the Tuileries, and in which, to captivate the Parisians, the royal boy was often sent to work with spade and rake. "The custom was," says Roussel, "to send some of the national guards to accompany her majesty in her walks. I was anxious to be of the number, and I obtained my wish. The queen came out from the palace with the dauphin, Madame her daughter, and the Princess de Lamballe: we followed her. On reaching the little garden the boy quitted his mother, and began to run, saying, 'Mamma, I am going to see my ducks;' his sister followed him. During the promenade the queen conversed familiarly with Madame de Lamballe. I stopped to look at some curious plants, and one of my comrades asked me the names of them. The queen heard me answer, and then said to me, 'You seem, Sir, to be fond of the country.' 'Very.' 'Do you live in the country?' 'Not exactly; but I live in a town where every house has its garden.' 'Is not that Luneville?' 'No, Madame, I am eleven leagues from it; but my mother-in-law was born there.' 'You do not seem to be a soldier by profession.' 'No, Madame, I am a lawyer.' 'Do you know Paris?' 'This is the first journey I have ever made to it.' 'You are going to leave it, no doubt, very soon?' 'I think of staying two or three months to see it thoroughly.' 'Do you like it?' 'Thus far, not at all; its noise and tumult fatigue me.' 'It is difficult for a quiet man to accustom himself to it. It is a place only to be seen out of curiosity. Are you all quiet in Lorraine?' 'Yes, Madame.' Here the dauphin rejoined his mother, and they all went into a summer-house at the end of the garden to rest awhile. In about half an hour they re-appeared. The dauphin, looking at us, said, 'Gentlemen, we are going.' We accompanied them to the entrance of the palace. The queen and her suite saluted us, and then entered the château." By little means like these Marie Antoinette charmed even many furious revolutionists. But in nothing could her heavy, strangely constituted husband second her efforts. Those who boast of having no tears to shed for royalty—as if kings were not men, nor

* Marquis de Bouillé, Mémoires.
† Roussel, le Château des Tuileries.



TUILERIES AND LOUVRE—RIVER FRONT. From a View by Batty.

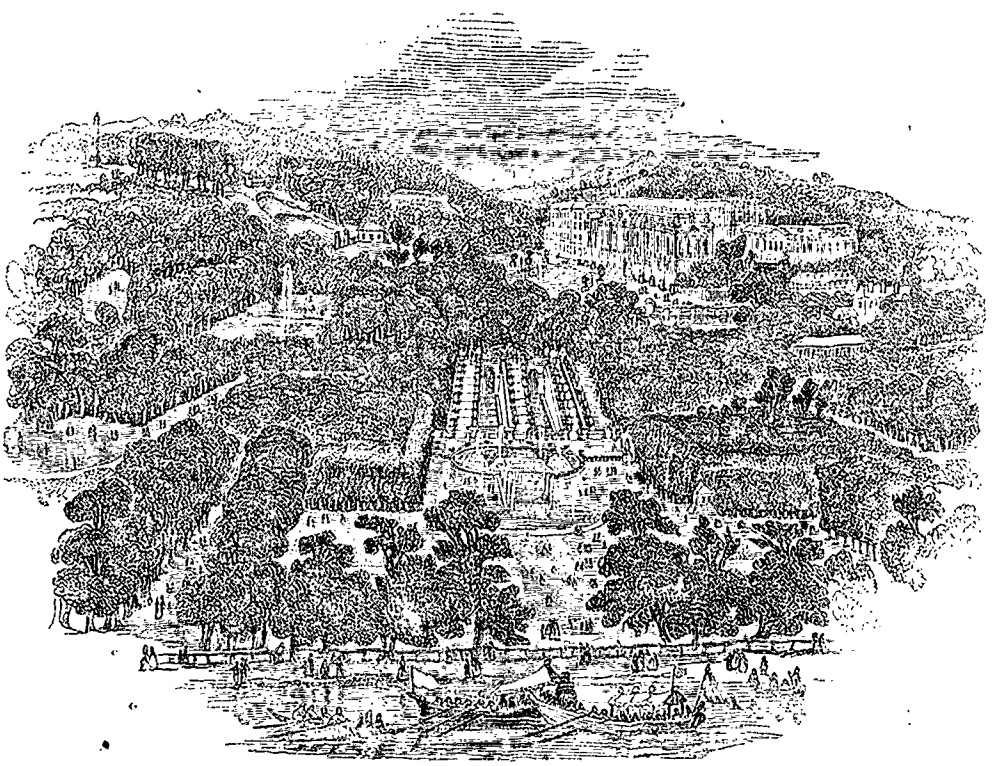
liable to the feelings and woes of mortality—may weep for this fair queen and her innocent children, whose life was already one of constant alarm. The day after the arrival of the court from Versailles, the dauphin, hearing a noise in the gardens of the Tuileries, ran and threw himself into the queen's arms, crying, "Good God! mamma, is to-day going to be yesterday again?" * It was not possible that that terrible yesterday—the 6th of October—with all its alarms, and blood, and demoniac cries, and the forced journey to Paris, should ever be rooted out of his young fresh memory. A short time after the removal to Paris, the Duchess de Luynes, by the advice of a private committee of constitutional monarchists, proposed to the queen that she should quit France for a time, so as to let the constitution get finished, and prevent the patriots from saying that it was she who would not allow the king to agree with them. The duchess well knew to what extremities the factions were ready to go, and her attachment to the queen was the principal cause of the advice she gave. The queen was grateful, but firmly replied, as she had done at Versailles, when face to face with murder and horrible assassination, that she would never quit the king or her son; that, if she believed herself to be the only object of the public hate, she would at that moment readily sacrifice her life; but that she saw clearly the throne itself was aimed at, so that in abandoning the king she would only commit an act of selfish cowardice, as the only advantage which could possibly be derived from quitting France would be the saving of her own life.† To her bosom friend and confidante, the Duchess of Polignac, now an exile, Marie Antoinette detailed the horrors of her situation, declaring, in words that must have come from the heart, and that will go to every heart not deadened on one side by political dogmas and passions, that, but for her husband, her children, and her friends, she could wish to die. "Your friendship," wrote the queen, "sustains me; but, alas, I bring misfortunes down upon you all; and your sufferings are added to mine."* The Czarina Catherine found time, in the midst of her numerous avocations of love-making and war-making, church-governing and state-ruling, to send a letter of advice to the suffering queen, written with her own imperial hand. "*Kings*," said the autocratess, "ought to follow their own course, without caring about the outcries of their people, even as the *moon* moves in her orbit, without stopping for the dogs that bay at her." Morally, perhaps, it might have done this crowned termagant of the north some good to have been queen or empress of the French for a few months, or weeks, or even days. Her letter was an insult, for she offered no assistance, and no advice that was at all available. It appears, however, that Marie Antoinette, though willing to receive aid from her brother the Emperor of Austria, was not at this moment desirous of the interference of any foreign power, and was far indeed from wishing success to the efforts of the royalist emigrants. "If," said she, "the emigrants succeed, they will, for a long time, give the law in France; it will be impossible to refuse them anything; and we shall contract too great an obligation, if we are to be indebted to them for the crown."† She continued to desire to fly with the king and her family to Metz, and to believe that the brave de Bouillé,

* Madame Campan, Mémoires. † Id.

‡ Montjoie, Histoire de Marie Antoinette.

† Madame Campan, who says that the queen often repeated these words to her.

aided by some foreign money, but without any foreign arms, might operate a counter-revolution. It was better to lead a camp life than to drag on that horrible existence in Paris, constantly surrounded by an armed, insolent, irritable, suspicious people. Down to the time of the general federation there really remained foundation enough for the possibility of the throne's being supported by the troops of the line under de Bouillé in a fierce civil war; but the king could not make up his mind to a flight until that federation had, in reality, snatched the sword out of de Bouillé's hand, and put it into the hands of the common soldiers. In the month of May permission had been obtained, from Lafayette and the National Assembly, that the court should remove, for the summer months, to the pleasant little palace of Saint-Cloud, on the banks of the Seine; but a great portion of the national guards of Paris had accompanied them thither, and watched them most vigilantly while they were there. The king, however, obtained permission that when he went out to walk or ride he should only be accompanied by one of Lafayette's aides-de-camp. In like manner the queen and the dauphin had each of them an aide-de-camp of the great French Scipio Americanus. Here the queen devised a very good plan of escape—a plan which would have sent the royal family six or seven hours on the route to Metz before the Assembly could have known their flight, or have adopted any measures;—but it was given up, and shortly afterwards they were obliged to return to the Tuileries for the festival of the federation. With only a tithe of Louis's chances, a man like our Charles I. would have long ago mocked Lafayette and all his gaolers of the national guards, would have shown himself among the royalists in every part of France, and would, before this, have fought at least one battle for his crown. Except in their final exit there was really little resemblance in the lives and characters of these two princes. Almost immediately after the federation the court returned to Saint-Cloud; and there a ruffian called Rotondo made an attempt, or was suspected of a design, to assassinate the queen. It was known that he had penetrated into the interior of the garden in which the queen was accustomed to pass many of her hours



St. Cloud. From a French Bird's-eye View.

almost alone with her children; but that day the queen was prevented going out by the rain. Lafayette gave the strictest orders to all the national guards that did duty on the spot to be vigilant and alert in examining all who might be seen lurking about the palace or grounds; and a description of Rotondo's person was published. It was also suspected that there was a dark plot for getting rid of the queen by poison: the queen spoke of it without any fear or emotion to Madame Campan, and M. Vicq d'Azyr, her principal physician. Her affectionate attendants took pre-

cautions for her, but Marie Antoinette adopted none herself. "Be assured," said she to Madame Campan, "that they will not employ a grain of poison against me. The Brinvilliers* are not of this age: people now have adopted calumny, a surer means of killing; and it is by calumny that they will make me perish!"† Even in France, in this season of excitement, ferocity, madness, there were eyes that wept and hearts that bled for the unhappy daughter of Maria Theresa; but it was dangerous to betray these feelings in public, as every one that favoured the queen was regarded as a traitor and conspirator; and this sad fact was perfectly well known to the queen and to all about her person. One afternoon, when there were no national guards under that part of the palace, while the queen was working at her embroidering frame, and Madame Campan, according to custom, reading to her, a number of voices were heard talking in whispers under the balcony. Madame Campan withdrew the curtain to see what it was, and discovered about fifty persons, some of them ladies, some of them countrywomen, some old knights of Saint-Louis, some young knights of Malta, and a few priests. The queen instantly rose from her seat and came out upon the balcony to satisfy the evident wish of the group, which was merely to see her and express their sympathy for her. As she appeared they said in a low tone of voice, so as to avoid irritating the ears of any of Lafayette's under-gaolers, "Madame, be of good courage: good French people suffer for you and with you: they pray for you, and Heaven will hear their prayers! We love you, we respect you, we revere our virtuous king." The queen melted into tears, and put her handkerchief to her eyes. "Poor queen! she is weeping!" said the countrywomen. But Madame Campan, fearing that the queen, and those who showed such feeling for her, might be dangerously committed if any of the national guards should see them, took her majesty by the hand to lead her back into the apartment, raising her eyes to heaven in so doing, to express to the poor people this cruel necessity of caution. The people understood the sign and the motive: they were heard to say, "That lady is right;" and then they added, in low touching accents, "Adieu, Madame!" At the distance of twenty years the estimable narrator of these little incidents could not recall the scene without tears. ‡

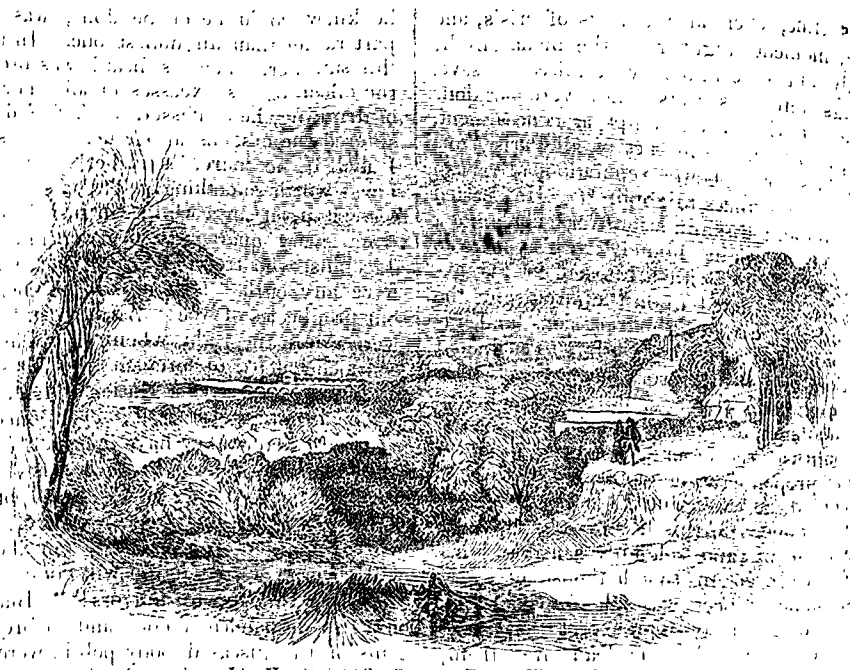
It was on a beautiful wooded elevation in the private park of Saint-Cloud, that Mirabeau, who had been for many months in the pay of the court, had a personal interview with Marie Antoinette. The terrible news of the insurrection at Nancy, and of the dangers which de Bouillé had run, had been received, and numerous other events, circumstances, and indications had struck the court with despair. A notion, which we cannot but think extravagant and unfounded, had instilled itself into many minds, that Mirabeau and his audacious eloquence might yet save the monarchy; and in this idea, and after long hesitation, the queen made up her mind to risk a private interview with one who passed for the most immoral and depraved man in the whole kingdom—though, unhappily, there were in France men far more depraved even than he. On both sides the greatest caution was necessary. If any intelligence had been obtained of Mirabeau's journey he would have been denounced the next day in the Assembly, and in the more powerful and more terrible Jacobin Club. The count—for, though all titles had been abolished, the people continued invariably to call Mirabeau by his—set off from Paris on horseback, giving out that he was going to pay a visit in the country to his friend Clavière. He reached one of the back gates of the park of Saint-Cloud, was admitted by a confidential servant, and was conducted to the avenue on the hill, where the queen was awaiting his arrival. She knew the key by which the man's heart was to be unlocked. The national vanity in Mirabeau had attained a most gigantic growth. Money he had had, and in large and regular payments; but now a little flattery from the lips of a queen of France, the daughter of an imperial line, might do wonders. She had deliberately studied her words beforehand, and she met him saying, "With an ordinary enemy, with a man who had sworn the ruin of the monarchy, without appreciating its usefulness for a great people, the step I am now taking would be altogether improper and out of place; but when one has to speak to *a Mirabeau*," &c. The words, the manner, had all the effect intended upon the vain-glorious, excitable man, who, after a short conversation, quitted her majesty, saying to her enthusiastically, "Madame, the monarchy is saved!"* By fits and starts Mirabeau was really of opinion that he could be the saviour of it; but he was, most assuredly, deficient in moral courage; deficient in principle, altogether wanting, from first to last, in character and fixity of purpose. If he had really proposed to himself to be this saviour, he ought to have begun the work of salvation with courage and steadiness long before this—he ought to have checked the glowing wheels of the revolutionary car before they were about reaching their maximum velocity on that steeply inclined plane that ended in a gulf too fearful for the eye to look at—he ought to have made a life-and-death struggle at the time of the confusion of the three orders of the state into one anomalous chamber or house—at the time when the Declaration of the Rights of Man was under discussion—at the time when the veto question was debated—at the time when the plots were forming to drag the court to Paris at the feet of the multitude;—but on all these times and occasions, as on others equally critical and equally

* Marie Marguerite d'Aubray, Marquise de Brinvilliers, was found guilty in 1676 of having poisoned her father and her two brothers, and of having attempted to poison her sister. See the account of her trial and execution in the 1st vol. of Gayot de Pitaval's Causes Célèbres.

† Madame Campan, Mémoires.

‡ Id.

* Madame Campan, Mémoires.



Les Hauteurs de St. Cloud. From a View by Bury.

potential upon future events, the heart of the loud-tongued man had failed him, and, instead of seeking the salvation of the state, he had sought his own personal safety by conforming with the tyrannous will of the majority of the Assembly and of the populace, by explaining away his own words and sentiments, and by sneaking out of the principles he had professed. His chiefest care had been to keep free of the black lists of proscription. We repeat it, he had not so much courage, nor nearly so much courage, as that despised priest, the Abbé Maury, whom historians and annalists still rejoice in depicting as a mere casuist and humbug. Rarely has self-seeking been made more unscrupulous than by Mirabeau, who, in the midst of all these convulsions and constantly increasing dangers, was unable to resist the propensity of indulging all his vicious habits and tastes for expenditure and prodigality. When the royal coffers were almost empty, when every louis-d'or was wanted, he took his money and spent it in luxury and profligacy. Early in the present year, 1790, he changed his obscure furnished lodgings for a splendid house in the Chaussée d'Antin, which he decorated in the most costly manner. He gave numerous and splendid dinner-parties—his kitchen being as recherché as his furniture. His father, that strange Friend of Man, was indeed dead; but the count was none the richer from that event, as the estates were all burthened with debt and devoured by usury. There are various accounts of the manner in which he first entered into the pay of the court, but Dumont's is probably the most correct. "He told me himself," says Dumont, "that offers were made to him to relieve him from the debts and mortgages, and put him in possession of the family estates. The source of this generosity would have been odious to any man of a proud, independent character. It was Monsieur the King's brother that engaged to pay him twenty thousand livres or francs a month, until the debts should be liquidated, and thus to become his sole creditor. Such at least was the specious name that was given to this court pension. . . . Mirabeau had no thoughts of paying off any debts except his own private and most pressing ones, and probably nobody ever expected that he would; but, as the court had, in appearance, abandoned the project of a counter-revolution by the flight of the king, and was endeavouring to form a party in the Assembly, it was judged expedient to furnish Mirabeau with the means of action and a well-provided house. An open table was an essential condition, in order to gather together such members of the Assembly as might be useful. Yet, on the other side, there was danger that all this expenditure might give rise to suspicions as to the quarter whence the resources were drawn; and a tribune of the people, leading the life of a Lucullus, must inevitably become suspected." * Moreover, the count spent more money upon women than upon the nice palates of the deputies and patriots. Not satisfied with his publisher's wife, that vulgar piece of vice, Madame Jay, he kept divers filles de l'opéra, in whose society he passed the greater

* Souvenirs sur Mirabeau. "He told me," adds Dumont, some time after, "that he had entered into an understanding with the court, that he had seen the queen, that he directed her councils, and that he had on that side some well-founded hopes, as the court had at last felt the necessity of attaching itself to him, and of no longer listening to the imprudent advice of the emigrants and the princes of the blood."

part of his time, even at moments of crisis, and when every moment might ruin the monarchy he had so idly but so confidently promised to save. These things were no secrets; they were not done in a corner or with any attempt at concealment, but openly, brazenly, in the face of all Paris; for, though anxious for a better reputation, Mirabeau could make no sacrifices to obtain it. He boasted that simulation and dissimulation were not among his vices; but the plain, homely truth appears to be, that he especially prided himself in his excesses, that he ever acted upon the impulse of the moment, and that his headlong passions and inveterate habits admitted of no control. Yet his old evil reputation, added to present suspicions, which must, sooner or later, have come to a head, was but little calculated to qualify him for playing the part of a political redeemer—was little likely to give him that preponderating moral weight without which it seemed unreasonable to hope that anything could be done. Of this he appears, at times, to have been deeply and solemnly sensible himself. In France, even in that hothouse of every vice, Paris, some respect was felt for character and virtue; and, generally, men expect that those who rule them, or take the lead over them, should be exempt from the vices which they are themselves guilty of. "He felt," says Dumont, "so well that if he had enjoyed personal consideration all France would have been at his feet, that, in certain moments, he would have consented to pass through fire and flames to purify the name of Mirabeau. I have seen him weeping and half suffocated with grief, as he said with bitterness, 'I cruelly expiate the errors of my youth!'"* He had peculiar notions about money-matters, and the acceptance of a regular salary from the court at a time that he was figuring as the tribune of the people; and his friend Dumont has permitted his admiration of the energy of the man, and of the good qualities that were really in him, to lead him aside into a palliation of his venality. He says that Mirabeau took the money only to do good work, and that which he was disposed to do without pay; that his pride was unbroken and his views unchanged by the court allowance, and that he would have thrown any man out of the window that had presumed to make any humiliating proposition to him. "He was the pensioner of Monsieur, and afterwards of the king; but he regarded himself as an agent who took charge of their interests, and he took their pensions to govern them, and not to be governed by them. M. de Narbonne once told me he had heard Mirabeau say, 'A man like me may take a hundred thousand crowns, but a hundred thousand crowns will not buy a man like me!'"† As affairs had turned since the month of June, 1789, we doubt whether any merely mortal man could have re-established the monarchy under a suitable constitutional form; and Mirabeau, in engaging to do so, and in taking money for what he knew could never be done, was playing any part rather than an honest one. In the course of this summer, when his health was breaking under the effect of his excesses of all kinds, except that of drinking, he confessed to his friend that he considered the case as altogether hopeless. "When I shall be no more," said he, "it will be felt that I was worth something. The misfortunes which I have stopped for a while will rush in upon France from every quarter. That criminal faction of Jacobins, who tremble before me, will no longer have any curb. I have nothing before my eyes but prophecies of woe! Ah, my friend, how much were we in the right when we attempted, at the commencement, to prevent the Tiers Etat from declaring themselves a National Assembly! *There* is the origin of the evil; ever since they carried that victory they have incessantly been showing themselves unworthy of it; they have determined to govern the king, instead of governing through and by him: but in a very short time it will be neither the Assembly nor the king that will govern; a vile faction will domineer over all, and cover France with horrors!"* But even when in a less despondent mood, and before the symptoms of the diseased body politic were so aggravated, it is evident that Mirabeau was almost as much without a plan as Lafayette himself, or, at least, that he had no fixed plan, but mere schemes and projects, manœuvres and *ruses*, that varied from day to day. At one time he said that he had come to the conclusion that there was nothing to do but to carry off the king, who suffered cruelly from his captivity in Paris, repair to Metz or some other strong place, where Bouillé or some other general might answer for the fidelity of some regiments, and thence make an appeal, in the name of the king, to the whole nation, recapitulating all the good the king had done or still intended to do, and all the crimes his capital had been guilty of. According to this scheme, which Mirabeau had put into writing, the king was to declare all the decrees of the National Assembly to be null and void, and founded upon usurpation; to dissolve the Assembly, and order a new one to be elected immediately; to order all the military commandants to maintain their authority by force of arms; to instruct the old parlemens to resume their functions, and proceed with all severity against rebels; to call around the person of the king all the noblesse of France, for the defence of the throne and of their own existence. According to this desperate plan, which the orator would never have had courage to act upon, Mirabeau himself was not to go with the king, but to remain in Paris in order to watch the movements of the Assembly. As soon as the royal proclamation should be issued all the moderate men in the Assembly were to vote that the Assembly ought to join the king at Metz, or wherever he might be; and, upon the refusal of the majority, they were to secede and join the king themselves. [They would never have been allowed

* Souvenirs. † Id. * Souvenirs.

to do anything of the sort, if they had had the courage to attempt it; they would have been hanged at the *lanternes*, or otherwise massacred by the Paris mob.] If Paris persisted in its disobedience, all its communications were to be cut off, and it was to be reduced by famine. According to Mirabeau, in this scheme the king might at least be quite sure of the clergy, who had been robbed by the Assembly of all their property. The priests were to employ all their religious power over the minds of the people, and the bishops were to assemble and protest, in the name of religion, against the sacrilegious usurpations and robberies of the Assembly. [But, mainly through men and writers like Mirabeau—his predecessors and his contemporaries—there was scarcely a religious sentiment left in the minds of the French people, except in a few out-of-the-way districts; and the temporal benefits of appropriating and fattening upon the lands of the church were a potent barrier to any sudden spiritual conversion.] Dumont could not approve of the scheme. "You are in a great error," said Mirabeau, "if you think that this plan is the signal of a civil war. You do not know to what a degree the French are still attached to their king, and to what a point we are still an essentially monarchic people. From the very moment that the king is free the Assembly will be reduced to nothing. With him it is a mighty colossus; without him it is but a rope of sand. There will be perhaps some émeutes in the Palais Royal—but what of them? If Lafayette attempts to play Washington, and put himself at the head of the national guard, why then Lafayette will deserve to perish, and his fate will soon be decided." "And so," said Dumont, interrupting his torrent of eloquence, "will be the fate of many others; there will be nothing but assassinations and massacres! I know not what are your means for executing this plan, but I am sure it is a bad one, because the king has not strength and character enough to carry him through it: he would make this plan miscarry like all the rest." "But," rejoined Mirabeau, "you do not know the queen! She has a force of mind that is prodigious; she is a man in courage!" Dumont bade him reflect on what manner of men the royalists were—the mass of them were as furious and as mad in their way as were the democrats and Jacobins in theirs, and with as keen an appetite for blood and revenge—and consider how he could possibly act in concert with them. "Suppose yourself at Metz," said the Genevese, "and be sure that, if the plan should succeed, you will be the very first man to be rejected and abandoned, for you have rendered yourself too formidable, and they will never pardon you for that. But, putting aside personal considerations, has not everything that has been done or attempted against the Assembly turned out in their favour? Have they not on their side the whole force of public opinion? Have they not already completely paralysed the finances and the army? If the king gets to the frontiers he will receive succour from the emperor; but is it in the king's character to make himself the conqueror of his own people? Is it with Austrian troops that you would establish liberty and a constitution? Is it not insanity to think of beginning the regeneration of France by the greatest of all calamities—a civil war, and a foreign invasion joined to it?" Mirabeau said that he had himself made some of these objections, but that he was sure the court was determined to make the attempt, and that in consequence he thought it necessary that he should co-operate, both in order to make it succeed, and to conduct it with an eye to liberty, rather than leave the court to commit fresh mistakes, which would finish the ruin of everything. "If," said he, "they fail in this plan, it is all up with the monarchy!" Dumont asked him how a man of sense could consent to play in such "an infernal lottery." He told Mirabeau, with much frankness, that, ever since the decree of the National Assembly which excluded him from the ministry, his resentment had blinded and transported him; that any such plan of counter-revolution, if it succeeded, must inevitably ruin Mirabeau, and end in the re-establishment of despotism; that his proper place was in the Assembly, where his eloquence could command; and that out of the Assembly—as a minister, or courtier, or mere court adviser—he would be nothing. All this was perfectly reasonable, but not so was Dumont's half-hope that Mirabeau, by forming a party in the Assembly, might yet put matters in a proper train. The orator threw up the whole plan he had so energetically recommended in a day or two; and though he continued to take the wages of the court he did little or nothing for it this year. To those who hinted that the court was leading him into great danger, and might betray him, he replied, in words too gross to be literally translated, that, if they did, or attempted it, he would drive them into a republic.

The Duke of Orleans had been allowed to return. Matters had not gone better during his absence, yet many of the royalists thought that his arrival was the signal of fresh calamities. To keep him away in England reports had been sent to him that the Châtelet court were proceeding vigorously in examining the affair of the 5th and 6th of October, and were sure to bring him in guilty of conspiracy and treason. According to the account of his friend and secretary, Laclos, the duke's confidence in his own innocence emboldened him to return; according to other accounts, the duke returned because he knew that it would suit the ruling faction, if not openly to coalesce with him, to tolerate and encourage him, and because he knew that the majority in the Assembly, in order to keep the veil drawn over sundry members of their own body, would stop all further inquisition into the dark business of the march to Versailles and the attack on the palace, and annul any sentence of the Châtelet. It is said that, when he landed at Dieppe, a nobleman of the royalist or

ministerial party cried out aloud, in the hearing of many people, that the Duke of Orleans ought to be hanged; but that nothing could intimidate his royal highness, who came on to Paris. The day after his arrival he presented himself in the National Assembly, and was received with applauses and cheers by a very large part of the House. He delivered a speech in explanation of his conduct; and, not satisfied with this public defence, he published a mémoire, entitled "Exposé of the Conduct of M. le Duc d'Orléans in the Revolution of France, written by himself at London." This pamphlet, which was evidently the production of Laclos, solemnly denied that the duke knew anything of the insurrection in Paris which began with the women on the morning of the 5th of October; denied that the duke was at Versailles, either on the night of the 5th or the morning of the 6th; asserted that he was ignorant of all that had taken place until, on the 6th, as he was going from Paris to Versailles, he met near the bridge of Sèvres the heads of the two gardes-du-corps, and the mob, who, so far from showing him any favour, fired at his English postilion. It produced numerous good arguments to show that the design, imputed to him by his enemies, of opening a way to the throne through a crowd of assassinations, was too monstrously absurd to be entertained by any man that was not mad, or to be believed possible except by men that calumniated the French nation. All the assassinations that could possibly have been committed at Versailles could not have included the Count d'Artois and his children, who stood so much nearer to the throne in the order of succession than the Duke of Orleans. Meanwhile the proceedings in the Châtelet Court had been continued, and the judges, who were suspected by the patriots of submitting to the secret influences and consulting the wishes of the Tuileries, had inculpated, upon evidence which appears to have been of the most contradictory and contemptible kind, not only Orleans, but also Mirabeau. But, as the great orator had entered into the king's pay, and had promised such mighty things, it was now the wish of the royalists that the accusation should be made to bear solely upon the duke, and that Mirabeau should consent to give him up, and remain silent in the Assembly when the report of the Châtelet should be laid before it. Mirabeau, however, had been too openly accused of complicity to allow himself to adopt this line of conduct; he felt that some of the thunder and lightning of his oratory was necessary to clear the atmosphere around his own person; and, whatever he may have promised to the court, he certainly resolved not to be silent, but to speak—not to give up the duke, but to defend him, as in so doing he would defend himself. The expediency, the necessity of a grand harangue was rendered the more imperative, as the report made to the Assembly by a committee of its own coupled together the names of *Messieurs* Louis Philip Joseph d'Orléans and Mirabeau the elder, *deputies of the National Assembly*. This report was presented by Chabroud on the 30th of September, and it was so long and so rambling that the reading of it occupied two sittings, and when it was read there remained on the mind a mere confusion of facts or images. Lafayette was made very uneasy by the manner in which Chabroud had mentioned his name and the letter he had written to the Count d'Estaing; and he wrote to the president to explain what that letter really was. M. Bonnay, who belonged to the noble regiment himself, had the courage not only to applaud the conduct of the gardes-du-corp, who, he said, had assuredly saved the lives of the royal family, but also to justify the repast they had given in the theatre of the Palais, which was held up as a capital crime and main cause of the insurrection. Mirabeau demanded that Chabroud's report should be instantly printed and distributed, and that the whole affair should be thoroughly sifted. And on the following day, the 2nd of October, he ascended the tribune to announce in his most thundering voice that he was there as the accuser of the Châtelet, that he called upon that court to give him satisfaction for the wounds inflicted upon his honour and reputation; and that he would only give up his pursuit of it in the grave. On the motion of Goupil, amended by Dubois, Crancé, Guillaume, and Mirabeau, the Assembly voted that the members who were witnesses in this affair, with the exception of such as had declared that they really knew nothing about it, should take no part in the debate or decision that was about to take place. Abbé Maury drew a terrible picture of the events of the 6th of October, declaring that the honour of the Assembly stood committed, and called for a prompt judgment. Alexander Lameth insisted more pointedly that they must pronounce whether or not there were grounds of accusation against Messieurs Mirabeau and d'Orléans. Rœderer rather unreasonably tried to throw the whole *onus probandi* upon Maury, challenging the abbé to prove that the events of the 6th of October were the consequences of a conspiracy or plot in which Mirabeau and Orleans were actors or accomplices. Maury, who had his cue from the Tuileries, said that he would willingly consent to the striking of the name of Mirabeau out of the procedure; but that he must think there were good grounds of accusation against Orleans. Then Mirabeau again vaulted upon the tribune, shook the wild-boar head, and commenced a tremendous oration. After a grand exordium, which was infinitely admired, he descended to a quieter and more argumentative tone; and, in truth, it required no great force of argument to tear into shreds the flimsy, disjointed, illogical report of Chabroud, and the contradictory and, in good part, hearsay evidence heard and registered by the Châtelet, and upon which solely the matter of the report was founded. He concluded his speech by accusing and denouncing the whole of the *côté droit*, or right side of the House, where sat Maury and all the king's friends, mixed

with the more moderate portion of the liberal party. "Yes," cried he, "the secret of this infernal procedure is discovered at last; the whole of it is there (pointing to the côté droit); it is in the interests of those whose testimony and calumnies have formed the tissue of it; it is in the resources which it has furnished to the enemies of the revolution; it is in the hearts of the Châtelet judges, such as it will soon be engraved in the pages of history by the justest and most implacable vengeance." Here there rose tremendous applauses, which were repeated and continued until the orator had descended from the tribune and regained his seat. There was very little more debating about the matter, and there was no inquiry whatever. Biron defended Orleans, whom Mirabeau, though saying little about him by name, had exculpated in defending himself. Montlausier proposed that three days should be devoted to a careful examination of the alleged facts. Rœderer said that before deliberating or entering upon any examination they ought to hear Orleans, whose perfect innocence, he insisted, was no longer a problem. Barnave proposed that the report presented by Chabroud should instantly be adopted. Maury remarked that the côté droit could no longer take part in the deliberation: a good many of that side immediately withdrew, but the abbé remained. Murinais demanded that they should instantly absolve Mirabeau; but the determination was adopted to absolve *both* the accused without further discussion; and accordingly the Assembly decreed that there was no ground of accusation against either Mirabeau or Orleans.* But this decision, which was founded upon no evidence or examination of facts, carried no conviction out of doors; and the greater part of the royalists continued to believe or to assert that the horrible insurrection had been got up and guided by the Duke of Orleans and his creatures. The Marquis de Bouillé years after, and without the discovery of any new proof, has recorded in his memoirs that ruffians in the pay of Orleans, taking with them the whole populace of Paris, had proceeded to Versailles for the purpose of massacring the king and the royal family, and placing that prince on the bloody throne. The marquis was also firmly of opinion that during the royal duke's absence in England his party still existed, though with diminished strength; that on his return he incorporated his faction with the Jacobins, co-operating with them to demoralize the army, and break down the last remnant of the power of Louis. He asserts broadly, and without any proof, that Orleans had, in all the garrisons of France, agents, whose object was to seduce the soldiers by inciting them to licentiousness and excess, and holding out to them the prospect of plunder.† De Bouillé, though a brave and honest man, was hasty in conclusions, hot-headed and extreme, like the great bulk of his countrymen: we should hesitate to admit these asseverations, particularly as the demoralization of the troops may be sufficiently accounted for by other agencies and influences. The Federation had indisputably produced the great effect which we have described. And, according to Bouillé himself, his relative Lafayette, who wished to gain over the troops that he might employ them in support of the constitution, should the king recede from his engagements, or the aristocrats establish a party and attempt a struggle, had pursued a system of conduct which could scarcely fail of introducing a universal mutiny into the French line. He had had recourse to the municipal officers of the different cities, and to the chiefs of the national guards, persuading them to use their influence with the soldiers, and to endeavour to inspire them with an attachment to the unfinished, unpromising constitution. The National Assembly had considerably augmented the pay of the common soldiers, and had caused the rigour of the old discipline to be much relaxed. The severity of the old officers—nearly every one of them aristocrats—was blamed in the Assembly and out of the Assembly, and they were represented to the men as haughty, incurable despots, and as enemies to the constitution, which was to produce universal happiness to the people, and to the army ease and convenience, with an open road, to every man in it, to the attainment of the highest honours and commands in the profession.* Numerous promotions of untitled men had already taken place, and the most violent animosities raged between these plebeian officers and the noble ones. Among the non-commissioned officers were a crowd of men who, in the course of a very few years, figured as colonels of regiments, generals of divisions, commanders-in-chief of armies, marshals, princes, who were deeply imbued with the new philosophy, who professed a passionate regard for the Rights of Man and the saving dogmas of liberty and equality, and who were excessively impatient to rid the army entirely of aristocrats, and to command and reign in their places. In this particular body there was much energy, indisputable ability, and many germs even of high military genius; yet it was somewhat absurd in them to pretend, as they did, to have the monopoly of all the qualities that constitute great officers. And, again, if Lafayette had done nothing, if the Assembly had done nothing directly, the Jacobin clubs established in all places, and the Jacobin newspapers which ran everywhere, with scarcely the possibility of their arguments being refuted, or their monstrous falsehoods or exaggerations exposed, would have been quite sufficient, in the present state of things, to bring about all that happened.

The soldiers of de Bouillé's army who had attended the Federation had scarcely returned from Paris to quarters ere the most alarming symptoms of disaffection and mutiny broke out, threatening nothing less than the total dissolution of that army, and the plunder of whole cities and pro-

* Histoire Parlementaire.
† De Bouillé, Mémoires.

* De Bouillé, Mémoires.

vinces; for the soldiery now united themselves with the populace, and were more constant in their attendance on clubs and meetings than they were on the parade. This was in the months of August and September. In the preceding month of March, before the general federation was proposed, there had been a mutiny among the garrison at Metz, but this had been only the effects of intoxication into which the soldiers had been enticed by the patriotic inhabitants of the town; at the voice of their officers the men returned to their duty, and afterwards showed so much contrition that de Bouillé conceived a better opinion of them than he had before entertained. He harangued the regiment of Picardy, representing how disgraceful it was for the first regiment of France to have set such an example to the army. This touched the esprit de corps and that military pride which is about the strongest of all French passions; and when, in consideration of their repentance, he pardoned them all punishment, the men cried out almost unanimously that their misconduct had merited chastisement, and that they desired to remain in confinement in their barracks for eight days! But now there was to be no contrition, no return to duty under their old officers, for a subtle and quick poison had been administered. Moreover, there were considerable arrears of pay due to the troops, which the king's ministers had been left by the Assembly too poor to discharge. At Metz, though there was continual murmuring, with a gross neglect of military duty, de Bouillé contrived to keep matters tolerably quiet; but at Nancy the garrison, composed of four battalions of the king's regiment, accounted one of the best in France, of two battalions of Swiss, principally from Geneva, the Pays de Vaud, and Neuchâtel—French-speaking Swiss, who are scarcely Swiss at all—and of a cavalry regiment, were in confraternity with the mob, and in a most terrible state of insurrection: they had sent deputies to the different garrisons inviting the soldiers either to join them or to follow their example, and engaging them not to obey de Bouillé or any of his officers, if ordered to march against them. They had also sent a deputation to Paris to present an insolent, arrogant message to the Assembly, and they were openly supported by the Jacobin Club, the great nursing-mother and most prolific genetrix—*La Société Mère*—and by all the Jacobin newspapers, whether of the capital or of the provinces. Lafayette, however, caused Messieurs the deputies to be arrested, and the Assembly had courage and foresight sufficient to pass a decree—everything was now done by their decrees, and they were as much an executive as a legislative power in the state—ordering the soldiers to return to their duty, and the inhabitants of Nancy to their obedience to the laws, under pain of being treated as rebels. A general officer and a member of the Assembly, M. de Malseigne, was charged with the execution of this decree, and de Bouillé was ordered by the Assembly to render him every assistance in his power, and to employ arms if the garrison and mob of Nancy persisted in their rebellion.* The day after receiving the decree of the Assembly, de Bouillé received an order from the king to take under his command the troops of Lorraine, Alsace, Franche Comté, and all Champagne. These, united to the garrison of Metz, formed a force of 110 battalions and 104 squadrons of horse, which, altogether, covered the whole frontier, from Switzerland to the Sambre. † But this force, instead of being effective to preserve order in the interior of the kingdom, was only proper to consolidate disorder and carry out the revolution to the utmost extremes of democracy: instead of obeying either the king and the commander he had appointed, or the National Assembly, it obeyed the Jacobin club. The cavalry were a few points better, for they were composed of a better description of men than the infantry, and the mass of them, instead of occupying barracks in the great towns, had been distributed, for facilities of forage, &c., in the smaller rural towns and in the villages, and had thus been much less exposed to seduction; but, as for the foot-soldiers, de Bouillé himself said, in the middle of August, that out of the 110 battalions there were not more than 20 which he was certain would obey his orders, and these 20 battalions were either German or Swiss. He accepted the extended command with many misgivings and with regret; but the minister-at-war, M. de la Tour du Pin, told him that the king relied upon his zeal for his service, and his attachment to his person, and hoped that he would hold the command till it should plainly appear that there was no longer any possibility of maintaining himself in it. De Bouillé's first thoughts were to secure a position which might enable him to collect his cavalry and the infantry upon which he could depend, with good means of resistance, and to employ the resources of which he was master in resisting the further progress of revolt, and even in directing events. The position which he chose was upon the banks of the Seille, a tributary of the Moselle. It was defended by three little places—Marsal, Vic, and Moyenvic; the first of which was surrounded by a marsh, and was in itself very strong. All round there were extensive meadows proper for the support of a large cavalry force: he had before him open plains upon which his cavalry could act with most advantage, and he was placed in the midst of some of the most important provinces of the kingdom. He also secured Bisch and Phalsbourg, two excellent little fortresses, which rendered him master of part of the mountains of Vôsges; and it was his intention to take possession of the town and fortress of Montmédi, which would have given him open communications with Luxembourg, and with the forces the emperor might collect in the Austrian Nether-

* De Bouillé, Mémoires.—Histoire Parlementaire.

† The rest of the French army was divided into three parts: M. de Rochambeau commanded that of the north, which comprised all French Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy; that of the south was commanded by Marshal de Mailly; the other, which included all the western coast except Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders, was to be commanded by a fourth general not yet named.

lands. With very admirable activity, de Bouillé collected his best regiments on the Seille, brought a good train of artillery to the spot he had selected, and began getting together all the forage on the Seille and the upper Moselle. Instead of going direct to Nancy, M. de Malseigne, the deputy dispatched by the National Assembly, paid a visit at Metz to de Bouillé, who then advised him to proceed alone to Nancy, as it was his wish that force should not be employed until after peaceful representations had failed. Continuing his journey, Malseigne was soon at Nancy, where he found affairs in the worst condition. Having been joined by five or six thousand men, either common people of the neighbourhood or deserters from other regiments, all eager for pillage, the garrison had broken open the arsenal, taking from it 5000 muskets, had seized upon the powder-magazines, and had placed eighteen pieces of cannon in battery, loaded to their muzzles with grape-shot. The soldiers had plundered the military chest, had assaulted and ill treated their officers, and had thrown many of them, including the general who commanded them, into prison. In concert with the mob they had exacted money from the constituted authorities of the place, and had threatened to lanterne the municipal officers and the commissioners of departments in case they did not comply with their demands. They had avowed a sovereign contempt for the National Assembly, and had burnt its decrees; and they were intimating their intention of plundering and sacking the city, and had marked out the principal victims for the lanterne when the perplexed deputy arrived. He caused the decree of the Assembly to be proclaimed throughout the city; but the people and the soldiers treated it with derision. On his attempting to harangue the troops they attempted to seize him; and it was only by great presence of mind that he escaped out of that wasps' nest and got to Luneville, where there were eight squadrons of cavalry that had hitherto preserved their military morale. The garrison of Nancy, and with them a part of the national guards, obliged their officers to place themselves at their head and proceed in warlike order to Luneville, to compel the cavalry there to deliver up to their fury General Malseigne and others. De Bouillé was within the walls of Metz when he received intelligence of this movement. Having no troops there on whom he could rely, and having, in fact, been informed that most of the French infantry in that garrison had sworn not to act against their brethren of Nancy, he dispatched orders for some Swiss and German battalions, quartered in the neighbourhood of Metz, together with some regiments of cavalry, to put themselves in motion; and he happily succeeded in getting out of Metz a small train of artillery. He then quitted that town himself, but very secretly, for he was under some apprehensions that the soldiers of the garrison would lay forcible hands upon him. He soon came up with a Swiss battalion and one of the cavalry regiments he had sent forward. He was marching with all speed upon Luneville when he was informed that the eight squadrons of horse there, after having refused to deliver up Malseigne, after having even fought a little battle with the troops and national guards from Nancy, and obliged them to retire in disorder to their own quarters, had themselves proceeded to mutiny the very day after, had arrested General Malseigne, had sent him under a strong escort to Nancy, and delivered him into the hands of the infuriated soldiers of that garrison, with many apologies for not complying sooner, and for saluting with carbines and sabres the patriots who had gone to Luneville to demand him. De Bouillé very naturally concluded that Malseigne must by this time have been hanged at a Nancy lanterne, with the decree of the Assembly pinned on his jacket; and that, therefore, it would be of no use proceeding to Nancy with the small force he had with him. Malseigne was a man hard to kill—was an old, tried soldier, prompt and daring—one that had escaped from imminent perils before now;—and any soldier-like death was preferable to hanging. Being on horseback, and with a good steed under him, he made a sudden dash through the fellows that were escorting him to prison, galloped out of the town, and escaped unhurt, although muskets and carbines were fired after him, and one bullet lodged in his jerkin. After this brave flight he was, however, recaptured or betrayed by some of the cavalry of Luneville in whom he trusted, and within four-and-twenty hours he was reconducted into Nancy. He was not hanged or butchered, as he expected, which possibly was owing to the reported near approach of de Bouillé, with troops that seemed determined to fight the patriots. In an open carriage, with a soldier standing over him with a drawn sword, he was conveyed through the streets of Nancy, through hedges of national guards and a mob of furious women, to the prison of the town, and there lodged for the present.* The revolted garrison sent a fresh deputation to the Assembly, consisting apparently of none but members of the national guards of the town. While de Bouillé was halting at Toul, between Nancy and Metz, some of the troops and national guards of the latter place sent to request that they might be employed in the present service. That general was afraid that the soldiers, in spite of their promises to the contrary, would join the rebels as soon as he arrived before Nancy; and in the courage and energy of the national guards this veteran officer placed but little confidence. He was in a dilemma; for, if he refused their request, nothing was so probable as that these soldiers would be guilty of some fresh outrage in Metz. As a compromise, he resolved to accept the services of 600 grenadiers of the line and 600 national guards. This detachment marched and joined him in good order; and he united them to four

* Révolution de Paris, and other newspapers of the day, and letters from de Bouillé to the minister-at-war, and from the minister-at-war to the Assembly, as cited in Histoire Parlementaire.—Bouillé, Mémoires.—Hist. de la Révolution, par Deux Amis de la Liberté.

battalions of Swiss or Germans, and fourteen squadrons of horse, which, by this time, he had collected at Frouard, about a league and a half from Nancy. His entire force now consisted of 3000 foot and 1400 horse. Two thousand national guards of the neighbouring country, who had been collected by an aide-de camp of Lafayette, had yielded to the persuasions and enticements of the people and garrison of Nancy, and had gone over and joined them instead of staying to co-operate with de Bouillé. With a force within that town, which he now calculated at 10,000 men under arms, de Bouillé thought it prudent to lay aside all idea of attacking Nancy, and to try once more what could be done by gentle means. On his march from Metz he had sent forward a proclamation, in the name of the nation, the law, and the king, quoting the decrees of the National Assembly, and inviting the national guards of Nancy, all good citizens, and all faithful soldiers, to join him and assist him in putting down by force the soldiers that were rebels to the laws. This proclamation, and another, allowing them four-and-twenty hours to make up their minds and return an answer, were introduced into the town of Nancy on the morning of the 30th of August. At half-past eleven o'clock a deputation arrived at Frouard to answer. It was composed of members chosen by the lowest rabble of the town, and of soldiers from the different revolted regiments, there being among the latter some of the cavalry from Luneville who had played so false by Malseigne. The deputation was, however, accompanied by some of the principal members of the departmental government and of the municipality, who had been compelled to follow the mob by threats that they would be massacred if they refused. The deputies behaved so insolently that de Bouillé's grenadiers were with difficulty prevented from exterminating them. The propositions they had to offer were altogether inadmissible. De Bouillé told them his conditions, which were, that the three regiments at the head of the revolt should leave the town and submit to the decree of the Assembly, by delivering up their ringleaders; that the two general officers, Denoue, the commander of the place, and Malseigne, should forthwith be liberated and brought out to him unhurt; that they should then permit his troops to enter the town, delivering over, beforehand, their eighteen pieces of artillery. He finished by assuring them all that if they did not obey he would execute the law and the decrees of the Assembly with the greatest rigour. The deputies replied to these hard conditions with fresh insolence and expressions of contempt for the general, which so exasperated his hot-headed grenadiers, who, a short time before, had been just as mutinous and insolent themselves, that they cried out, "Let us hang these rebels and rascals!" They were laying hands on the free-spoken orators, and were only prevented from putting them all to death on the spot by de Bouillé's strenuous exertions and his promise that, if the people and garrison did not quietly submit, he would immediately lead them against the town and take it by storm.* At half-past twelve o'clock de Bouillé actually began his march towards the town, determining to attack it; for, though he had reason to expect disastrous consequences to himself and his little army, yet, if he had refused to comply with the desire of his troops, or attempted to oppose the fury that transported them, it was probable that he himself would have become its victim, for they would have considered him as a traitor, and have treated him no better than they had proposed treating the Nancy deputation. "Such, then," says the general himself, "being my situation, I blindly committed myself to fortune for the result." A worse situation for a commanding officer can scarcely be conceived. At half-past two in the afternoon he halted within a short half-league of the town, and gave audience to another deputation which had been sent out by the revolted soldiery and mob. He repeated to them the same conditions, with the additional one, that they should immediately deliver up four men from each regiment to be sent to Paris to be tried by the National Assembly. The deputies demanded an hour to consider of these proposals, and he granted it. But as soon as the hour was expired he ordered his advanced guard to approach the gates of the town, which were defended by troops and armed inhabitants with several pieces of cannon. He was now met by a third deputation, and he called a halt, though his foremost men were within thirty paces of one of the gates. This third deputation assured him that all his orders would be immediately obeyed; that Malseigne and the other general would presently be delivered up safe and sound; and that the regiments were evacuating the town. And, in effect, de Bouillé soon saw the head of the column into which the king's regiment had formed itself filing off from the town through another gate; and in a very few minutes more he was joined by the liberated generals, Malseigne and Denoue. He fondly flattered himself that the business was finished, and that he had happily escaped from a critical situation. He suspended his advance until all the garrison should have departed; but some of the national guardsmen of Metz went into the town of their own accord, and seemed to be received in a very friendly manner by the people. De Bouillé was conversing with the two generals who had had so narrow an escape, when there arose a terrible hubbub near the gate. A great number of soldiers, who had not followed their colours, mixed with the town rabble, who were shouting that they were betrayed to the Austrians, began a quarrel with de Bouillé's advanced guard, which was composed entirely of Swiss, and were preparing to fire on them with some of their grape-shot-crammed cannon. For some short time they were prevented in their murderous purpose by a young officer of the king's regiment, Captain Desilles, who placed himself before the

* De Bouillé, Mémoires.

mouth of one of the pieces, and when torn from thence leaped upon a four-and-twenty pounder, and seated himself over the touch-hole. In that position, and in the act of imploring the furious men within the gate not to fire upon their friends and countrymen, a musket was levelled at him—was fired—and then another, and another: under the fourth bullet he fell dead from the gun to the earth;—the match was then applied to the cannon, and in the next instant, so murderously were those pieces loaded, from fifty to sixty of de Bouillé's advanced guard lay on the ground as dead as Desilles. The comrades of the slain Swiss, backed by the French grenadiers, then advanced with irresistible fury, seized the cannon, took possession of the gate, and entered the town. But they were scarcely engaged in the narrow street when they were assailed with thick showers of musket-balls, from over-head and from under their feet, from the cellars and the roofs of the houses, from windows and from holes in closed doors, not a man showing his face anywhere, but firing snugly under cover, and with deliberate aim. Presently the troops of the garrison that had filed off through the opposite gate, thinking themselves betrayed, and that advantage had been taken of their retiring to attack the people and their comrades, ran back into Nancy to assist them. De Bouillé, astonished and perplexed, rushed to the gate by which his vanguard had entered the town; and there he found that they had been knocked down in heaps, that they were thrown into disorder, and were on the point of flying. Rallying them, he hastily made his dispositions to penetrate to the heart of the town in two separate columns. Two squadrons of hussars were driven back with one-half of their number killed or wounded; and the advance of the infantry along the principal streets was slow and most difficult. If the troops of the garrison that had returned into the town had joined their comrades and the mob, de Bouillé must have been annihilated; but some of the officers of the king's regiment succeeded in persuading them to retire into the court-yard of their barracks, to form themselves in order of battle there, and wait until they should be attacked. This saved de Bouillé. His men too, thinking that the troops in Nancy had suffered them to advance in security in order to draw them into an ambush, and fight them with advantage, were mad with fury and revenge, and kept advancing though blood and brains were scattered about at every step. It was half-past four when the fight began, and it was half-past seven before de Bouillé could reach the principal squares, upon which opened the barracks of the king's regiment, and the barracks of the Château-Vieux regiment, which latter, though Swiss, had been as mutinous as the worst of the native French corps. He had lost on his way forty officers and well nigh four hundred men; but he had inflicted a very great loss on the insurgents, had taken five hundred of them prisoners, and had deprived them of their eighteen cannon. No firing proceeded either from the barracks of the king's regiment or from the Château-Vieux barracks. The French grenadiers, maddened by their wounds and their losses, desired to be led on to attack and slaughter their own countrymen of the king's regiment; but just as it was growing dark one of his aides-de-camp announced to de Bouillé that the king's precious own were in great consternation, and would certainly submit if the general would appear among them and address them. De Bouillé, who was as fearless as his sword, instantly repaired alone to the court-yard of the barracks. At sight of him the king's began to lay down their arms, but he prevented them, only desiring that they would quit the town within a quarter of an hour, and march quietly to a garrison twenty leagues off. They gladly consented; and in less than half an hour they had entirely evacuated Nancy, and were in full march for the garrison assigned to them.* Upon the departure of the king's, the regiment of Château-Vieux came out of their barracks and obeyed orders to leave the town: their example was followed by all the rest of the revolted soldiery, who repaired to different garrisons named to them; the rascally mob, the bloodiest of the street combatants, had fled long before this in every direction; the citizens had all shut themselves up in their houses, and by nine o'clock at night Nancy was as quiet as a nunnery. "Fortune," says de Bouillé, "had snatched me, as it were by the hair of the head, out of the danger into which she had plunged me;—and this was the last favour I ever received from her!" He boasted that, on his side, as little blood was shed as possible, that not one of the inhabitants was either killed or wounded, excepting such as were under arms, and that not a single house was either pillaged or burned. On the 1st of September, the day after the affair, the three Swiss battalions assembled a council of war, to try about eighty soldiers of the regiment of Château-Vieux, who had been taken with arms in their hands. By treaties between the old monarchy and the Helvetian league, the Swiss troops in the service of France preserved their own martial code, and the right of administering justice in their own manner, which was very severe. The council of war condemned twenty soldiers to death, and between fifty and sixty to the galleys. The sentences were put into execution. De Bouillé had no right to interfere in the matter; but the executions were all laid to his account by the Jacobins, who described the whole affair as the horrible massacre of Nancy, brought about by detestable treachery on the part of de Bouillé and the royalist officers with him. About two hundred of the king's regiment and about three hundred of the people, who

* De Bouillé adds: "What was very extraordinary, these soldiers demanded an escort from me, though every man of them had thirty rounds of cartridge, which I had not thought it advisable to take from them, lest it should occasion some delay in their departure, which was at that time the object of most importance. I gave them thirty hussars, who conducted them to their garrison."—*Mémoires.*

had likewise been taken with arms in their hands, he let go, and not one of them ever met with any punishment. On the 3rd of September the king, from Saint-Cloud, wrote an autograph letter to the noble general, assuring him that his conduct at Nancy had given him the most signal satisfaction; that on the 31st of August he had saved France, and that his behaviour on that day of crisis ought to be an object of imitation for all well-wishers to their country.* But the Jacobins, not only in their club, but also in the Assembly, endeavoured to exonerate the revolted troops and the people of Nancy from the least share of blame, and to represent de Bouillé as a traitor to the nation, and an unprovoked murderer of brave and innocent Frenchmen. Robespierre took a very active part on this side, and insisted that the second deputation sent from Nancy should be heard at the bar of the House. Those deputies, who had departed from their town several days before de Bouillé arrived at it, boldly demanded the immediate liberation of the former deputation, who had been thrown into prison by Lafayette, under a warrant signed by Mayor Bailly. They were told that those deputies were already liberated; and this was quite true, though they were soldiers of the king's regiment, and had been ringleaders in the mutiny and insurrection. The present deputies at the bar of the House then declared that the garrison and the soldiers had shown the firmest attachment to the revolution, as all the citizens of Nancy could testify; and that they were only jealous of the aristocrats, and apprehensive of dark royalist plots against liberty and equality: that some of the soldiers' allowances had been stopped; that yellow furloughs had been given to some of the best men in the garrison, who had no other fault than that of being enthusiastically attached to the revolution; that these men had been sent away from their regiments, and with marks of disgrace, only in order to keep together unpatriotic soldiers who might be depended upon by the aristocrats and plotting royalists; that insidious means had been adopted to arm part of the soldiers against the patriot townspeople of Nancy; and that several men, bought over and disguised by the aristocrats, had attacked inhabitants of the town before the garrison mutinied. "In the king's *regiment*," said these deputies, "there are a good many young men of decent families serving as common soldiers; better educated and informed than their comrades, they have taught them what our constitution is, and have preached its principles to them."† Here was the *mot de l'énigme*: in nearly every regiment a knot of young men had formed a political club, and were in the habit of lecturing their unlettered comrades into the mysteries of liberty and equality, and of reading to them the Jacobin journals. What were called the honours of *séance* were accorded by the Assembly to these Nancy deputies. Nevertheless the respectabilities and the non-Jacobins ventured to question the veracity of these honourable men, to declare that insurrection was *contagious*, and that if not properly chastised at Nancy it would spread to the heart of the kingdom; and would presently be at the gates of Paris. Lafayette, who, on a previous occasion, when the revolution was younger and more timid, had declared insurrection to be the holiest of duties —*le plus saint des devoirs*—now thought himself obliged to express his strong disapprobation of the mutiny and insurrection at Nancy, to declare that he thought the situation of the country very critical, and to propose that the Assembly should instantly pass a vote of thanks to de Bouillé. Robespierre thought that the Assembly ought to proceed with great caution, and examine facts before committing themselves by any such vote of thanks, which would give power and consideration to the king and his ministers! "Is it," said he, "against soldiers who have been deceived and betrayed, against soldiers whose error is their excessive patriotism, that you would send other soldiers with fire and sword? Perhaps it will happen that you will see on one side all the patriot soldiers, and on the other, in the army of de Bouillé, all those soldiers who have sold themselves to despotism and the aristocracy." These words—this dark hint—excited the Jacobin benches and the galleries, and Robespierre was much applauded. Nevertheless it was carried by a considerable majority, that a solemn vote of thanks, drawn up by Mirabeau, should be sent to Nancy, to praise the zeal of the departmental government and the municipality, the patriotism and civic bravery of the national guards, who had marched under the orders of de Bouillé, and to approve of the whole conduct of the general and the troops of the line, "who had gloriously done their duty." The Assembly also sent a commission to Nancy to take measures for restoring tranquillity, and for bringing the most guilty to condign punishment. Robespierre attempted to remonstrate; but he was silenced by some of Mirabeau's loudest thunder.* The Parisians showed their lively sensibility and tender grief for the loss of their brothers in arms by a grand national funeral service, celebrated in the Champ de Mars. The triumphal arch, the amphitheatrical galleries on which the court had been seated at the federation festival, were covered all over with black mort-cloth; the wooden altar of the country was converted into an ancient tomb, surrounded by cypresses, and covered with corresponding inscriptions in golden letters. There were music and incense, and Jacobinized priests, wearing tricolored sashes over their calico albs. In short, it was another ravishing spectacle which all Paris and the neighbourhood went to see; and Lafayette

* With more than usual grace, Louis said, in a postscript to this letter to de Bouillé, "I am informed that one of your favourite horses was killed under M. de Gouvernet. I have sent you one of my own, which I have mounted, and beg of you to keep him for my sake."—*Mémoires.*

† Hist. Parlement.

* Hist. Parlement.

was there on his white horse, and Mayor Bailly in his gilded coach, and nearly all the deputies of the Assembly were there, except the Jacobins, who had protested. Marat, that indefatigable Friend of the People, made his own mob-exciting reflections in his own newspaper. He thought it would have been a deal better if the money expended on this spectacle had been laid out in bread for famishing patriots. He announced to the good people of Paris as a certain fact that all the poor men of Nancy had been for the revolted soldiery. "This," said the horse-leech, "confirms a truth which has been proclaimed by the entire history of our revolution;—it is that the poorest or most unfortunate class of citizens are the only ones that are patriots, the only class that are honest! They are the refuse of mankind, say the canaille of the court; but, in the eyes of an observer and philosopher, they are the only sound part of society. . . . . . These new departmental governments and municipalities, constituted under the patronage of the Assembly, are composed of nothing but gangrened members of the old bodies, who are carrying infection into the reign of liberty, and keeping up an understanding with the government, by tricks and signs, like cut-purses at a fair. O Divine Providence, take pity on thy children! Thou who holdest in thy right hand all the scourges of nature, choose that which best suits thy holy decrees, provided only it free us from this accursed race of vermin, and radically extirpate them from among us."* Patience, O Marat, *Ca ira!* This will tell—this will go! In brief time there will be scourging and exterminating enough, and thou wilt be, for a season, chief scourgeman and chief headsman!

On the 4th of September, the very day after the vote of thanks to de Bouillé, the president announced to the Assembly that he had received a letter from the minister Necker, who wished to quit office and the kingdom. The letter, which ought to have been written to the king and not to the Assembly at all, was ordered to be read. It was very characteristic of the Genevese banker, and full of an inflated vanity, even in that abyss of failure and disgrace. It stated that his health was ruined by continual labour, trouble, and anxiety; that his physicians had imperatively advised him to go and drink the mineral waters; that "the mortal inquietudes" of a wife, who was "as virtuous as she was dear to his heart," had determined him to delay his retreat no longer. He had given the account which the Assembly had demanded of the receipt and expenditure of the public treasury; he hoped it would prove satisfactory; and he had nothing more to offer on that head. He made a merit of leaving behind him property which he could not sell, and money which, if he could have got at it, which is very doubtful, he would certainly not have been permitted to carry away with him; and this, he said, was a guarantee for the purity of his administration of the finances, and this he would confide to the safeguard and honour of the nation.* The letter concluded with a complaint of the acts of enmity and injustice to which he had been exposed, and with a hope that the guarantee which this injustice had induced him to offer would prove satisfactory. He might well complain of injustice, and writhe under the continuous scourging which had been inflicted on him by the Jacobins in the Assembly and out of doors. Danton, that terrible Cordelier, had for a long time been accusing him of corruption and the grossest official peculation. He had even been in the habit of naming the very sums that Necker was pillaging, and his ciphers seldom fell short of millions. Marat was not less pitiless in his newspaper: the other journals imitated these classical examples, and, from being considered the people's minister, the guardian-angel of France, the poor banquier-philosophe had by these means obtained the reputation of being the greatest scoundrel, rogue, and thief that had ever entered the kingdom. For some time past he had been serenaded by the mob with most unwelcome and alarming music; and, whatever was his own opinion, his wife evidently thought that, if he did not get him gone, he would be hanged some fine night under the lanterne. With bold filial piety his rhetorical daughter suppresses these important facts, and attributes his resignation and departure to his dislike of assignats or paper money, and to the want of wisdom and decision in the king and his advisers; but the simple truth appears to be that Necker went because he could not stay. In the midst of an émeute, which had apparently been excited by Marat and the other journalists, Necker, with his wife and four friends, stole out of Paris, and took the road for Switzerland. He travelled, with a heavy heart, along the same road on which the people, not many months before, had drawn him in triumph, hailing him as a deliverer and saviour. He had provided himself with one passport from the king, and with another, of somewhat more efficacy, from Mayor Bailly. Nevertheless, on arriving at Arcis-sur-Aube, near the Swiss frontier, he was arrested with all his party by the national guards of the place. This was hard treatment for the people's minister, who had so essentially contributed to the opening of the first act of the revolution—without seeing what would be the after-acts. On the 11th of September the Assembly received a plaintive letter from the captive, and a letter, with procès-verbal of the arrestation, from the municipal officers of Arcis-

*L'Ami du Peuple, as cited in Hist. Parlement.

* Necker said, "I offer and leave behind me, as a guarantee of my administration, my house in Paris, my country-house, and my funds in the royal treasury; the latter have for a long time consisted of 2,400,000 livres, and I ask to be allowed to withdraw only the 400,000 livres, which the state of my affairs in quitting Paris renders indispensably necessary to me; and the surplus I leave without fear under the safeguard of the nation. I even attach some interest to preserving the trace of a deposit which I believe honourable to me, as I first made it at the beginning of the last war (the American); and as, out of regard to the continual necessities of the royal treasury, I would never withdraw it in the midst of the most alarming circumstances, into which *other ministers* had thrown the administration of affairs."—*Letter to the Assembly, as given in Hist. Parlement.*

sur-Aube.* Malouet, who had been for some time past the only friend and defender of the finance-minister in the Assembly, observed that they could hardly hesitate as to the course they ought to take. One or two other deputies said slightingly that they thought Necker an honest man, who had done some good to the country, and consequently ought not to be kept a prisoner. Another deputy thought that the national guards had shown a laudable zeal for liberty and the public service in arresting him, and that thanks ought to be voted to the municipality of Arcis-sur-Aube. Camus, the Jansenist and rigorist, wished to know whether the Assembly meant, in liberating Necker, and in replying to his letter, to felicitate him on his administration; and he hinted that some of Necker's accounts were irregular, and ought now to be examined, although the Assembly had not objected to them when presented. Another deputy on the same side of the House was of opinion that Necker ought not to be permitted to quit France, as there were suspicions against him. The majority, however, decided that the president should write to the municipality to order them to allow Necker and his companions to continue their journey; and also that he should write a letter to that ex-minister, reading it to the Assembly before he dispatched it. In a few days Necker crossed the mountains to the beautiful lake of Geneva, and arrived safely at his pleasant château of Coppet, where he too took to writing books to show how the promising revolution had gone astray and failed, and how almost everybody concerned in it, except himself, had committed enormous blunders.

The non-Jacobin members of the Assembly had several times raised their voices against the atrocities put in print by Camille Desmoulins, Carra, Danton, Marat, and other journalists. On the night of the 4th of September Mirabeau, irritated at being called by some of them—with, we think, a greater grain of truth than was common—"a scoundrel that was ready to sell himself to all parties," spoke again on the subject, taking care to proclaim his thorough attachment to the revolution. "For a long time," said he, "my injuries and my services, my misfortunes and my successes, have equally called me to the cause of liberty. I have been in the dungeon of Vincennes, and in many fortresses in this kingdom, wherein I would not voluntarily have chosen my domicile: in all my troubles it would be difficult for any one to cite a fact, a writing, a discourse of mine, that did not show a great and energetic love of liberty. I have seen in my family fifty-four *lettres-de-cachet*—yes, gentlemen, fifty-four *lettres-de-cachet!* and I have had seventeen of them for my portion." He descended from the tribune covered with the applauses of the galleries. The journalists, however, pursued their old course, and the Jacobins took note of such as had been most violent against them. The mutinous spirit of the army continued, and was evidently nursed both by the journals and by clubs and political societies. On the 19th of September the Assembly launched a decree against these associations, forbidding for the future their corresponding with any of the regiments under very severe penalties: but this decree, like all others which did not suit the taste of the popular body, remained little better than a dead letter; and M. de Noailles, who had proposed it, was held up to hatred and vengeance in the popular newspapers. A few days after M. d'André laid upon the table a great quantity of papers and letters denouncing the political clubs as the great cause of the prevailing anarchy: but apparently no notice was taken either of his speech or of his papers; the non-Jacobin deputies had not courage enough to attack the hydra. In the month of October Robespierre obtained place and preferment, being elected president of the tribunal of the district of Versailles, which, like all such places, was now elective, the patriots choosing the men that were to be their judges.* About the same time that other ultra-Jacobin, Pétion, was elected president of the tribunal of Chartres, and Biauzot, another Jacobin advocate, also obtained a judgeship; so that patriotism, as it was observed by an envious journalist, was not without its reward.† The Châtelet court at Paris, which had obtained a momentary popularity by hanging the Marquis de Favras, was much shaken by the terrible denunciation of Mirabeau, and it now inflicted a death-wound on itself by liberating some suspected royalists, pursued by the Jacobin club and put under arrest by the Committee of Research, which persevered in its inquisitorial functions with a zeal which became hotter day by day; the Paris patriots seeming to have studied with particular attention that chapter of Machiavelli which treats of the necessity of frequent accusations in a republic to maintain liberty.‡ The Châtelet, which lingered on for a few months, until a new court

* "M. le President," wrote the ex-minister, "I have the honour to write to you from an inn at Arcis-sur-Aube, where the national guards are confining me, as well as Madame Necker, until the National Assembly shall have given orders to permit me to continue my journey. The Assembly will conceive what I feel, without my expressing it. I have served the state without pay or recompence, with the most entire devotion; and I dare protest that there is not a single moment of my ministry but has been employed in doing good according to my strength and understanding. I supplicate the Assembly not to permit that, as the result of all my efforts, I shall be deprived of that liberty which the laws assure to all citizens. I have the honour to be, &c."

The letter of the municipals was also a curiosity in its way. After stating very laconically that the mayor, municipal officers, and notables of Arcis-sur-Aube had received information that M. Necker, accompanied by Madame his wife, and by four gentlemen, had been arrested at the posting-house by the national guards, it continued, "Considering that the National Assembly has decreed the responsibility of ministers of state; that his passports announce that M. Necker is going to quit France, and that the responsibility will become null when once he has crossed the frontier; that the people, penetrated by the principles of responsibility, were determined to detain M. Necker and his travelling companions, until we received orders from the National Assembly to restore them to liberty: the mayor of this place has agreed with M. Necker, ex-minister of state, that, for his tranquillity and personal security, two extraordinary couriers should be sent to receive the orders and the expression of the intentions of the National Assembly on this arrest.—Signed, The Municipal Officers of Arcis-sur-Aube."—*Letters, as given in Hist. Parlement.*

* These judges were chosen for three years.

† Révolution de France et de Brabant, in Hist. Parlement.

‡ Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio. Capitolo VII. Quanto siano necessarie in una Repubblica l'accuse per mantenere la libertà.

could be organised upon revolution principles, was called in the Jacobin newspapers "the infamous Châtelet," "the object of public execration," whose corrupt judges ought to be proscribed, and whose prevarications merited nothing less than death. In October Barnave was elected president of the Assembly, to the great joy of the Jacobin party, who appeared to believe that he was really, what for some time he had pretended to be, one of the fiercest of them; but the prying eye of Marat had detected some signs of aristocracy in that eloquent young man, and he either knew, or more probably only guessed, that the court had their eyes upon Barnave and the Lameths as men that might render them important services. The horse-leech said in his journal that he had very little faith in the *civisme* of Barnave and the Lameths, and that, as for Riquetti (Mirabeau), he had never in his eyes been anything but a formidable partizan bribed and sold to despotism.* On the very same day on which Barnave was elected president there was a long discussion on the formation of a High National Court to try state offences and *lèse-nation*, or treason against the nation. A report on the subject had been presented by the constitution committee, who had not even yet finished their constitution. This committee represented that some special court of the kind was essential to the purification of France, and for the preservation of the national liberty, which had been so gloriously obtained; that, though it was very necessary that all public functionaries should be watched (*surveillés*) by each citizen in particular, yet, nevertheless, in order to avoid the dangers of rash and unreasonable accusations, it would be necessary to confer the right of originating them only upon the legitimate representatives of the people; and they proposed that the High National Court should be composed of a grand jury and five superior judges taken from the tribunal of *Cassation*,† which ought not to exist, as it now did, as a part of the executive power, &c. They, in fact, assumed that the Assembly, alone and of itself, should name all the judges both of this High National Court and of the reformed Court of Cassation, leaving the other judges to the dangerous whims and caprices of a popular election;—for, said these wise constitution committeemen, these lawyers, authors, and philosophes, what can be so clear as that the Assembly, which has the power to make laws, ought also to have the power of seeing them executed?—were not the two things coupled together as effect and cause? These committeemen were not Jacobins, or, at least, the great preponderating majority that drew up this report were not of that ultra-revolutionary faction, but of a party which wished the revolution to stop where it was. But what were they now doing except proposing laws for promoting a reign of terror—sharpening the edge of the guillotine axe for the neck of the king and for their own necks? Their own reign could not last much longer; they must soon give place to others; the daily increasing power of the mother society and her vigorous brood, the daringness and efficacy of the revolutionary press, the rampant democracy of the people, the disorganization and Jacobinization of the army, and innumerable other symptoms and circumstances announced, with almost mathematical certainty, that their successors would be Jacobins and absolute republicans—would be men determined to carry the revolution a great deal farther—would be men to turn the laws they were now framing, and the usurped powers they were establishing, against themselves, and then reply to their complaints, and insult their dying protests with "Scoundrels and traitors, have *you* not made the laws and powers which *we* are using? Is it not by letter of law that you are dying, and that you have been condemned?" But the committeemen, in recommending that the power of the Assembly to name the judges should be exercised through or in the name of the sovereign, or that the king should appoint those whom they should recommend, gave mortal offence to the Jacobins. Robespierre, whose importance in this first Assembly has been so strangely overlooked, delivered what appears to have been a long and very exciting speech. It gives the key to nearly everything he afterwards did. After a little dry logic about the divisions and partitions of state crimes, he said, "The crimes of high treason against the nation are rare when a constitution is well established and consolidated; but in a time of change and revolution, when the people have just shaken off the yoke, and when despotism is making every effort to recover itself and tyrannise again, then a watchful tribunal, a sharp tribunal of surveillance to watch and scrutinise plots and factions, is indispensable! That tribunal must be composed of men friendly to the revolution. It ought to resemble in nothing that unconstitutional seat of law (the Châtelet), to which you have remitted the care of punishing the crimes of the numerous enemies that have surrounded the cradle of liberty! The tribunal which you are to form must be invested with courage and provided with *an armed force*, since it will have to combat the aristocrats, the great, who are the enemies of the people! From hence flows the incontestible truth that the people alone have the right of naming their protectors, their judges. To confer a part of this right of election upon the king would be to convert into a dangerous rock what ought to be a rampart to liberty. The committee have then committed a great error in proposing that the judges should be appointed through the king!"* There was, it appears, some doubt as to the proper place where this High National Court should reside; for, if in Paris, it would be under the immediate dictation and control of the mob in perennial émeute. But it was precisely for this last reason that Robespierre

* L'Ami du Peuple.

† A court of appeal, having power to break (*casser*) the decisions and judgments of inferior courts of law.

* Hist. Parlement., Séance du 25 Octobre.

and his co-peers wished the court to be fixed in the capital. "Where," exclaimed he, "can the tribunal be better placed than in Paris, in this great city which has rendered such services to the revolution, and which has been in all times the centre of knowledge and intelligence—*le centre des lumières?*" Abbé Maury rose to reply to Robespierre. "It is time," said he, "to put an end to these committees of research, to these odious institutions, which revolt good citizens without being of any real utility. . . . . The plan pursued by the committee is a bad one. Before establishing a High National Court, we ought to know what that court is to occupy itself about. We ought to make the laws before creating the tribunal which is to apply them. It is proposed to establish a court specially occupied with punishing state crimes, but we are not told what those crimes are to be. As for your jury, it is not like the American jury nor the English jury. What is it to be? Are the deputies of the National Assembly to name it? Is it to be one permanent body, to grow and fatten upon plots and conspiracies? . . . . . If you establish this permanent tribunal, within two years it will be a most formidable and redoubtable institution!" He told them that, by depriving the king of the rights of naming the judges and of instituting the prosecutions, they would make of him a mere king *in partibus*.* "You are talking a deal about treason," continued the bold abbé; "the executive power is an integral part of your constitution; to attack it in the exercise of its functions is what I call being guilty of high treason against the nation! If the king has not the right of instituting prosecutions by his attorney-general, he is nothing but a grand pensionary, and no longer a magistrate." He concluded an admirable speech by showing that this revolutionary tribunal, said to be intended for the defence of liberty, would be more fatal to it, more horrible, and more destructive of the happiness of the nation, than any institution or force that had ever existed in France. On the motion of Buzot, a kind of rival to Robespierre, the Assembly decided that the court of Cassation, or appeal, should be re-organised before they attempted to set up the High National Court. "There exists," cried Robespierre, "an unconstitutional tribunal, blasted by the hate of all good citizens, the Châtelet. I demand that it be instantly suppressed." Chapelier demanded that it should be preserved for the present, but that it should no longer be trusted with the trial of political offences. Foucault spoke boldly against the committees of research, and demanded their suppression. Voidel announced that one of those inquisitorial committees had arrested a general officer and eight other persons, upon suspicion of being in a conspiracy against the state, or the Assembly, which considered itself the state.* But every day brought forth, in some part or other of France, its detected or suspected plot, and the arrest of the alleged conspirators, not a few of whom were dispatched by the people who denounced and seized them, and who complained that there was no proper revolutionary tribunal to bring such offenders to justice. At the beginning of October there was a terrible rumour of a plot to carry the king to Rouen, and raise the standard of civil war there. To accredit the report, a letter was printed in the newspapers, which was said to have been written from Rouen to Mayor Bailly, and which that worshipful magistrate permitted to circulate uncontradicted for several days; after which he came forward and said that no such letter had ever been addressed to him. In the mean time the Jacobin journalists had made it the subject of the most alarming representations and most provoking appeals to the people. One of them had assured his readers that, while M. Capet (the king) was to raise the standard at Rouen in the north, two other Capets (the Count d'Artois and the Prince of Condé) would invade the south by entering Provence with an army of ci-devant nobles; and that it was inconceivable how much this audacious hope of a counter-revolution had puffed up all the aristocrats, great and small, who yet remained in the kingdom.† This was like calling upon the mob, but too well predisposed for such work, to make a general massacre of the nobility who had not emigrated. Marat, in his journal, chose to be more specific. After laughing, like the devil Mephistopheles, about the iron cages in which it was said the royalists and counter-revolutionists were to shut up Lafayette and Bailly, he told the people that it was not the aristocracy, the noblesse, and the clergy that were their most dangerous enemies. "Those who make the law," said he, "those who lead the band, are the king's atrocious ministers, are the deputies of the people, seduced by promises or corrupted by presents; they are the Mirabeaux, the Montmorencys, the Clermont-Tonnerres, the Lanjuinais, the Chapeliers, the Sièyes, the Thouriots, the Targets, the Liancourts, the Desmeuniers, the Duponts, those vile and cowardly deserters of the country: it is they who have rallied with the courtiers, the municipal administrators, and the staff of the Paris national guard, round the king, to make the executive power triumph, and to sacrifice the nation to one who is only its servant."‡ In quitting the Jacobin Club Lafayette and his friends are considered to have committed a blunder, the effect of which had been predicted to them by Dumouriez, himself a pretty constant attendant at the great gatherings of the mother society. That brilliant adventurer says himself that he told them when they were forming their

* In the Roman hierarchy there are certain titular bishops, holding no bishoprics, and these are called bishops *in partibus infidelium*, or in countries occupied by Turks and other unbelievers. Thus there are bishops of Tyre and Sidon, of Chalcedon, bishops of Smyrna, Sardes, Philadelphia, Ephesus, &c., and these prelates are considered as standing in succession to those who were the actual bishops in those parts in the old time, before the Mohammedan conquest.

* Hist. Parlement.
† Révolution de France et de Brabant, in Hist. Parlement.
‡ L'Ami du Peuple.

Feuillant Club that nothing but evil was likely to arise from the schism; that, if the conduct of the Jacobin Club were too violent now, it would become still more so when they, by their presence, no longer counterbalanced or checked the influence of its hot-headed members; that the Jacobins, weakened by so numerous a desertion, would beat up for recruits among all the news-writers and pamphleteers of Paris, and become the more dangerous, as there would no longer be any check upon them in their own hall, and as, having a new party and club to combat, they would be zealous to bring all their strength into the field.* At the moment of the secession the mother society had pretended to shed parental tears, and had sent a deputation to implore her stray children to return to her bosom; and her application had been treated with scorn.† But now, that these high-bred Feuillans had discovered that their club was and must remain a political nullity, they returned, after Lafayette had had some conferences with Danton, to the bountiful lap of the great mother, and claimed to be considered again as her dutiful children. We are not so confident as Dumouriez seems to have been that they could have done any great good or prevented any great evil if they had stayed; but this mode of returning back was contemptible, and could not fail of producing an impression most unfavourable to the party. Marat, in his vitriolic-acid remarks on this Rouen complot, did not fail to comment upon the returned prodigal sons of the mother society. "At present," said he, "that they have completed the sacrifice of the country, these unworthy delegates have returned to the Jacobin Club, and imprudent journalists have celebrated their return as a reinforcement brought to the patriotic party. . . . . But what, I pray you, are these men, without virtue, without honour, without shame, good for? And why will not rogues who have sold the interests of the country once sell them always? It is in vain to expect that Heaven should work a miracle in their favour! The mischief is done; our constitution is a complete failure! *Except the decree on the declaration of the Rights of Man, and a few more decrees which the people have torn from them in moments of crisis, there is nothing but what ought to be annulled by our next legislature, if we wish for liberty!*"‡

A few weeks after the return of these deserters the Duke of Orleans, who could at least boast that he had never quitted the club, presented his eldest son, the Duke of Chartres (*now Louis Philippe, King of the French*), to the Jacobins; and the young prince delivered a speech on his reception, which was much applauded, and afterwards printed at full-length.

* Dumouriez, Mémoires.

† Id. id.

‡ L'Ami du Peuple. "How then," continues this probing, mangling leech, "ought we to regard the return of these vile deserters to the patriotic club? Why, like the refuge which a profligate woman takes in a nunnery when she is sick and old, past sinning. They want to re-establish themselves in public opinion. After having passed their lives in shame, they would fain die on the field of honour."

The ultra-Jacobin journalists were furious at the thought that a great deal too much honour had been paid in the Hall to this neophyte of royal blood. "It seems," says one of them, "that the Jacobin Club, who boast so highly of their attachment to true principles, have not yet made any great step towards *equality*, and that they attach importance to forms of reception in order to flatter and caress a ci-devant prince, instead of giving him a lesson, which would have been a proper and beautiful thing to do on such an occasion."* It was the rule and law of the mother society nightly to appoint two of its own members to be door-keepers. One night, not very long after his first reception, one of these door-keepers was the Duke of Chartres, and the other a decayed old ballet-master, who, being no longer able to use his legs on the stage, had turned patriot, and taken to using his tongue in the Jacobin Club. Surely here was equality enough to have satisfied even Camille Desmoulins or Marat! But another great complot, announced before the pretended discovery of the Rouen conspiracy, and destined to live and alarm and agitate for a much longer period—destined indeed to an extraordinary longevity, in a most shadowy, mysterious state of existence—was the royalist confederation in the south, with their camp at Jalés. Sillery, Orléans's creature, and husband of the Genlis, introduced this bugbear to the Assembly with proper form and ceremony. According to his account the bigoted Catholics of the south, after fighting with their Protestant fellow-citizens, had entered into a league and federation, and had begun to form a strong camp at Jalés to serve as a centre and *point d'appui* to the counter-revolutionists, to the emigrants under the Count d'Artois, who were coming, or said to be coming, if not with foreign armies, with enormous bands of Sardinian and Italian cut-throats. Sillery further made it appear that, though the common soldiers of the regiments stationed in that part of France were very full of patriotism and civism, their officers were not to be depended upon, but, being aristocrats themselves, were strongly suspected of favouring the noblesse and the clergy. The journalists soon completed the story which Sillery had begun. They reported that the general-in-chief of this crusade against liberty was the Abbé Labastide, of Villefort, who had for his aides-de-camp five of the king's gardes-du-corps, and who, riding a white horse like Lafayette, galloped from rank to rank exhorting his citizen soldiers to deliver their brethren who were suffering for the faith, and preaching to them about the re-establishment of order and peace after the fashion of de Bouillé. According to the same faithful narrators this army of royalty and the faith was 22,000 strong, but so cunning as to invest itself in a cloak of invisibility, being never to be seen except by the initiated. The National Assembly launched some of their thunderbolts against this mysterious federation and invisible camp; but, as

* Révolutions de Paris.

it required greater magicians than they to strike what they could not see, nothing came of their efforts except an increase of suspicion and alarm. Plots, or at the least projects, for carrying off the court from Paris, and putting it under the safeguard of de Bouillé, indisputably existed; and, besides a most evident discontent and a ripeness for insurrection in many parts of the south, the devout country of La Vendée began to emit sparks which bade fair to kindle some terrible flames. This latter portion of France, indeed, only waited for some new outrage to their beloved clergy to be up in arms almost to a man; and the National Assembly, who did all manner of work so rapidly, were not likely to keep them long waiting. Having already deprived the clergy of all their property, and heaped extreme insults upon them, it might appear difficult to conjecture how they could add to the injuries and the exasperation; but their passionate fondness for swearing and imposing oaths came to their aid, and, in the course of a few months, we shall find a hot persecution raging against the churchmen, because they would not swear as the Assembly decreed. It is also certain that the noblesse, humiliated, persecuted, threatened day by day with massacres en masse, confederated or entered into secret leagues in several parts of the kingdom, seeing that the revolutionists had confederated against them and the monarchy, and not calculating in their desperation the inequality, the comparative nothingness, of their strength. They, however, hoped for aid from abroad, for the co-operation of foreign armies and of the noble emigrants, who were already numerous enough to form a little army of themselves, and with whom these federating aristocrats at home seem to have kept up a pretty constant correspondence. But federations of all kinds were the fashion of the day. The Abbé Fauchet—he who had preached the sermon at Saint James of the Butchery—got up a society which he called the Social Circle—*Cercle Social*—whose modest and avowed object it was to operate a universal confederation among the *friends of truth*. The place where this society or club assembled was the Circus in the Palais-Royal, which had formerly been a masonic lodge; and the old rites of the spot, the mysteries of freemasonry, were to serve as a stock upon which to engraft the scion of modern politics, republicanism, liberty, and equality, as summed up in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Among the most conspicuous members of the club were the Marquis de Condorcet, the friend of d'Alembert and the fond believer in the perfectibility of man; Bonneville, a printer and bookseller, who wrote himself a good many of the liberty and equality books he printed; Goupil de Préfeln, a baron, a deputy of the Assembly, and who had begun his career in that place by declaring that the French people had sent them, not to make a new constitution, but to mend the old one; and Mailly de Château-Regnaud: all these were freemasons of old, and thought, or seemed to think, that the symbols and traditions of freemasonry contained within themselves the solution of all the problems raised and presented by the French revolution; and they attributed to Bacon the first scientific explanation of the political system enveloped in the mysteries of the lodges, and proposed, as work proper for themselves, to complete the discovery and procure the realization of this grand system. As for the Abbé Fauchet, who declared that if the Son of God had been upon earth he would have worn the tri-color cockade, he was of opinion that the doctrine of Jesus Christ contained and implied freemasonry and the revolution gospel, as far as the principles of equality and fraternity went, and that the Social Circle would explain and realize the other higher Christian doctrine, or universal charity. This strange society, or club, or Social Circle, or universal confederation of the friends of truth, was in a manner the forerunner of the sect or society of Theophilanthropists, who took the field a little later and with far more success or éclat, for Fauchet's leaven of Christianity, much as his creed was Jacobinized, was a sad drawback upon the present society, although the abbé, and his friend Bonneville the printer, announced their truths through an iron mouth, having a newspaper of their own which bore that name—*Bouche de Fer*. Fauchet also spoke with great fluency, and had his enthusiastic admirers, who compared him to Demosthenes. Prudhomme, another liberal printer, and the publisher and in good part editor and writer of that terrible newspaper which we have so often quoted,* was not quite sure whether the abbé were not superior to the old Greek orator. He reported his inauguration speech, which was delivered in the Circus on the 13th of October, in the presence of a great number of deputies of the National Assembly, of Paris electors, of the ex-members of the commune, of many members of the new municipality, and of all the patriotic societies of the capital, of foreigners from various countries, and of the old *children of nature*—(freemasons, we believe)—in all, or so says Prudhomme, from four to five thousand persons, "without counting the attentive spectatresses in the galleries, including all the wives or mothers of the first friends of truth, who tranquilly and with open hearts enjoyed this solemnity of the federation of all the human race."† As soon as the abbé, who obtained the name of the attorney-general of truth —*Procureur-Général de la Vérité*—had mounted the tribune, "the Assembly testified by lively applauses their great hope of being excited;" in which hope, the admiring printer informs us, they were not disappointed. Fauchet told them that the object for which they were assembled was the grandest that had ever occupied the mind of man. "It is," said he, "to commence the confederation of all mankind, to collect and unite all useful

* "Journal des Révolutions de Paris." The significant motto to this newspaper was, "The great appear great to us because we are down on our knees. Let us get up."

† Révolutions de Paris.

truths, to combine them in a universal system, to make them enter into the spirit of the governments of nations, and to labour, with a general concert of the human intellect, to compose the happiness of the world! Hitherto society has been but in its elements: nowhere have those elements been combined for the common advantage of all men. Legislators have but drawn lines and inclosures wherein to keep the peoples of the earth captives!" This confederation proposed to put an end to all oppressions and sufferings, and to every kind of war and hostility, in which it would only be acting in conformity with the divine precept of Him who had said, "Love one another." There would soon be no pride and insolence on the part of the rich and great, and no meanness and prostration on the part of the poor; no luxurious superabundance in palaces, and no famine in thatched cottages, for all would share alike and love alike and be alike. After an encomium on Christianity, the abbé eulogised freemasonry as the next best inculcator of the eternal principles of liberty, equality, fraternity, friendship, love, concord, and union. He compared the freemason lodges—we are not burlesquing or caricaturing, but faithfully following his own speech as reported by his admirer and disciple—to the society of the Vestal Virgins of antiquity, who, though they had not been able to vanquish all the influence of governments which had depraved mankind, had at least preserved the sacred fire of social nature. "Hitherto," said the abbé, "it has been prudent to double and to keep close the veils of mystery round the precious deposit, but now the moment approaches when the holy fire shall be rendered free, and when the statue of mankind shall be made animate by the Prometheuses who have guarded that celestial flame which alone is proper to give life to nations!" * He compared the leaders of the revolution to the apostles of Christ. "To *will* is everything!" said the abbé; "twelve men only willed, and they overthrew all the temples and annihilated all the religions of the then known world. They were, it is true, inspired with a divine force; but that divine force lay in the plenitude and agreement of their wills. Can this force be wanting to us who form the firm and unanimous resolution of rallying the human race around this doctrine of love, which is the religion of happiness? Let us only will, and we create, and we save the universe!" † In proceeding to explain, as framers of new societies are bound to do, the constitution and *modus operandi* of the proposed society, the abbé said that the proper way of establishing this universal federation would be to re-organise and correspond with all the masonic lodges in the world; that all these branches and off-shoots should receive their impulse or movement from a central, unique consistory residing in Paris, "*Paris being the centre, the capital of humanity;*" and that, for the rest, they would have little more to do than to address a call to all ardent good souls that wished for the concord and fraternity of the whole human family. Some of his congregation thought that there was a great deal too much of the old superstitions of Christianity in this inaugural oration; and some said that, after all, this Claude Fauchet was only a priest; but, says his admirer, these prejudices vanished when they remembered his conduct under the towers of the Bastille; and, when they heard the natural magic of his eloquent voice, they forgot his priest's habit, and regarded him even as though he had worn that uniform of a national guardsman which had been given to him by the National Assembly as a trophy for his conduct at the taking of the Bastille.*

The Social Circle, or the Universal Confederation of the Friends of Truth, held a second session on the 22nd of October, when the number assembled was said to be eight or nine thousand. The abbé's nomination as procureur-general was confirmed or sanctioned, and Goupil de Prefeln, at the suggestion of the abbé, was elected first president of this Federative Assembly of the Friends of Truth. Barrere de Vieuzac, a young deputy of the National Assembly, editor of a newspaper called the Point du Jour, and formerly an advocate of Bigorre in Provence, Michel, a physician, and recently president of the Commune of Paris, the Chevalier Pio, formerly secretary of the Neapolitan embassy, and M. Lapoype, an old officer, were elected secretaries. The Assembly testified great gratitude to the Neapolitan, who, according to the report made by the abbé procureur-general, had renounced his titles, his employment, his connexions, his country, to become a naturalised free French citizen, a link of the Social Circle, a member of the Universal Federation of Truth, Liberty, and Happiness; the plain truth however being, that the said Pio had been discharged by his government, and could not have returned to Naples without an uncomfortable lodging in the castle of Saint Elmo. Fauchet made another very long oration, and indeed he seems to have monopolised nearly all the talk. He again eulogised freemasonry and its lodges, the interior secrets of which were not known, but whose grand object was well known to be the establishment of universal concord and friendship, the universal regeneration of men, and the triumph of truth upon earth. He praised the Jacobin Club, but thought that it had not sufficiently gone to first principles. He spoke slightingly of Voltaire, who, he said, had done nothing for the revolution, and was no philosopher; but he applauded Jean Jaques Rousseau, whose Contract Social contained the substance of all that was best in the best authors who had written upon laws and governments. He thought, however, that some of the principles of Rousseau's Social Contract would not harmonise with his Social Circle; but that it would be easy for the Friends of Truth to discard these portions. In the same manner, by choosing what suited their system, some good might be found even in

* Révolutions de Paris. † Id.

* Révolutions de Paris.

the grave Mably, the enigmatic Montesquieu, and the eloquent Raynal, though Rousseau would suffice without them. He was really eloquent in praise of Christianity, but this greatly indisposed the majority of the Assembly, who had been nurtured in the new philosophy. "There is," said he, "one true religion made for all mankind. I speak not as a priest but as a man, and I say that that religion is contained in the Evangelists. It rests everything upon love. It is the only religion upon earth that has that solid foundation. It is the only one that merits consideration in our scheme of union and universal affection. All other religions are exclusive and full of hatred. It alone teaches peace and good will among men. If, upon examination, we find that the Gospel is in effect the religious code which commands universal love, and which fills the heart with the sweetest and most powerful feelings and motives of action, it must be the religion best fitted for us and for all the human race." The abbé announced that the first discussions of the society would be upon the first chapter of the Contract Social of Rousseau; and that by means of newspapers all thinking men in France should be invited to send in their opinions to the Social Circle. The same and other means were to be adopted for obtaining hints and notions from all the civilised countries of the earth; and the abbé did not doubt that the society would speedily obtain the respect and confidence of all nations. But in order to secure this inestimable benefit, he recommended the utmost strictness in morals and conduct, and that every man that failed in his moral duties should be instantly expelled the society, by being gently told in secret by the procureur-general—that is to say by Fauchet himself—that he must no longer appear in the Social Circle. Notwithstanding the eulogium passed upon their society, the Jacobins were instantly up in arms against this Federation of the Friends of Truth. They were jealous of every society or club that did not spring from their great mother; and they were furious against the abbé for speaking disrespectfully of Voltaire, who was especially the evangelist of most of them. It was vastly amusing to see the Jacobins accusing the Friends of Truth of going too far with the doctrine of equality, and of aiming at the Agrarian law. The Friends of Truth, who were to profess and practise a universal love, fell upon the Jacobins like tigers, accusing them, among other foul deeds, of robbing them of their ideas and projects, and insulting them after they had robbed them. The efficacy of the abbé's theory was proved in the starting by the fierceness with which he and his disciples waged this war of words. Anacharsis Clootz, who added to his title of orator of the human race that of attorney-general of all mankind, took up the cudgels in behalf of his idol Voltaire, and belaboured the poor abbé, the procureur-general of truth, unmercifully. Charles Villette, a ci-devant marquis, one of the last pupils of the patriarch of Ferney, and a man of such depraved manners, as to have provoked reproof even from the free Voltaire, also took up the pen in defence of his master, "guide, philosopher, and friend."* Friend of the People Marat sneered at Fauchet and his disciples with his most demoniac sneers; and, as the abbé and his printer responded to every attack, there was soon a very pretty quarrel. It appears that a famous social projector of our own country and time has been more of a copyist than people have been aware of, and that his social soirées are a very close imitation of Fauchet's Social Circle. "Truth," says one of the papers of the day, "has just established her throne in the Circus of the Palais Royal. That gallery is devoted to many uses: on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays, they sing ariettas; on Wednesdays and Saturdays the chaste nymphs of the neighbourhood dance there; and on Mondays and Fridays they preach truth in it, under the auspices of the Abbé Fauchet." According to the same authority, Fauchet was interrupted at every word when he attempted to repeat his shocking heresies about Voltaire. "Nevertheless," says the same castigator, "the Abbé Fauchet is the procureur-general of truth, and it is worth observing that he is now the only person in France in possession of that amiable denomination; for Camille Desmoulins has resigned his office and title of procureur-general of the lanterne."† The abbé called the editor of this newspaper a eunuch in a rage, a vile detractor, an envious scoundrel, a disappointed and discontented maker of phrases, and, by implication, a great liar.‡ As for Villette, he said he worshipped the patriarch of philosophy and letters as the idolatrous barbarians of Thibet worshipped the great Llama. In the Circus of the Palais Royal the abbé continued to hold forth on Mondays and Fridays; but he became more and more mystical, and his audience dwindled away until he was almost left to talk to himself and the walls. Camille Desmoulins became for a short time one of the secretaries of the society, which gradually adopted the wildest kind of Pantheism. This doctrine was acceptable enough to national vanity, but the philosophes of Paris could

* The Marquis Charles Desjardins Villette was supposed to belong at first to the faction of the Duke of Orleans, in whose orgies he participated. He became a member of the National Convention, floated loosely between the Republicans of the Gironde and the ultra-Jacobins of the Montagne, and yet was lucky enough to escape the guillotine and to die in his bed in the month of July 1793. If he had lived a few months longer he must have died on the scaffold. It was in his house at Paris that Voltaire expired, and it was he that wrote the inscription which may still be seen on the wooden obelisk at Ferney, in which rests the heart of the patriarch: "His genius is everywhere, his heart is here." Villette's wife, called by Voltaire la belle et bonne, is said to have been neither pretty nor good. She survived the revolution, or succession of revolutions, and was living in obscurity in Paris at the time of the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814. Villette wrote many things in prose and verse, and a sort of history, in a series of letters, of the revolution.

† Journal des Révolutions de Paris, and other newspapers of the day, as cited in Hist. Parlement.

‡ Part of the diatribe of the reverend champion of truth and universal love will not bear translating; yet perhaps it ought to be quoted in order to convey a just notion of the way in which controversies were managed in regenerated France:—"Mais qu'a de commun le journaliste des *Révolutions de Paris* avec Voltaire? Pourquoi ce nain-ment-il avec tant d'enflure pour la vengeance de ce géant? Il n'est pas seulement digne d'encenser ses déjections; et, pour me servir d'une expression *que le grand homme a répétée souvent*, il mériteraitl'on déjeûnér."

never pardon in the abbé his veneration for the founder of Christianity. The Pantheism soon gave way to the deism of the Theo-philanthropists. During its brief existence, the Social Circle, the Universal Federation, gave rise to some amusing scenes and circumstances, including the proclamation of the Rights of Women, and all those pretensions which were shortly afterwards advocated in England by the eloquent but unhappy Mary Wolstonecraft. The society had declared in an early stage of its existence that the female mind was very capable of truth, and that women were therefore admissible among the Friends of Truth and Love. The National Assembly itself had boasted of the progress made by women in the doctrine of liberty and equality, and, in spite of some wicked raillery as to the probable consequences, had returned a flattering answer to the patriotesses of Vich, who sent them an address, stating that they were already under arms for liberty and the constitution, and demanding permission to serve as auxiliaries to the national guards. The new doctrines seized the imagination of an excitable Dutch woman, called Madame Palm d'Aelders, and she wrote a long essay or discourse to the society, which was read by the secretaries and honoured with enthusiastic applause. "Gentlemen," said the Dutch advocate of the Rights of Women, "in admitting my sex into the patriotic association of the Friends of Truth, you have taken the first step towards justice. The august representatives of your happy nation have just applauded the intrepid courage of the Amazons of one of your departments, and have permitted them to raise a corps for the defence of the country. This is the first shock to the prejudices which have hitherto enveloped the existence of woman: it is a violent blow struck at the despotisms that are most difficult to uproot. Be not, then, only half just. You have *willed* it, and the walls of those proud fortresses which were the humiliation and opprobrium of the French have fallen to the earth with a terrible noise; will, and destroy in the same manner those ramparts of prejudices which are perhaps more dangerous, because more injurious to the general happiness. Justice ought to be the first virtue of freemen, and justice demands that all laws and rights should be common to all created beings like sun and air; and yet everywhere the laws are in favour of men and adverse to women, because everywhere the power is in your hands. But what! shall freemen, shall an enlightened people, confirm and consecrate, in an age of light and philosophy, what in its origin was only the abuse of power in an age of ignorance! O Gentlemen, be just towards us!"* Like all championesses of the kind Madame Palm endeavoured to prove by history, that if nature has given men more strength she has given women more wit; that, if she made the arm of man more nervous, she made woman equal, if not superior, to him in moral force, in delicacy of sentiment, in generosity of soul, &c. She quoted the old proofs of Cato's daughter and Coriolanus's mother, the women that fought at Salamis, the mother of the Gracchi, the wife of Pætus, Joan of Arc, Queen Elizabeth of England; and she added as a great living example the Empress Catherine of Russia. She concluded: "May your holy revolution, which owes its progress to philosophy, operate a second revolution in our manners! May that parade of severity, which is exercised against us women, and which is condemned by true philosophy, give place to the mild, just, and natural law! Let your love, your friendship, your suffrages, be henceforward the recompense of virtuous citizenesses: let civic crowns be put upon interesting heads, instead of miserable frippery, the symbols of fashion and frivolity, and the shameful signs of our servitude."* Not satisfied with the National Assembly's Declaration of the Rights of Man, Fauchet put forth a new one of his own, and announced more particularly the rights and duties of legislators. In this idealogical piece he concluded that there could never be a good legislature upon earth until all the remaining prejudices of nations and peoples were shaken; that, in an absolute sense, it was the philosophic sages, the great inventors, the proposers and promulgators of truth, that were, in the name of eternal reason, the real legislature of nations; that the official legislature ought to be an assembly of the interpreters of public reason; that the extraordinary intervention of the divinity in legislation was not at all necessary, and that the artifice which should endeavour to render it so would only build up the edifice of laws upon an imposture; that the light of truth and the force of justice alone were sufficient for laws, and were sure to obtain with infinite facility the consent and obedience of the people to the laws; that, the general will being by its nature always just and right in its object, and not being susceptible of error except when rogues get the direction of it, it was impossible that the sovereign people should reject the proposition of any good law submitted to their free suffrages; and finally, that the true religion, that is to say the pantheism of the Social Circle, must necessarily make itself master of a just legislature, and put upon it the seal of God and the sanction of eternity. That pompous piece of mediocrity, La Harpe, who had recently been an absolute arbiter in taste and criticism, but whose reign was now almost over, entered into a controversy with Fauchet, and filled many pages of the Mercure with dull criticisms on the abbé's lively madness and amusing mysticism.

Suspecting and suspected, employing spies to watch others, and being watched themselves by other spies, the existence of Lafayette and Bailly must have been an uneasy and an unhappy one.

* Fauchet's Journal, 'La Bouche de Fer,' as quoted in Histoire Parlement.

* Fauchet's Journal, 'La Bouche de Fer,' as quoted in Histoire Parlement.

The conquerors of the Bastille became regular or irregular agents of police to the patriot party; and they furiously denounced the mouchards or spies of the mayor of Paris and the commandant-general of the national guards, although the said conquering heroes acknowledged, in their written reports or denunciations, that, in order to get at the secrets they thus brought to light, they had themselves recourse to all the arts and basenesses of espionage. These documents, some of which would have disgraced the familiars of the Inquisition, were regularly published in the Jacobin journals, with running comments of the most dangerous kind. These friends of the public thing—*de la chose publique*—did not mince matters, but named and fully described the persons they accused of being the spies of those oppressors and enemies to liberty (yes! it had already come to this with the man of the white horse and the man of the gilded coach!) Messrs. Bailly and de Mottié. Foremost in the list of mouchards were riding-messenger Maillard, who had ridden with the women to Versailles on the 5th of October, and Hulin, himself a Bastille hero, and the first man that leaped upon the drawbridge of that fortress, but who was now a captain of chasseurs, a spy in the pay of one of the committees of research, and splendidly lodged in the hôtel of the military school. Marat, who was more active than any one in proclaiming these traitors, pretended to be in an extremity of grief at their backsliding. "My heart," exclaims the horse-leech, "bursts with grief in thinking how many citizens who recently enjoyed the best of reputations have been driven by want and misery to dishonour themselves by the most infamous profession. O, Hulin! O, Maillard! how could you resolve thus to blight your laurels! Ah! rather than cover yourselves with this opprobrium, it would have been a hundred times better for you to have perished of hunger! But how all my blood boils in my veins against the pretended fathers of the country, these men without sentiment and without probity, these Baillys, Mottiés, and the rest, who have lavished millions upon the brothers of the king, those dangerous enemies of the country, and who have done nothing for the poor and unfortunate liberators; who have seized upon the property of the church to support the pomp, the follies, the dissipations of the court, and who have not given one obolus of it to the poor, to whom the mass of that property properly belongs. . . . . But, my dear friends, you have as good a right to live as Louis XVI.; and the heir to the throne has no right to dine while you are starving."* As other mouchards of Lafayette and Bailly they particularised Geoffroy, an officer of Lafayette's staff, Masson, one of his aides-de-camp, Bouillard, an old artilleryman, Millet, a sculptor, Ride, a turner, Leblanc, a farrier, Dubois, a locksmith, Gosset, a soi-disant advocate, Reole, a linendraper, and Etienne, a ci-devant abbé. They even pointed out the manner in which the labours of espionage were divided among these mouchards; and, that the Paris patriots might know where to find them when they wanted them for the lanterne, they gave their domiciles and ordinary places of resort. Masson, the general's aide-de-camp, was said to have the

PARIS PATRIOTS. From a Print by Duplessis-Bertaux.

particular management of the corrupt part of the public press, or, in the words of the denunciation made by the conquerors of the Bastille—"Masson, aide-de-camp of the general, living in the Rue du Maille, first great gate on entering that street from the Place des Victoires, enrolls the newspaper writers, and pays them most liberally to make them flatter his master, excuse his stupidities (*ses sottises*), and justify his crimes of high treason against the nation. Masson is also employed in the municipality committee of research, where he plays a double part of spy."* As Lafayette was held responsible for the safe custody of the royal family, it was expedient that he should see them with his own eyes from time to time; and yet these visits, whether to St. Cloud or to the Tuileries, were jealously watched by the mouchards of the other party, and severely commented upon by Marat and the other Jacobin journalists. They accused him of plotting with the queen, and of inviting her brother, the Emperor Leopold, to invade France without further delay. They traced a close connexion between the increase of emigration and his visits to the court; and they affirmed that he was in the constant habit of paying visits to the enraged royalists, who were departing in crowds from Paris to join the emigrant army of the Count d'Artois, behind the Alps, or to repair to the head-quarters of the Austrian army in Belgium, or to join the army of de Bouillé at Metz. The queen, in her despair, had several private conferences with the hero of two worlds; but even these secret appointments were watched by mouchard eyes and reported in

* L'Ami du Peuple.

* Hist. Parlement.

the newspapers. In the month of October one of the journalists gave the particulars of one of these mysterious visits to St. Cloud. At eight o'clock at night Lafayette had entered by a back door, and had ascended by a private staircase. The king was engaged with the council, but the general had had a conference of an hour and three-quarters "with the mistress of the house." "Citizens," continues the newspaper man, with laboured irony, "bless and adore more than ever the ingenuous patriotism of M. Mottié!* Only see how the purity of his conscience and of his motives makes him brave even your suspicions! Why is he so assiduous in visiting the king's false ministers? Why, it is only the better to discover their plots, so as to be able to guard us against them. Why does he pay such frequent visits to the sister of Leopold? Ingrates that you are! This, too, is done to serve you, in turning her from the projects against liberty! Do not, therefore, formalize about this his last journey to St. Cloud; on the contrary, unite in imploring him to return as often as possible, since he may, by his eloquence, transform the queen into a citizeness, and thus operate the happiest as well as most difficult of conversions! The hero of two worlds would be wrong to attempt to wrap himself up in the veil of modesty. The sentinel at St. Cloud and four other eye-witnesses have everywhere proclaimed this new trait of his civism."† But, in truth, though Marie Antoinette had these interviews with the French Scipio Americanus, she had no confidence in him, and never appears to have opened to him any plan or secret whatsoever. Her antipathy to Mirabeau was far less than what she entertained for this specious, decent-shewing, half-and-half revolutionist. The queen said that Lafayette's rage for popularity had condemned him to the necessity of lending his hand to all kinds of popular impertinences, without any distinction or regard to persons, or feeling for the oppressed and unfortunate. According to a most reliable account, her aversion to the general, who was the head gaoler of herself, her husband, and her family, augmented from day to day, and reached such a point, that, towards the end of the revolution, when he seemed really to wish to prop up the shaking throne, she would never trust him, or consent to receive from him so great a service.‡ Lafayette continued to be without a plan, which was, however, of the less importance, as no plan of his could have been executed. It was too late; the ultra-revolutionists had it all their own way, and, for evil or for good, must now finish the work in their own manner. The most that could possibly have been done could have been but a palliative and a gaining of time. His wife, who dutifully considered him the greatest man in France, or in the world, continued to look very coldly upon his old friend Gouverneur Morris, who had thrown away so much good advice upon him; and the great man himself either shunned his American Mentor, or was too constantly engaged to have time to confer with him. At the end of the month of November he, however, made a special appointment with him, and asked Morris to give his opinion as to his present situation. "I give it," says Morris, "*sans ménagement*. I tell him that the time approaches when all good men must cling to the throne. That the present king is very valuable on account of his moderation; and, if he should possess too great authority, might be persuaded to grant a proper constitution. That the thing called a constitution, which the *Assemblée* have framed, is good for nothing. That, as to himself, his personal situation is very delicate. That he nominally, but not really, commands his troops. That I really cannot tell how he is to establish discipline among them; but, unless he can accomplish that object, he must be ruined, sooner or later. That the best line of conduct, perhaps, would be to seize an occasion of disobedience, and resign, by which means he could preserve a reputation in France, which would be precious, and hereafter useful. He says that he is only raised by circumstances and events, so that when they cease he sinks, and the difficulty now is how to excite them. I observe that events will arise fast enough of themselves, if he can but make a good use of them, which I doubt, because I do not place *any confidence in his troops*. . . . . I reiterate to him the necessity of restoring the nobility, at which, of course, he flinches, and says that he should like two chambers, as in America. I tell him that an American constitution will not do for this country, and that two such chambers would not answer where there is an hereditary executive. That every country must have a constitution suited to its circumstances, and the state of France requires a higher-toned government than that of England."‡ The effect of this interview was an evident increase of coldness on the part of Lafayette, who continued to be perplexed in the extreme, and a constant object of attack with Marat and all the Jacobins. A regular war broke out between his and Bailly's mouchards and the Jacobin mouchards. One Kabers, who was suspected of belonging to the former body, was seized and lanterned in the Faubourg St. Antoine. As usual, the rope that was to hang him broke, and he fell from the lamp-post upon the rough pavement, when the patriots, having no new cord at hand, beat him to death. It was pretended that the dying man made a general confession about the crimes he had committed

* Mottié, it will be remembered, was the family name of Lafayette. Camille Desmoulins punned upon the name, and said it ought to be *Moitié* (half), the general being half one thing and half another.

† Révolutions de France et de Brabant.

‡ Madame Campan's Mémoires.

* Diary in Life, by Jared Sparks. At this moment Talleyrand was labouring hard to get appointed ambassador to Vienna, finding that it was about equally dangerous to be in or out of the Assembly, and that the only means of preserving himself was to get some employment abroad. The Abbé Sièyes was as confident as ever in his own schemes of government, despising all that had been said or written on that subject before him; and he had made a convert of Necker's daughter, the enthusiastic Madame de Staël, who told Morris that his writings and opinions would form a new era in politics, as Newton's had done in physics.—Id. id.

and intended to commit; and that all the turpitudes of Lafayette were revealed by him.* Some time before this, Marat had predicted that it would only take him two more bottles of ink to finish the overthrow (*la culbute*) of the divine Mottié: Camille Desmoulins now said that Marat's prediction was verified; that the reputation of Lafayette had declined with every drop of ink that had been used, and that, even before Marat's second bottle was finished, the man was entirely unpopularized. As proof, Camille reminds the general of the reception he had met with the other day in the Faubourg St. Antoine. "As he was riding along," says Camille, "saluting everybody right and left from his white horse, as his fashion is, the people cried to him, 'Put on your hat, O general of mouchards; cover yourself as much as you will, you are discovered, my boy!' A woman even caught hold of him by the boot and attempted to throw him out of his seat (*le culbuter*), in order to accomplish to the very letter what had been predicted by the prophet Marat. . . . . And the wife of the mouchard Kabers, who, according to the procès-verbal of M. Santerre, well deserved what he got, cried out to the national guards, 'If I lose my husband, if he is hanged, I will tell everything, and then Bailly and Lafayette will be hanged also.'"† Etienne, one of those whom Marat had designated as head-mouchards, or spies, of Lafayette and Bailly, caught a certain Rotondo, a mouchard of the opposite party, in the act of following and watching him, and beat him almost to death. In the Paris newspapers of the day this Rotondo is described as an Englishman, but he appears to have been an Italian, who had passed some time in England, where he lived by teaching the Italian language. Though somewhat less frequently, Mirabeau was attacked by a part of the Jacobin press just as severely as Lafayette and Bailly. He had been elected one of the administrators of the department of the capital, and also *chef de bataillon*, or head of the national guard battalion to which he belonged. To celebrate the latter event he gave a grand dinner or repas to all the officers of the battalion; and the repas was followed by a ball, an illumination, and fireworks. The entire expense of the fête was estimated at more than 10,000 livres—a great sum for a man who, a very short time before, was universally known to get his living by writing for the Paris booksellers. The journalists, with a fine moral indignation, anathematized these orgies, declaring that they justified all the suspicions which had arisen as to the nature and the sources of Mirabeau's money.† It was like madness in the orator to indulge his expensive tastes in this open, barefaced manner, at a moment when the people, whose real wants and sufferings were considerable, were worked up to a rabid state by Marat and his co-mates. Marat, whose writings were very widely read, because they were the most violent, had been for months telling the people that they were starving in the midst of luxury and profligate expenditure; that every louis-d'or spent by the rich and great had been stolen out of the people's pockets, and that the people ought to take up arms to secure their rights, and drive the aristocrats out of the country to starve. He said these things, and many still stronger, without any periphrasis or ambiguity of language. In an article from which we have already quoted, he said, "O, people, gather together from all parts, unite yourselves in one great army, present yourselves to the National Assembly, and demand that they instantly assign to you all a proper subsistence out of the lands of the church and other national property, which belongs to you by a much better title than to the bloodsuckers of the state; demand that the patriotic gifts be instantly applied to better the condition of the indigent; the state has no need of that money, and, unless you get it, it will be swallowed up in the king's coffers, to forge anew chains for the nation. If the National Assembly should refuse, unite all your force and join the army, for the moment is come when the soldiers will understand this language. Then divide the lands and the property of the scoundrels who have buried their gold in order to reduce you by famine to the old yoke. Yes! I say it in the sincerity of my soul."* Marat also took the lead in a minor war, aimed more directly at the king's ministers, who, between their own timidity and powerlessness, and the usurpations and absolute decrees of the Assembly, between their own divisions and differences of opinion, and the constantly shifting schemes of the court, had become little less than mere ciphers. He published a letter to the king in the month of December, in which he told his majesty that his present ministers were "rogues, perfidious scoundrels, and traitors," just like their predecessors; and that these ministers, the corrupted majority of the Assembly, the chiefs of the army and of the municipality of Paris, all the commanding officers of the troops of the line, with innumerable agents and satellites spread over the whole surface of France, were all engaged in one common and frightful plot to assassinate all the patriot citizens and re-establish despotism by force of arms. "And your brother-in-law the Austrian," continued this terrible leech, "and your confrères, the kings of Spain, of Naples, and of Sardinia, have been assembling troops to second these conspirators. The fugitive Capets are to enter into our provinces at the head of armies; and you yourself, who have sworn to maintain the constitution, are seeking a pretext for a civil war to overthrow it, and inundate France with the blood of the friends of liberty." In the same letter, which surpasses in brutality everything of the kind that we ever read, which he signed with his name and designation, "J. P. Marat, Friend of the People," and

* L'Ami du Peuple.
† Révolutions de France et de Brabant.
‡ Révolutions de Paris.

* L'Ami du Peuple.

which he published in his own newspaper, he told the poor weak prisoner that, born as he had been upon the throne, with all the vices of his education, after thirty-six years spent in the midst of the most corrupt court of Europe, flattered and blinded by low varlets, driven to crime by scoundrel ministers or perfidious courtiers, and continually dragged into a rebellion against his duties by his wife and family, it was impossible to repose the least confidence in his word or in his oath; that everbody knew it was the practice and the moral principle of all kings to have recourse to cunning, lying, imposture, perfidy, treachery, assassination, poison, parricide, in order to preserve or recover the empire they had usurped; that history was crammed full with nothing but the crimes of kings and the oppression of peoples, &c. &c.; and that Louis XVI. had not done anything to deserve a miracle from heaven to change the king nature in him, and render him different from other royal monsters. "It is eighteen months," continued he, "since our revolution began, and what has been your conduct in all that time? Be your own judge, and tell us, if you have courage enough, whether such a king as you deserve any other name than that of a stupid automaton or a perfidious deceiver!"* No attempt was made to silence or refute this horrible screech-owl, so that his notes became louder and more lugubrious. The headings of his papers will sufficiently explain the nature of them: one was, "On the Urgent Necessity of a General Insurrection like that of the 14th of July last;" another, "Necessity of a General Rising;" another, "Revolt of the King against the Constitution;" another, "The Tocsin;" another, "Civil War Inevitable, as predicted a Hundred Times these last Fifteen Months by the Friend of the People;" and another, "The Triple Alarm."† The Jacobin journalist that approached the nearest to the atrocity of Marat was Robespierre's schoolfellow, the renegade Fréron, who now edited the Orator of the People. But Prudhomme, the printer, one of the conspicuous Friends of Truth and links of the Social Circle, ran almost neck and neck with Fréron and Marat, while Camille Desmoulins was scarcely a length behind any of them. Prudhomme stuck up on the very door of the National Assembly a placard, on which was printed in the largest type, "I, Prudhomme, to all the people of the earth do give notice that I shall presently publish all the crimes of all the potentates of Europe, of all popes, emperors, kings, &c. The first thing necessary for a people who wish to be free is to know exactly the crimes of their kings. In spite of the vigilance of the despots I will disperse millions of copies of the work in their states, under my motto, '*Liberty of the Press or Death.*'" ‡ In a number of his newspaper, the Journal des Révolutions de Paris, published in the month of December, Prudhomme laid down a complete system of tyrannicide or tyrant-killing, recommending as a practical conclusion the immediate formation of a battalion of one hundred young citizens, expressly consecrated to the work of immolating tyrants and their vile instruments. He considered tyrannicide as a very important branch of the Rights of Man, which had anciently been exercised with great heroism, success, and honour by Harmodius and Aristogiton, by Scævola and the two Brutuses; and that that beautiful dream of truth, universal peace and love, would be realised as soon as there should exist a sacred phalanx of tyrant-killers proof to torture and to death, *patriâ jubente*. To enrich his theme with other illustrations, he spoke of the Prince of the Assassins, the Old Man of the Mountain, whose memory, he said would have been blessed by humanity if he had only turned the daggers and the fanaticism of his disciples against kings and tyrants, instead of employing them to support his own tyranny. He quoted divers philosophers, ancient and modern, and finished by declaring that, in order to prevent *coups d'état* on the part of the king and his ministers, the French people ought to try again some *coups de main*.* And this journal was the most universally read, had the greatest sale, a greater even than Marat's, for Prudhomme was a printer, a bookseller, a man of business who knew how to make his speculation profitable; and the homely directness and coarseness of his style was precisely that which best suited the taste of the masses.

However, when Marat and Fréron, who had so long been allowed to say or write whatever they chose concerning the king, the queen, the clergy, the noblesse, seemed disposed for a time to concentrate all their filth in order to throw it exclusively upon the heads of those members of the National Assembly who had been considered the fathers and godfathers of the revolution, they got into some little trouble. Their provocation was great, and their punishment would have been commensurate, if they had not been so strong in the favour and support of the common people, the great body of the nation, and their assailants so weak, with nothing but the support of their despised laws and timid self-regarding respectabilities. The Lafayettes, the Baillys, the Mirabeaux—never doubt it!—would have caused Marat and Fréron to be hanged upon a gallows higher than that of the Marquis de Favras, if they could only have done so with safety to themselves. But all that they had the courage and the power to do or get done was a visit by night to a printing-office kept by a woman; and so awkwardly did they go to work that even that visit wore the appearance of being contrary to law. The whole story may serve as a measure of Mirabeau's power or faculty of restraining and putting down the Jacobins, without which there was surely no possibility of saving the monarchy. Marat now treated the count with an affected contempt, which stung the proud man worse than all. He lumped Riquetti with the Austrian

* L'Ami du Peuple. † Hist. Parlement.
‡ Biographie Moderne.

* Hist. Parlement.

woman (the queen), with Lafayette's wife, whom Mirabeau hated as heartily as he did her husband, with Madame Leonard, the queen's hair-dresser, and with all the waiting-women and running lacqueys of the court. He said it was through Madame Leonard that Mirabeau, or Riquetti, had concluded his traitorous bargain with the queen, and had touched 500,000 livres. When Mirabeau, on the 22nd of December, demanded leave of absence from the National Assembly for a short time, he accused him in his journal of intending to fly to join the Count d'Artois and the other conspirators at Turin! But against Bailly and Lafayette Marat was still more caustic and contemptuous; he described them both as empty charlatans driven mad by vanity and self-conceit, and that were daily doing and saying things unworthy of the intellects of a couple of street-porters. He denounced as being either already corrupted, or very corruptible, Camus—the rigid Camus, the Cato of the respectabilities—Pétion, Chabroud, Merlin, Barnave, the Lameths, and many other applauded members of the National Assembly, in the whole of which he could scarcely find one honest man, save and except only—*Robespierre.* [The league and covenant between the two terrorists had begun thus early!] Of the deputies he put upon his black list very few carried their heads on their shoulders through this revolution. One night a certain Joly, one of the commissaries of police attached to the municipality, went to the house of Mademoiselle Colombe, where both 'L'Ami du Peuple' and the 'Orateur du Peuple' were printed, to *constater*, or prove by legal evidence, the fact of the printing in her house. He was accompanied by five or six other commissaries of police and a clerk. Though taken by surprise in the middle of the night, and probably roused out of her bed, the bold patriotism of the citizeness did not forsake her. When asked whether she printed Fréron's paper, she said yes, and that she was proud of printing it, and would rather print it than any other journal. She also acknowledged the printing of Marat's paper, and readily permitted proofs to be drawn of a part of the paper which was left standing in type. But at the same time she solemnly protested against this nocturnal visit to her domicile and printing-office as illegal, and as a flagrant encroachment on the rights of citizens, whose houses, according to law and the new constitution, were not to be inspected in that manner.* Two battalions of the Paris national guard, a smaller force being deemed insufficient, were ordered to proceed by night to the presumed residence of Marat in the Faubourg St. Antoine, but they refused to march; and so the leech was not molested. The demoiselle brought her action against the commissaries of police, and her pet journalists became bolder than ever. Marat denounced the nocturnal visit as something as bad and as illegal as any act of the old despotism; he threw most of the blame upon Mayor Bailly and Lafayette; and he represented how essential it was to the cause of liberty and to the repose and happiness of the nation that writers like himself should enlighten the public on questions of politics, and on the conduct of the functionaries of the state. He boasted of the persecutions to which he had been subjected the preceding year when the respectabilities had it all their own way. "I have brayed," said he, "their judges of the Châtelet and of the tribunal of police. I have trampled under my feet their decrees of arrest, which were launched against me by corrupted courts at the requisition of the foes of liberty. And now reason has made herself heard, her principles have been received, and I applaud myself for having been the first, nay, the only one of the defenders of the country that has prescribed to himself the duty of cultivating and forming public opinion." He had been accused of crimes and meannesses; some had even written that he was sold to Pitt and the English, and was dipping his pen in fire and blood to bring about an anarchy which might turn to the profit of the eternal enemies of France and gratify their revenge for what Frenchmen had done in America; but a good and honest man, like himself, could laugh at calumny. Having committed a disgraceful blunder in their attempt to muzzle them, Bailly, Lafayette, and the other members of the Assembly, could do nothing but let these terrible journalists go on open-mouthed. A newspaper of theirs called Journal des Clubs, which obtained no readers beyond the ranks of the respectabilities, was begun a little later; but it seemed to be afraid of Marat, for, in attacking Fréron, Prudhomme, Desmoulins, and other anarchists, it passed by the Friend of the People. But when he and the demoiselle printer had gained their process, the Journal des Clubs, transported with rage, fell upon the redoubtable leech, and in a style not much unlike his own held him up as a *sujet pendable.* "We ought," said the Lafayettist writer, "to be reproached for our cowardice; Marat exists, and we have done nothing but skirmish with him; we are quietly permitting him to dig a mine under the constitution: he is shaking the torch of discord; he is proscribing the best citizens; he is chief of a band of men whom the traveller would shudder to meet on the highway; and we, as if afraid of the pistols and poignards of the assassins he commands, appear as if we dared not look him in the face. What will this lead to! If everybody had been afraid of the dagger of Catiline, Rome would have swum in her own blood."* These Lafayettists further said that if Marat were permitted to pursue his course he would be soon seen haranguing the mob from behind a rampart formed of dead bodies. They acknowledged that the Maratists had indeed been the conquerors of the Bastille, and therein had rendered good service to the glorious cause of liberty; but, said they, a dunghеap helps to produce beautiful fruit, yet that is no reason why we should suffer it to be near us when

* Procès-verbal, in Hist. Parlement.

* Journal des Clubs, as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

it offends the sense of smelling. But all these French journalists were about equally rabid. There was a paper set up by the royalists called 'Journal des Halles.' It denounced and confounded in one black equality of guilt and shame the Duke of Orléans, Lafayette, Bailly, Barnave, the Lameths, Duport, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and an infinity of others, some deputies of the Assembly, some members of the Jacobin Club, some journalists, and some who united all these three characters or functions. Danton, whose burly figure and stentorian voice gave him great advantages as a popular orator, had left writing to Marat, a blear-eyed, weak-voiced, miserable little figure of a man, and had established as great a reputation in the club as Mirabeau ever enjoyed in the Assembly. He there delivered *vivâ voce* the same gentle doctrines that Marat imparted by means of pen and type. He declared that a supplement to the revolution was necessary; and that, in spite of oneself, it must soon be made. The Journal des Halles fell upon him for this and for similar declarations, and showed that French royalists could be quite as fierce and unmannerly as French republicans. A short specimen will suffice:—"This Marat, who calls himself the friend of the people, is a d—d miserable beggar *(un sacré gredin)*, who has sold himself to another d—d miserable beggar, called Danton, the great bull-dog of the republic of the Cordeliers, who, in his turn, has sold himself to another d—d beggarly rascal, the Duke of Orléans; so here we have a chain of beggarly rascals who will not weigh an ounce, now that we know what they are about!" * The imitation of style was very complete; the dames des Halles themselves could scarcely have surpassed this passage, which was intended to serve the interests of the crown and altar. Camille Desmoulins, who now harangued in the Jacobin Club from a regular tribune, and no longer in the Palais Royal from a joint-stool—*because* by the winter of 1790 the Jacobin Club had become as hot as the Palais Royal was in the spring and summer of 1789—in a much-admired speech called the attention of that House and of its crowded galleries to the indisputable certainty of a foreign invasion, and proposed a system of proper treatment for the invaders. The treatment was to be this:—1. Every Austrian, Piedmontese, Sardinian, or other foreign soldier taken with arms in his hands, was to be hanged like a brigand, or shot like a wild beast. 2. Every soldier of the enemy, ashamed of serving in a camp of Tartars and in the midst of a horde of brigands, that should come over with his arms and unite himself with men and brothers against the wolves of Austria, was to receive a piece of ground; and the French people were to set aside a portion of the church lands to recompense such honourable deserters. 3. Every deserter that would bring over with him the head of an Austrian officer was to receive four times as much money as was paid under the ancient régime to the man that killed a wolf. 4. That the National Assembly ought to appoint a committee to provide for payment and fix a tariff of prices for Austrian heads, &c., from that of a simple lieutenant to a field-marshal, and even up to the chief tyrant of all, the Emperor Leopold himself, &c.

* Journal des Halles, in Hist. Parlement.

We dwell the longer on these particulars out of our anxiety to show what were the real humour, feeling, condition, and prospects of this revolution at the end of the year 1790, when it was only twenty months old, and when it led to the final rupture of Fox and Burke, and the permanent separation of the great Whig party, who could not agree as to the light in which the sanguinary foul phenomenon ought to be regarded. We would impress with all the small power and energy that is in us the mighty and all-important truth that good could not come to nations by imitating those horribly fantastic pranks; we would show that the season of hope and delusion ought to have been over, and that, whatever right-hearted and right-headed Englishmen might have thought of this French revolution at the opening of the states-general in May, 1789, they ought not to have regarded it with any other sentiments than those of horror and disgust, mingled with pity—with a pity for those who made the suffering as well as for those who suffered—at the close of this year. The facts which we have related, candidly and entirely upon French contemporary authorities, and a hundred other facts which we have necessarily suppressed, were no state secrets, were covered with no veil of mystery whatsoever; they were as well known to reading Englishmen of the day as they are known now; they were as well known to Charles Fox as to Edmund Burke, and let this be remembered by the reader when he comes to peruse and judge of the quarrel between those two statesmen!

The course of the Netherland or Belgic revolution and its final overthrow by the arms of Austria had notably increased the furor of the French democrats, and roused the suspicions and fears even of the non-Jacobin party in the Assembly, who had not been bold enough to strike in, or generous enough to rush into a war for the defence of men whose insurrection had been originally promoted and encouraged by French propagandists, but who had lamentably proved their incapacity of helping themselves. The Patriotic Assembly of Brussels, and the other political clubs in the great towns, had become as Jacobinical as the great mother society, the genetrix maxima at Paris. They, too, raised and kept up the cry of "Down with the aristocracy!" and, because the nobles and the superior classes had framed a constitution upon aristocratic principles, they proclaimed pretty openly that they were entitled to no better treatment than that which we have seen proposed by Camille Desmoulins for Austrian invaders; and, instead of thinking how to unite their forces in order to oppose the emperor, they em-

ployed their thoughts about the best means of destroying their own native nobility. This left the noblesse nothing to do but to rally round the standard of Leopold, renouncing the fond hope of establishing a national independence, and of obtaining for their native land a name and a place among European nations. To destroy the last gleam of hope, the violent democratic leaders quarrelled with the whole body of the clergy, country curés and all, and thus armed against themselves, and almost to a man, one of the most priest-ridden and superstitious of rural populations. The Patriotic Assembly at Brussels, who wanted something very like the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, which had flown over the world on the wings of the wind, read insolent lectures and put in the most arrogant demands to the states and provisional governments. These things were but transcripts of the French revolutionary papers. These Belgian patriots represented that, though their country might not as yet be quite ripe and prepared for a civil constitution like that which was being reared in France, still an approach to its principles ought to be made upon the basis of liberty and justice. They claimed a share in the government, which would have left next to nothing to the aristocracy and the church; and they required the immediate summoning of a National Assembly. The United Belgic States, strong in the support of the priests and the peasantry, boldly refused any concessions of this nature; and, to check the circulation of the new doctrines, they had recourse to their illiberal old laws; and on the 12th of January (1790), only two days after the declaration of independence, these United States had decreed that, according to the tenor of those old laws, all publications whatsoever should continue to be subject to a censorship, or the previous examination and judgment of clerical or lay censors, according to the nature of the matter treated of in such publications; and that, moreover, all printers, booksellers, and hawkers should be answerable for the matter contained in whatsoever books, pamphlets, or papers they printed, published, or vended.* The army of independence had been partially democratized and Jacobinized, but the mass of it was still imbued with the old feelings of reverence for priests, and, being of a less lively temperament and duller imagination than their neighbours the French, it would evidently be a work of time to convert these boors into unbelieving or misbelieving philosophes. Among their other antiquated notions, these Belgian soldiers retained a respect for their commanding officers, and were apparently much attached to General Vandermersch, who had deserted the Emperor Joseph at the beginning of the struggle, and had so incensed that potentate that he caused him to be hanged in effigy and threatened to hang him in reality. This Vandermersch had acted in the field with great energy and ability, and to him the patriots had been indebted for nearly all the successes they had obtained against the Imperialists. Warned by what was taking place in France, and by the mode in which a wild democracy let loose was treating all the superior officers of the army, and not having originally any predilection for that form of government, Vandermersch expressed in a pointed manner his disapprobation of the political clubs and of the extravagant pretensions of the temporary democratic Congress, which assumed legislative and executive powers which belonged only to the States. Towards the end of March the said Congress sent commissaries or deputies to Namur, where Vandermersch was lying with the greater part of the army. The object of these commissaries was to remove him from the command, and make him a prisoner; but, almost as soon as they arrived at Namur, Vandermersch, taking the initiative, arrested them and threw them into prison. He followed up this bold step by issuing a proclamation, in which, without naming the democratic Congress, he said that evil-designing persons, strongly suspected of having caused the riots, pillage, and proscriptions which had taken place in Brussels, had arrived at Namur for the purpose of preaching sedition and calumniating the intentions of the general and the army; and that therefore he thought it necessary to remove every cause of alarm by declaring that he was himself placed at the head of the army for the purpose of defending the Roman Catholic faith, with the civil and religious rights of the people; and that he was determined to do his duty. He was backed by all his officers, who, the very next day, unanimously passed and published a variety of resolutions which did not merely amount to the denial of any power or authority in the Congress, but seemed also to usurp, for the army alone, the powers which had been vested in the several States. The chief of these resolutions were, that the Duke of Ursel should instantly be placed at the head of the war department; that General Vandermersch was, and should continue to be, generalissimo of the whole Belgic army; that the Prince d'Aremberg, Count of Lamarck, should be appointed second in command; and that addresses should be sent to all the provinces, inviting them to co-operate with the army for the reformation of abuses and the re-establishment of order. The Congress hereupon issued orders for the troops in Brussels and in other towns to march towards Namur, to concentrate and unite near that town, and then to advance in martial order against Vandermersch and the troops under him. Everything seemed to threaten a civil war; but, by means which are not explained, but which may easily be imagined, the greater part of Vandermersch's troops were induced to rise upon their officers and to put their general into the hands of the troops dispatched by the Congress, who presently committed him a close prisoner to the fortress of Antwerp. It is even said that he was loaded with chains and thrown into a noisome dungeon. The Prince d'Aremberg was, absent at Paris, where he was employing

* Ann. Regist.

March of Flemish Troops. From a Drawing by Walsh.

himself heart and soul in the cause of Marie Antoinette, and labouring to arrest the progress of the revolution there; but the Duke of Ursel was in the country, and upon him the Congress fell with fury. This nobleman, hereditary chief of the order of noblesse in Brabant, had spent his large income for the defence of the country's liberties, and had been one of the first to oppose the Emperor Joseph. But he was now denounced as a traitor, arrested by Vaneupen, thrown into prison, and for five weeks subjected to examinations and inquisitions in order to find grounds for charging him capitally. This was in the province of Flanders, into which he had fled from Brabant, his own province, for protection. The judges declared that he was innocent; but the States of Flanders attempted to prolong his confinement and to suppress the decision of the judges. As some companies of volunteers, to whom they applied for assistance, refused to co-operate, the States endeavoured to have the duke carried off by night, and consigned to the more powerful hands of his enemies in Brabant. A party of lawless ruffians they employed actually tore him from his family and forced him into a carriage; but the volunteers, who had before refused to co-operate, rushed to his rescue and delivered him. These measures increased the odium and unpopularity of those who had been concerned in them; and the two supreme leaders of the democratic party—Vaneupen, whom Dumouriez had described as a hypocrite, and Vandernoot, whom he had styled a Masaniello—got still harder names from the Belgian people. The common people of Flanders, who had been proud of General Vandermersch, a native of their own province, were well nigh flying to arms to rescue him from his captivity, and take vengeance on Brabant for arresting him. Favoured by these distractions and fierce dissensions, the troops of the emperor, who had been almost entirely driven out of the provinces, recovered heart and confidence, and, retracing their steps, they occupied again several important positions, and defeated the disorganized, ill-commanded Belgians wherever they met them and whatever was their superiority in number. Vaneupen and Vandernoot made a terrible noise, but could do little else. They wanted money and men, but their credit had sunk so low that they and the Congress could not raise a small loan either at home or abroad; and on account of the arrest of Vandermersch all the towns of Flanders peremptorily refused to send a single man to the army. It was better, they said, to have the emperor back again than to live under two such emperors as Vaneupen and Vandernoot. At the same time the people in all the provinces were incensed by the discovery of enormous frauds and peculations which had been practised by many of the patriot drivers of this revolution, and of a palpable tendency in many of them to make advantageous terms for themselves with the court of Vienna. In this state of popular feeling the Emperor Leopold issued another memorial, in which he solemnly pledged himself to observe every article of the "Joyous Entry," and to restore to the States the constitutions they had enjoyed previously to the innovations of the Emperor Joseph. And very soon after, having wisely put an end to the causes of discontent in Hungary, Leopold was

enabled to tranquillize that brave and important part of his subjects, and to obtain from them both money and men. By the month of August the Imperialists, who had concentrated their forces on and near to the frontiers, under General Bender, were strengthened by the arrival of several regiments, and of all the material necessary for prosecuting the war with vigour. The Belgian congress had applied in vain for assistance to Prussia, to Holland, to England, to France. The three first of these courts were, in the beginning, not averse to the scheme for curtailing the dominions of the House of Austria, and erecting Belgium into a separate independent state; but the Vandernoots and Vaneupens had both disgusted and alarmed them all, and the French contagion, as it now began to be called, carried doubt and anxiety not merely to all royal hearts, but also into the breasts of all nobles, landed proprietors, churchmen, statesmen, and politicians of the old school. Prussia even intimated that she would rather take part with Austria than permit the present anarchy to continue in the Netherlands; and what the House of Orange most feared was, that the Belgians, if assisted by France, might press upon the frontiers of Holland, and call upon the democratic party there, who had so recently been put down by force of arms, to rise again. In fact the only country from which the Belgian democrats ought to have expected assistance was France, where a democracy fiercer than their own seemed all-triumphant. The same revolutionary principle united these two nations; and, as Vandernoot proclaimed the sovereignty of the people in Belgium, and upheld France as his model, it seemed but fair and natural that the French people should assist him. By some strange and unaccountable means, the subject was kept out of the National Assembly at Paris, or at least no decrees were passed or direct motions made about the Belgians until it was too late to render them any service. But the Jacobin Club at Paris made up for the silence of the Assembly: they discussed the business night after night, and returned the admiration with which Vandernoot had honoured them. The French Jacobins declared that, if the rights of man, and liberty and equality, were allowed to be trampled upon in Belgium, the attempt would soon be made to bring the iron-shod hoofs of despotism upon them in France; that, if the armies of the emperor were permitted to overrun and subjugate a country whose frontier touched, for so great an extent, the frontiers of France, they would soon cross that line of demarcation; and that, if there was a counter-revolution in Brussels, there would shortly be another in Paris. Carra was a great haranguer to this effect, and his orations helped to send some desperadoes, the *habitués* of the Jacobin galleries, to join Vandernoot's army. But little more than this was done by Carra and the rest of the club orators; and the king's ministers were allowed to persist in their inactivity and seeming indifference, which appears the more strange, as they were accused of considering the Belgian provinces as the bridge over which the royalist counter-revolution was to penetrate into France, and of being quite enchanted at beholding the fate which awaited insurrection in that near country.* Left to themselves, Vandernoot, Vaneupen, and their congress issued manifestos and proclamations, and called upon all patriots, young and old, rich and poor, Brabanters and Flemings, or of any other part of the union, to fly to arms; but the patriots would no longer obey any such summons, and the congress had no proper general to command those who were already in the field. In the month of October, the Emperor Leopold, as had been agreed at the congress of Reichenbach between him and the courts of Berlin, the Hague, and London, engaged in the most solemn manner, and under the obligation of an oath to be taken under the guarantee of those three allied powers, to govern each of his Belgian provinces according to the constitutions, charters, and privileges which were in force during the reign of his beloved and popular mother the Empress Maria Theresa. In the same manifesto he invited, called upon, and summoned his Belgic subjects to acknowledge his lawful authority; declaring that he would bury in oblivion all the excesses and disorders committed during the late years by a general amnesty, to be published in favour of all who, before the 21st of November, should lay down their arms, and cease from all instigations and attempts against the peaceable exercise of his authority. He promised to visit all the states in order to ascertain the wishes of all classes, and concert, with persons properly chosen, the best means of promoting the general good; and he conjured and entreated them all, in the name of that oath which they had sworn to their country, and which was as dear to him as to them, not to reject the hand which he held out to them, and which was the hand of an affectionate father. The parties who had begun the insurrection, including noblesse, priests, monks, divinity professors, peasantry, and common people, would have been disposed to rest satisfied with these conditions, even though they had not been disgusted with the Vandernoots. Many men who had hitherto remained in the field went home without furloughs. Still, however, the congress persisted, and maintained a tone of defiance, even when the army under Bender was raised to 30,000 men, consisting of the best troops in the emperor's service. Vandernoot's diminished army was commanded by General Schoenfeldt, who is described by Dumouriez as a Prussian officer, an impostor also, and as being in the pay, at the time, of the King of Prussia. It had been foiled and defeated with terrible loss in the month of September by only a small part of the Austrian forces; and now that Bender was coming on Schoenfeldt ran away to Prussia, and all that the disorganised, demoralised, distracted army of independence could do

* Dumouriez, Mémoires.

was to retreat skirmishing. In all these affairs a considerable number of French Jacobins got knocked on the head by the Austrians. The provisional governments in the different provinces began to disband as fast as the soldiers, flying for the most part to Paris. Vaneupen, who was a priest by profession, before he became a democratic revolutionist and co-dictator with Vandernoot, did what in him lay to keep up the spirit of his party, which seemed suffering everywhere a most rapid thaw and dissolution. He entered the assembly of congress holding a crucifix in his hand, and, placing the sacred emblem in the chair of state, and falling on his knees before it, he protested in the most solemn manner that he would never pay allegiance to the emperor or the House of Austria. A proposal was made on the 20th of November, the very eve of the day appointed for their submission, that the emperor's third son, the Archduke Charles, should be acknowledged sovereign of the Netherlands;—the succession to remain in his family, but not to revert to any branch of the House of Austria possessing the sovereignty of any other country. If made at an earlier period—if proposed before the alarm spread through all the courts of Europe by the headlong course of the French revolution, and before the deliberations, conclusions, and treaties entered into at Reichenbach, there might have been a bare possibility of success to this scheme, and the Belgians might have obtained for their sovereign the ablest and most spirited prince that the House of Austria has produced for many ages; but now it was a deal too late for that or any other proposition, except absolute submission, to be entertained. General Bender was crossing the Meuse with his 30,000 men, and the army of independence was become an army of fuyards. Advancing right upon Brussels, Bender dispatched an aide-de-camp to the congress sitting there, to name a short number of days within which they were to determine whether they would accede to the conditions offered them and trust to the honour and faith of the emperor and of the three mediating powers, assuring them at the same time that, if they obliged him, General Bender, to draw on his boots once more, he would not take them off again until he had chased them all out of the Netherlands. The congress were silent. The time expired. Old Bender drew on his boots and marched rapidly to beat up their quarters. But the congress-men did not await his arrival: with the members of the war department, and with all who had been most active in the revolution, they consulted their safety by flight, some flying into Holland, some into Germany, but the greater part of them betaking themselves to the more congenial atmosphere of Paris. The city of Brussels surrendered to the Austrians on the 2nd of December. The example was followed by the other cities of Flanders and Brabant; and before the end of the year all those provinces quietly returned under the dominion of the emperor, who religiously kept all his engagements with them.* Bender maintained an exemplary discipline in his army, so that no person and no property was exposed to military violence. A convention between the ministers of the emperor and those of the three allied powers, Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, was signed at the Hague on the 10th of December, by which the Belgic provinces were not only restored to their old rights and privileges, but also obtained several new advantages calculated to render more secure their ancient constitutions. These constitutions were not models of absolute perfection—they would have been regarded with sovereign contempt by that rule-and-line constitution-maker the Abbé Sièyes—but they had kept the Netherlanders a tolerably happy people, and they certainly secured some of the most important of the rights and blessings of freedom. Among the new articles was one which especially prohibited the levying of troops or taxes, or the establishing of any laws, without the consent of the States; and there was another which as strictly forbade any employment of military force against the people, except in support of the laws, and at the formal requisition of the civil magistrates. England was accused of being in an unholy league against liberty; and yet this convention, which gave to the Belgians a new charter of freedom, was obtained through the good offices and mediation of England and her allies. We shall soon see that the French republicans were not in the habit of procuring or of giving such benefits to the countries they revolutionised and overran; but that, on the contrary, they were accustomed to chain as slaves behind their car of triumph the people they made co-republicans. With regard to the great question at issue in France, the easy overthrow of the half-fledged democracy and Jacobinism of the Netherlands certainly exercised some evil influences, which contributed essentially to enormous miscalculations and blunders, and to disgraceful and fatal reverses: it induced the French emigrants, the princes, and the aristocracies of Europe, to believe that the overthrow of the gigantic democracy of France would be a work of almost equal ease; and hence arose delays, insufficiency of preparation, and a blind and presumptuous confidence.

For the present, however, the Paris patriots, not seeing into the future, considered the restoration of the Austrian dominion in the neighbouring country as the most serious of calamities. It filled them with a new fury, and in this way also its effects could scarcely be other than disastrous to the captive royal family. It is said that, on the 19th of December, Marie Antoinette, on sitting down to dinner, found under her plate a scrap of paper with these words written upon it: "*At the very first cannon your brother fires against the French patriots your head will be sent to him.*" This story was told in all the Jacobin newspapers, so that whether the scrap of paper were really found on the royal dinner-table or not could be of

* Ann. Regist.

little consequence: the French believed what their journalists told them, and they had long been prepared to adopt the principle of retaliation and vengeance so concisely expressed in the note. An ingenious Parisian caricaturist explained with horrible fun the triste position of Louis XVI. with regard to flight and assistance from foreign princes: he represented the king in a travelling carriage drawn by hares; he drew round him a circle without break or issue, and up in the sky he represented *Blanchard*, the famous aëronaut, offering his majesty a balloon as the only conveyance by which he could get out of France.

In this busy year attempts were begun to revolutionise Poland, and the first impulse was evidently received from France; but we may wait till the year 1791 to give an account of these ill-judged or ill-timed proceedings, which ended in the total destruction of the Polish republic. The truce which the Emperor Leopold had concluded with the Turks soon after his accession, and which had so soon been followed by a treaty of peace, had not induced the Empress Catherine to lay down her victorious arms. During the summer and autumn of 1790 a desultory savage war was carried on between Russians and Turks on the shores of the Black Sea, and by the banks of the Danube. In several petty encounters the Turks had the advantage; but, when they made a grand effort to penetrate into the Russian conquests between the Black Sea and the Caspian, they were defeated on the river Kuban with terrible loss. The Russians, however, began to feel the effects of their long efforts in a languor and exhaustion; and the czarina was warned by the congress at Reichenback, that England, Prussia, Holland, and even her old ally, Austria, were determined not to permit any further dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, she knew that the Poles had opened secret negociations with Sultan Selim, and were disposed to rise and take her Turkish armies in flank and rear as soon as ever a favourable opportunity should offer. The great termagant of the North had already lowered the insolent tone of her diplomacy: it was therefore pretty clear that this war would soon cease.

Another war, which more directly concerned England, had broken out in the East. Tippoo Sahib or Tippoo Sultaun, who could never forget or forgive the humiliations he had met with at the end of the last war, hated the English almost to the pitch of madness; and he had superadded a religious fanaticism as mad as this hatred. He imagined himself the chosen servant of the prophet Mahomet, predestined, in the eternal book of fate, to root out the Nazarenes from India, and cast them into the bottomless pits of Gehenna. His cruelties to the poor Nairs and Hindu people of the Malabar coast, who had favoured the English, had been terrible; and apparently no very strenuous effort had been made either by the local governments or by the British government to check them, and protect an interesting people who had certainly got into trouble on our account, and upon our promises of permanent protection. Nearly at the same time that Tippoo sent his numerous embassy to die of the plague at Constantinople, or on the road, he dispatched a secret messenger to Paris to invite the French government to send six thousand of their best troops to the Carnatic, with which assistance he engaged to drive the English out of every part of Hindustan. The Indian diplomatist —apparently a born Frenchman—arrived safely in France, and there met with a very favourable reception from all who wished the ruin of England —a wide category which may be said to have included nearly every man, woman, and child in that kingdom or republic. Even some of the king's ministers were enchanted with the project, for Tippoo Sultaun offered to pay for transport, clothing, and maintenance of the troops, and to secure the French in the enjoyment of greater advantages than the English had ever possessed in India. Moreover, the terrible insurrection of the blacks in St. Domingo, who had been too uddenly indoctrinated in the Rights of Man and the new gospel of liberty and equality, rendered necessary the sending a considerable force thither; and under cover of this armament, it was calculated that an expedition might be sent to the Malabar or Coromandel coast, without exciting the suspicions of the English government. But these ministers and their encouraging representations could not overcome the scruples and the repugnance of Louis XVI. "*This resembles*," said he, "*the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we are suffering for it now. The lesson is too severe to be forgotten!*"* Without waiting the result of this embassy Tippoo made an attack upon the Rajah of Travancore, the close ally of the English ever since Colonel Fullarton's brilliant expedition, and before the end of the year 1789 he had overrun and occupied the greater part of that rajah's dominions. A detachment of the company's army, under Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, found itself suddenly engaged with the main body of the Mysore

* Bertrand de Molleville, minister of state at that time, *Mémoires*. —Tippoo had very secretly negotiated with M. de Fresne, governor of Pondicherry, who was living under shadow of the flag of the English, who had restored that settlement, upon conditions which the French had never observed, at the last peace. These negotiations he had conducted through the means of M. Leger, administrateur civil of France in India, who understood the Persian language, who wrote the dispatches dictated by Tippoo, and who brought them to Paris himself, having, in order to conceal the real object of his journey, given out some time before that his private affairs would oblige him to return to France. Leger brought with him presents for the king and queen. But Tippoo had not been splendidly generous: the king's portion consisted of some gold gauze, some crimson silk stuffs, flowered with gold, some Persian linen, partly plain and partly painted, an aigrette of bad diamonds, flat, yellow, and ill set, with a clasp ornamented in the same taste; the queen's consisted of three bottles, half-full of Indian essences, a box of perfumed powder-balls, some scented matches, and nothing more. When Bertrand de Molleville presented these Eastern offerings, the king said to him, laughing, "What can I do with all this trumpery? It seems only fit to dress up dolls. But you have little girls who may be pleased with it: give it all to them." "But the diamonds, Sire?" said Bertrand. "O, they are mighty fine, to be sure," replied Louis: "perhaps you would have them placed among the jewels of the crown. Pray take them too, and wear them in your hat if you like!" The queen would only take a bottle of the otto of roses and some of the fine Indian linen which had been sent for the king.—*Id. id.*

army under Tippoo; many of our sepoys were cut down: Floyd, riding along the line, expressed his regret to the native officers, and cheered them with the hope of a speedy retaliation: these brave and faithful fellows replied, "We have eaten the company's salt; our lives are at their disposal; and God forbid that we should mind a few casualties." The sepoys closed up their thinned ranks, and retreated in good order before an immensely superior force, and through an exceedingly difficult country.* But Tippoo's progress was soon stopped. Having formed a close alliance with the Mahrattas, the Nizam of the Deccan, and other native powers, the Bengal government raised two armies, one in the Carnatic of 15,000 men, which was placed under the command of General Medows, who had distinguished himself in the American war, and another of about 7500 men in the presidency of Bombay, under the command of the excellent General Abercrombie. Tippoo, after some insidious attempts at negotiation, evacuated the Travancore country, and before a shot could reach him retreated to Seringapatam, his strong capital. In the month of June (1790) Medows, with the Carnatic army, marched from Trichinopoly, and, following nearly the same line of march which had first been opened by Colonel Fullarton, he took several important fortresses. But he was soon obliged to retrace his steps by intelligence that Tippoo, with a mighty army, was again bursting into the Carnatic, had passed the defiles of the ghauts, and was attempting once more to carry fire and sword to the walls of Madras. Medows's countermarch soon drove the Mysorean back again beyond the mountains. In the meantime, General Abercrombie, with the Bombay army, landed at Telicherry, and reduced nearly all the places which the enemy held on the Malabar coast, restoring the Nairs and the other petty Hindu rajahs, who all co-operated with the English in expelling their tyrants and oppressors. Our ally, the rajah of Travancore, was completely re-established in his dominions, but no further progress was made against Tippoo Sultaun this year, and the war seemed likely to drag on.†

The new British parliament met on the 26th of November. The speech from the throne expressed great satisfaction at the amicable termination of the late differences with Spain about Nootka Sound. It acquainted the House of Commons that his majesty had ordered the expenses of the late armament to be laid before them, together with the estimates for the ensuing year; and then the speech, after briefly noticing the hostilities which had broken out in India, called the particular attention of parliament to the state of the province of Quebec. A cautious silence was observed on the affairs of France; but the pacification between Austria and the Porte, the separate peace between Russia and Sweden, and the endeavours then carrying on in order to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands, were briefly mentioned. In the House of Commons the usual address was moved by Mr. Mainwaring, and seconded by Mr. Carew. Fox, disclaiming any intention to oppose the address, criticised various observations made by Carew in seconding it. After a few words about the Spanish convention, he adverted to what had been said on the subject of the Austrian Netherlands. It had been stated by Carew that it was good policy to promote the return of the Netherlands to the dominion of the House of Austria, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of another power, likely to prove dangerous or inimical to this country. Fox conceived the power alluded to must be France; but, as if blind to the proselytizing going on, and to the inevitable tendency of a war-loving democracy—as if putting confidence in the vapid declarations of the philosophes of the National Assembly, that a state of war was unworthy of a free, a just, and an enlightened people, who only wished other nations to be as free and happy as themselves—he asked how France had so suddenly become a greater object of terror to us now than at any other period? In his opinion, the interference of France in the affairs of other nations was, at the present conjuncture, very little to be dreaded. With regard to the affairs of Europe in general, the interests of different powers had taken so new and singular a turn, that it was the undoubted duty of ministers not to overlook the change, but to turn it to the good of England. Not long ago it had been difficult for England to find any allies in Europe; but now she had only to pick and choose; she had nothing to do but to ascertain what number of allies it was necessary she should have. As to India, if no more was intended than to defend our ally when attacked, the war would meet with his warm approbation; but if, under the pretext of a quarrel between two native princes, our object was to obtain for ourselves new territorial acquisitions, he should enter his determined protest. Pitt, in replying to Fox, said nothing about France or the Netherlands, but stated, on the subject of foreign alliances, that ministers would do their duty and not overlook any favourable opportunity for improving old and forming new treaties. With regard to India, he did not think it either just or prudent to make war for the sole purpose of extending our territory; but he contended that, in case of a fortunate termination of the present conflict with Tippoo Sultaun, we should have an indisputable right to demand indemnification for ourselves and compensation for our injured ally. The address was carried without opposition. On the 3rd of December copies of the convention with Spain, and other papers, were laid before both Houses of Parliament. In the Commons the opposition urged that more papers ought to be produced; and on the 13th of December a motion was made by Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) for the production of all papers whatsoever relating to the affair of Nootka Sound. Ministers objected that

* Colonel Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India.
† Id. id.

this was unnecessary, and might be mischievous, as communicating too much of our negotiations with foreign courts to all the world; and the motion was negatived by a majority of nearly two to one, the numbers being 258 against 134. On the 14th Mr. Duncombe, one of the members for Yorkshire, after mentioning how little trade and manufactures had been interrupted by the late dispute with Spain, which had been so happily terminated, moved an address to his majesty on the late successful negotiations with the court of Madrid, which went to secure us in the enjoyment of many advantages, particularly in regard to the whale-fishery and the fur-trade. Fox made a rather uncandid and very unsuccessful attempt to undervalue the minister's diplomacy, and to prove that the quarrel about the Falkland Islands had been settled in a better manner by a former administration. Pitt defended his laurels with some energy; and some of his friends overvalued the convention with Spain as much as Fox and his party underrated it. The address was carried by 247 against 123. An address of the same kind was moved in the Lords by the Duke of Montrose, and gave rise to a warm debate. The Foxites seemed to rally round the Empress of Russia, as a great sovereign that ought to have her own way. Lord Rawdon said, from the warm eulogiums which had appeared in the ministerial papers on the King of Sweden, coupled with insinuations of the policy of supporting the brave Swede against Russia, he suspected that our great fleet had been destined for the Baltic, while we were bullying Spain, which, in reality, had offered no insult to this country; and that this farce had been played off until the King of Sweden had concluded a good treaty of peace with the czarina. The Marquess of Lansdowne expressed his astonishment that ministers should withhold any papers from the public eye that might reasonably be called for. He said, the old system of administration seemed to be entirely destroyed, and a new and secret one substituted for it. He condemned the negotiations and the convention from first to last. He contended that the Spanish nation had an indisputable right to the whole of the American coast on which Nootka Sound is situated—a right acknowledged as far back as the reign of Elizabeth. The project of an English settlement in those parts was, he said, once entertained by Lord Sandwich, but given up by that minister on mature consideration, as his lordship well knew that the treasures of Mexico and Peru found their way to England through the medium of Cadiz, and that the golden harvest of Potosi was exchanged for English manufactures. He called Captain Mears and the other bold projectors who had made the settlement at Nootka Sound "a few young men, young men of letters, for merchants they certainly were not," who were filled with the desire of making discoveries and attempting novelties. The marquess thought that in the arrogance of our power we had insulted the present weakness of Spain, and inflicted a wound which would rankle in the heart of that proud nation: He wholly overlooked the provocation which Spain had given, and her previously concerted plan to enter upon a war in conjunction with France. He maintained that the present ministers, either by the insolence or by the unsteadiness of their conduct, had alienated and made enemies of France, Spain, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. Denmark, he thought, would accede to the general confederacy in the North, and thus all our influence must be lost in that quarter of the globe. He next argued that Pitt's commercial treaty with France, which was an infringement of our old Methuen treaty with Portugal, had entirely alienated the court of Lisbon; and that in case of a war the Portuguese, the Venetians, the Neapolitans would have joined the Spaniards against us. Pitt's cousin, William Wyndham Grenville, who had been raised to the peerage on the 25th of November, with the title of Baron Grenville, made his maiden speech in the House of Peers in a reply to the Marquess of Lansdowne. He proudly contrasted the situation of Great Britain at present with her situation at the conclusion of the American war, and at the peace of 1783, when Lansdowne himself was prime minister. At that period, he said, we gave up our colonies on the east side of America; but now we had entered upon a new and glorious career of colonisation and commerce on the west side of America. He thought the present a proud day indeed when compared with that on which America was negotiated away from this country for ever. The address was carried by a majority of forty-three. On the 15th of December Pitt gave in, in a separate account, the expenses of the late armament, intimating that some of those expenses, which arose out of the engaging an additional number of seamen, must be continued through the following year, inasmuch as it was impossible to disarm all at once. He added, however, that he did not mean to say that the proposed maintenance of the existing number of seamen was solely owing to that cause: he would make no scruple to declare that there were circumstances in the present situation of Europe which made his majesty's ministers think it highly necessary to keep up a naval armament for a time to more than the ordinary extent; but he trusted that a few months would bring that necessity to a period. All the expenses incurred by the late armament, and the funds necessary to keep up the additional number of seamen, amounted to 3,133,000*l.*; and Pitt thought that he might defray the whole of this without entailing any permanent charge upon the revenue. The raising so large a sum within a short period of time would, he said, inevitably require the imposition of heavy taxes: but this unpleasant task he would willingly undertake, from a desire of affording to the world a substantial proof of the resources of this country, and of the readiness of the people to submit to burthens which the vindication of the national honour had rendered necessary; and to this course he was further encouraged by an earnest wish not

to interfere with the salutary operation of the sinking-fund. Instead, therefore, of raising a loan, and providing permanent taxes for the payment of the interest only, in the manner practised by all other ministers since the revolution of 1688, he proposed to discharge the principal within four years, by the assistance of taxes, the duration of which should be strictly confined to that limited time. He then stated that there was lying in the bank a considerable sum, of which parliament might with propriety avail itself upon the present occasion. That sum arose in this manner: money was issued from the Exchequer to the Bank of England every quarter, for the payment of the whole of the dividends then due; but, some of the proprietors omitting to call for their dividends, a balance always remained in the bank, which, on the 12th of last October, amounted to 660,000*l.* He observed that the governor and company of the bank, being agents for the public, and receiving for their agency a competent allowance, were not entitled to any indirect profit from a balance to be left in their hands, greater than was sufficient to meet the demands which might be made upon them. He therefore thought it fair to take and apply 500,000*l.* of this balance towards the discharge of the debt incurred by the late armament; and, in order that the public creditor might not be exposed to any loss or inconvenience, he proposed to make the consolidated fund responsible for those dividends whenever they should be demanded. He believed, however, that the balance—this dead balance lying in the bank—instead of becoming less, would continue to increase rapidly, as it had hitherto done.* The effect of this measure would be, that the public, or the state, would have the immediate use of half a million without paying interest for it, the proprietors of stock still retaining as good security for the regular payment of their dividends as they had had before. But as this 500,000*l.* would not be quite a sixth part of the sum wanted, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to show how he intended to get the remainder of the 3,133,000*l.* He would temporarily increase the present taxes or duties upon sugar, upon British and foreign spirits, malt, and game licenses, and also increase the assessed taxes, *except the commutation and land taxes.* These additional taxes he estimated at 728,000*l.* per annum; and he proposed that part of them should continue only for two years, while none were to be continued longer than four. He would also introduce a variety of new regulations to prevent the evasions and frauds practised in the taxes upon receipts and bills of exchange, and he confidently expected that this would give him a permanent addition to the revenue of about 300,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Thornton and Mr. Sargent, bank directors, and some other members, contended that to take 500,000*l.* of the deposit at the bank for the unpaid dividends was likely to give a deep wound to public credit. Pitt yielded to this argument, and consented to accept from the bank a loan of 500,000*l.* without interest, so long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in their hands. The rest of his scheme was adopted without any alteration, and with scarcely any debate. In presenting the bills for these various purposes to the king, the speaker extolled the novel principle upon which they were founded, and dwelt emphatically upon the immediate effect they would produce in establishing "a universal conviction of the internal strength and abundant resources of this country."

A. D. 1791.—Shortly after the Christmas recess Mr. Philip Francis took the field to make war upon the war in India, and to eulogise that excellent and ill-used prince, Tippoo Sultaun. He asserted that it was as impolitic as unjust to think of extending our territories in Hindustan; that it was equally impolitic to embarrass ourselves with alliances with the native princes, who were eternally quarrelling among themselves, and attempting to plunder and destroy one another; that if such alliances must be formed, Tippoo would be a much better ally for us than the Rajah of Travancore, and the Mahrattas, and the Nizam of the Deccan, for Tippoo had an army of 150,000 men, an admirable train of artillery, and a well-filled treasury. He moved thirteen resolutions for the purpose of censuring the origin and preventing the continuance of the war, which he represented as having been entered into without any sufficient reason, as being ruinously expensive, and not likely to be productive of any adequate advantage. Pitt and Dundas replied at great length: they urged that the rajah of Travancore had an indisputable right to the territories which Tippoo had invaded; that the war really originated in the restless ambition of the Mysorean sultan, his hostility to the British, and his long-premeditated design of subduing Travancore, which would open to him an easy entrance into the Carnatic, and thus enable him to attack Madras and all our possessions in that part of India; that under the circumstances, with Tippoo ravaging and occupying the territories of our ally, a war on our part was unavoidable, unless we wished to sacrifice both our honour and our interest, and to forfeit all respect among the native powers of India. The application which Tippoo was making to the French court could not, as yet, be known in the House of Commons; but his past actions, which proved him to be a faithless, cruel, remorseless tyrant, were very generally known; and the vast majority of the House had more faith in the moderation and justice of Lord Cornwallis, at present governor-general of India, than in the envenomed paradoxes of Philip Francis, who, seeing the immense odds against him, let his thirteen resolutions drop without a division. A

* In 1727 the dead balance in the bank was 43,000*l.*; in 1774 it was 292,000*l.*; in 1786 it was 314,000*l.*; on the 5th of July, 1789, it was 547,000*l.*; and, after the Christmas recess, Pitt stated, that on the 8th day of January, 1791, it was 702,995*l.* On a subsequent day, he mentioned that he had looked over the state of cash in the Exchequer for the last five years; and in all that time there were only two weeks when the ready money there did not exceed half a million. These weeks were during the illness of George III.

few days afterwards Dundas moved, not thirteen, but three, counter-resolutions:—1. That it appeared to the House that the attacks made by Tippoo Sultaun on the lines of Travancore were unwarranted and unprovoked infractions of the treaty of Mangalore, concluded with the English in 1784; 2. That the conduct of the governor-general, in determining to prosecute with vigour the war against Tippoo in consequence of his attacks on the territories of the rajah of Travancore, was highly meritorious; 3. That the treaties entered into with the Nizam and with the Mahrattas were wisely calculated to add vigour to the operations of war, and to promote the future tranquillity of India; and that the faith of the British nation was pledged for the due performance of the engagements contained in the said treaties. After some debate, but without a division, Dundas's three resolutions were adopted by the House.

One important reason which had induced the government to keep up the increased naval force was, certainly, the determination to bring the Empress Catherine to reason; and this was now openly explained in Parliament. In reply to some representations made by Mr. Fawkener, the British ambassador at her court, the empress haughtily said that Great Britain had no right to interfere with her quarrel with the sultan; that she would never acknowledge Great Britain as a mediator or umpire, and that she would keep possession of Oczakoff, her recent conquest, and all the country between the Bog and the Dniester. On the 28th of March, immediately after the arrival of Mr. Fawkener's dispatches, Pitt delivered a very warlike message from the king. His majesty acquainted his faithful Commons that his endeavours, in conjunction with his allies, to accomplish a pacification between Russia and the Porte had proved ineffectual; that, the consequences which might arise from the continuance of the war being highly important to the interests of himself and his allies, and to those of Europe in general, he judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to *augment* his naval force, relying on the zeal and affection of the House of Commons to make good such expenses as might be incurred, &c. On the following day the minister moved an address to the king, thanking his majesty for the communication, and promising to support the measures he had thought proper to adopt. Pitt represented that, if Russia should be allowed to gain any material accession of strength at the expense of Turkey, the effect would be mischievously felt by all the rest of Europe, and particularly by Prussia, our closest and most valuable ally. He therefore considered the interference of England as indispensable for the preservation of that balance of power which all statesmen and men of all parties deemed essential to the independence and safety of Europe. But now the Whig party, to a man, seemed to despise this ancient doctrine, or to put themselves in the attitude of champions of the czarina. It will be understood, however, that this was mere party work, and that, if Pitt and the Tories had been in opposition and the Whigs in power, the latter would in all probability have acted precisely in the same manner as the former. The minister's motion was opposed by Mr. Coke of Norfolk (at present Earl of Leicester), by Lord Wycombe, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Viner. Mr. Steele rose to support it, and in the course of his speech he cast some severe reflections on the opposition, saying that it was their constant object to oppose and embarrass to the extent of their power every measure proposed by government, without looking at its merits or at the importance of the case. Fox rose to reply to Steele. He accused that gentleman of a complete forgetfulness or disregard of facts, of being guilty of a gross aspersion. This was the third armament which ministers had made within a very few years, and he could appeal to every gentleman who heard him whether he had opposed either of the two former armaments—nay, whether he had not given them his cordial support. We had armed in 1787 to prevent Holland from falling, by means of a party, into the hands of France. The thing had been done and the event decided before Parliament met; but, when Parliament did meet, had he censured the measure or the object of it? Had he not frequently gone rather out of his way to express his approbation of both? We had armed again in the course of the year 1790 to obtain satisfaction from Spain for an injury done to British subjects, and for an insult offered to the British flag. He and his friends had cordially concurred in the principles on which that armament was undertaken, although they had desired to know whether proper steps had been taken to prevent the necessity of it, and had since expressed their disapprobation of the convention to which it had led. He complained that the government were constantly asking confidence from parliament and refusing confidence to them. To admit simply that the king, by the advice of ministers, had ordered this new armament, and that the House must pay the expenses, did not fall within any of the gradations of a rational confidence; and the House of Commons which could entertain the proposition would betray its duty and insult its constituents. The minister, he said, on the present occasion, had enveloped himself in mystery and importance, but had explained nothing. His speech was indeed finely confused, but alarming only in *point of* expense. He had talked of the balance of power as a reason for arming, but he ought to show how it was endangered. When he called for supplies to prevent the aggrandisement of Russia, new as it was to a British House of Commons to hear the greatness of Russia represented as an object of dread, he ought to state whom Russia meant to attack. This last argument was puerile enough, for Russia was attacking and absolutely ruining the Turkish empire; and, if allowed to aggrandise herself by that great conquest, it would be difficult to say what power she

would not attack. But Fox was correct in the disgraceful picture he drew of the political blindness of the British government at the early part of the present reign, and of the vacillation and want of sincerity or earnestness that had been shown on recent occasions. He said he would state what had been the former policy of this country with respect to Russia. Twenty years ago, when war commenced between the Empress Catherine and the Porte, we aided her in sending a fleet into the Mediterranean, and this support of ours gave her the first opportunity of appearing as a naval power in that part of the globe, and of obtaining an establishment on the Black Sea. It was evident that we had felt no jealousy of Russian aggrandisement at that period. Towards the conclusion of 1782 the empress, complaining that her possessions in Kuban Tartary and the Crimea were not sufficiently secured to her, took them, by a sort of royal syllogism, entirely into her own hands. His majesty's ministers on that occasion—*he had himself the honour of being one of those ministers*—did not think it necessary to support Turkey against this assumption. [But, if Turkey was to be preserved and Russia checked, ministers ought to have interfered, and Fox and his party were guilty of a political error.] France and Spain, he said, had both taken the alarm on that occasion, and had shortly after proposed to this country that we should join in opposing the encroachment: but the same ministers, including himself, had told the French explicitly that they would not accede; and thus the point was given up, and the Crimea was formally ceded to Russia by treaty. Such had been our former conduct towards Russia. But what had it been lately? He spoke from a very general opinion, although not upon proof or from any direct authority, in saying that, on the present occasion, Russia had been attacked by the Porte at the instigation of Great Britain and Prussia. Now it was said we were bound to see peace restored without the aggrandisement of Russia, when, *if* this story was true, we had been the instigators of the war. He thought that Pitt entertained vindictive feelings against the czarina on account of the armed neutrality which she had got up to embarrass us during the American contest: but that feeling would equally apply to Sweden and to Denmark, for both of them had acceded to the armed neutrality; nay, it would apply still more to the court of Berlin itself, for it was the late King of Prussia who had originally stirred up that combination among maritime powers. If ministers would claim confidence, they must not betray incapacity; and the present ministers had certainly betrayed incapacity in their continental connexions, for they had not followed up their system with any consistency. They had stimulated Sweden to attack Russia; they had prevented Denmark from assisting Russia by attacking Sweden; they had then neglected Sweden, and tamely or ignorantly suffered that brave and active enemy to be converted into a useful ally of the empress. We had involved ourselves in expense and obtained only the hazard of war. We had not been successful in any one instance, except in that of Holland. We had not lowered Russia, had not raised Sweden, and we had done nothing for Turkey. This last failure or omission, however, Fox considered of little consequence, as we had no alliance with Turkey, no advantages to hope from her, and were now only called on to gratify the pride of our own ministers, and to second the ill-judged policy of Prussia. With an ignorance which could only have been pretended, he considered the conquests and occupations recently made by Russia of very little value either to those who had lost or to those who had gained. "Was the success of the empress's arms so formidable in our eyes, that we must insist on her renouncing her conquests? The dispute between her and us he believed to be this: she offered to cede all her conquests between the Dniester and the Danube, and proposed to retain only those between the Dniester and the Bog; while we insisted that she should surrender all her conquests without exception. Such was the proposition which we held out to Russia; while, in India, we insisted, *in our own* case, that Tippoo Sultaun should not only make reparation for having commenced, as we said, a war against us, but, if our arms were successful, resign as much as we should have conquered of his territories, as a sort of fine for having made an unjust attack. Was it to be conceived that any sovereign, who had spirit to feel and power to resist, would not spurn with indignation at the insulting insolence of a proposition so diametrically opposite to what we claimed for ourselves? We might, indeed, domineer in the insolence of a momentary power, as Louis XIV. had done, but, whether it was in the nature of circumstances, or whether it was the propensity of mankind to unite against insolence, it was certain that insolence had never prospered long in the civilised world, and, he was satisfied, never would prosper." He thought that the tract of country he had mentioned, and which was our sole ground of quarrel with Russia, was altogether unprofitable and worthless to any power, except for a single place contained in it, and that place was Oczakoff, which had not been taken just now, but as far back as the end of the year 1788, at which time his majesty, in his speech to parliament, had promised us a continuance of peace. It might be said that the former conduct of ministers towards Russia was wrong, and that the present ministers were acting upon another and a better system. But was Russia obliged to know this? Was it her business to inquire what were the opinions of this lord of the treasury and that secretary of state, or was she not to look rather to the general policy and conduct of this country? With what surprise must she now hear that England, who had aided her in obtaining an establishment on the Black Sea, who had enabled her first to enter the Mediterranean, and who had refused to oppose her in seizing on the Crimea, was now become jealous of her power? In con-

cluding his speech, Fox maintained that the conquests of Russia towards the south could never interfere with the commerce of England, or give any reasonable alarm to the King of Prussia; that an alliance with Russia was the most natural and the most advantageous that England could enter into; *and he stated that, when he himself was in office, the Empress Catherine seemed well inclined to such an alliance.* Burke, whose mind was painfully filled with other subjects, rose and said, that, as this might be the last time that he should ever have an opportunity of delivering his sentiments on a similar question, he could not refrain from offering a few remarks. He maintained that Pitt's attempt to bring the Turkish empire into the consideration of the balance of power in Europe was extremely new, and contrary to all former political systems. He declared, in strong language, that it would be impolitic and dangerous to espouse the Ottoman cause, or attempt to prop up a vicious, decayed, and falling empire. But, in his eyes, the present question seemed to be, not whether Russia should or should not be permitted to dismember the Turkish empire; it was merely whether she should be allowed to keep possession of Oczakoff, and of the country between the Bog and the Dniester. He thought that the empress, considering her career of victory, had shown great moderation in consenting to cede all her conquests between the Dniester and the Danube; that, if we interfered with her, we should only plunge ourselves into an immoderate expense, in order to bring Christian nations under the yoke of savage and inhuman infidels. Turkey, he said, was not our ally, but had been for more than a century closely connected with our rivals, the French; and the proposed armament would be sure to provoke and alienate Russia, with whom we had, at least, important commercial concerns. An amendment was moved, proposing the omission of all that part of the address which pledged the House to support this armament; but it was rejected by 228 against 135; and the address was passed in its original form.* A few days after Mr. Grey, encouraged by the numerous minority, moved eight resolutions, all tending to pronounce the armament inexpedient, unnecessary, dangerous. Grey and his supporters urged that England had no right to interfere in the quarrels of Russia and Turkey; that there was nothing to be feared from the power and ambition of the czarina; that Russia, so far from deriving strength from her efforts and her conquests in the south, was only getting, by every accession of territory, an accession of weakness; that were the empress to realise all the views of ambition imputed to her, and get possession of Constantinople, and drive the Turks out of Europe, still mankind, so far from being injured, would be greatly benefited by it. On the other side, Pitt and his friends argued that the ambition and power of the empress would be dangerous if left unchecked; that Oczakoff would open the road to Constantinople; that the possession of Constantinople would open the road to Cairo and Alexandria, and to the conquest of all lower Egypt, which would put into the hands of Russia the supremacy of the Mediterranean, and render her a formidable rival to Great Britain, both as a commercial and as a naval power. The ministerial party also maintained that Catherine was insolent, haughty, overbearing, and unjust, and that her designs were not merely directed against Turkey in the south, but against the liberties and independence of all the nations of the north. Grey's resolutions were negatived, but by a majority of only eighty, the numbers being 252 against 172. During this protracted and warm debate, for the maintaining of which extraordinary efforts had been made to collect the entire Whig force, Sheridan, in a long speech, ran over the political map of all Europe, and came, in conclusion, to France and her *glorious* revolution, the grand centre of all political counsels and measures. He declared that nothing which had since happened had at all tended to alter the sentiments which he had expressed in the House the year before on this great subject. He thought, indeed, that there was more cause for congratulating France and mankind now than then. In a strain which might have become Abbé Fanchet and his Social Circle, he harangued on the wondrous improvements of recent times, and the progress of modern philosophy, which had wiped away the antiquated prejudices that had been obstacles to the happiness of mankind. Taking too much upon himself, he affirmed that the great majority of Englishmen admired this revolution as much as the immense majority of Frenchmen admired it; that this revolution, so dear to the best heads and best hearts in both countries, would assuredly put an end to all jealousies, discords, and contentions, and that, instead of waging bloody war, Frenchmen and Englishmen would henceforward live together like friends and brothers, as in the golden age! Three days after this—on the 15th of April—the opposition, elated by the last division, which seemed to have brought over to their side some members who had always voted for ministers, repeated their attacks on the Russian armament. Mr. Baker, Mr. T. Grenville, and Mr. Grey himself, brought forward a series of resolutions, differently worded, but tending to the same end as those which had been rejected by the majority of eighty. They were all rejected by a majority of ninety-two, the numbers being 254 against 162. This rise in the majority was not a very comforting sign; yet, nevertheless, before the session closed, the Whigs tried their strength again on this point, Mr. T. Grenville moving—on the 25th of May—an address to the king, representing the advantages arising to this country from a friendly and commercial intercourse with Russia; and earnestly requesting that his majesty would be graciously pleased to decline all hostile interference upon the subject of the fortress and district of Oczakoff: but this was rejected by a majority of

* On the division upon the amendment, Lord North was one of the tellers on the opposition side, and Mr. Grey the other.

ninety-four, the numbers being 208 against 114. The armament was therefore continued, and the Empress Catherine was soon compelled to disgorge Oczakoff, that *bonne-bouche* which had cost her so many thousand men.

In the debate on the resolutions moved on the 15th of April, Fox, even as Sheridan had done on the 12th, struck away from the river Bog to get into that worse bog, the French revolution. He was more explicit than Sheridan as to the particular points of it that formed the objects of his approbation and enthusiastic admiration. He praised the new government of France, both as it respected the politics of Europe and the happiness of the French people: in its internal relations he thought it superlatively good, because it aimed to make those who were subject to it happy. He knew that different opinions upon what had taken place in that country were entertained by different men; but he, for one, admired the new constitution of France, considering it, altogether, "*as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country.*"* As soon as Fox sat down, Burke, who in the preceding month of November had published his celebrated 'Reflections on the Revolution in France,' excessively agitated, rose to give vent to feelings which almost seemed to suffocate him. But it was already three hours after midnight, the House were anxious to adjourn, and the cry of 'Question, question' becoming general, Burke unwillingly gave way to the division which took place immediately afterwards. Fox afterwards regretted that Burke had not been suffered to answer him then and there. The contention, he said, might have been fiercer and hotter, but the remembrance of it would not have settled so deep, nor rankled so long in the heart. Burke, who had never forgiven Sheridan for his flippancy on this awful subject during the last parliament, who had already plainly declared that he would separate from the dearest friends he possessed, if they gave countenance to French revolutionary doctrines, and who said that this must be a contest fought and decided hand to hand and foot to foot, was not likely to be reconciled to men who, after all, were only a part of the party to which he belonged, and the part, on the whole, inferior in number, rank, wealth, and consideration to the other portion of the Whigs, who thought no better of the new French democracy than he himself did. On the very next morning, the 16th of April, a very general alarm, or rather a certainty, of discord and final disseverance was spread through the Whig ranks; several conciliatory explanations were offered to Burke, together with some apologies, while many of the opposition who agreed with Fox condemned him for hastily and imprudently expressing opinions which were not called for, and had not been provoked by Burke, who had agreed with the party to avoid the topic in the House of Commons, unless it were absolutely forced upon him. It is said, however, that these gentlemen had urged Fox into the imprudence of which they now accused him, and that two or three of the number had taunted him with being deficient in firmness—for not doing earlier what he had done on the night of the 15th. But even the leaders of the Whig division who shared Burke's sentiments as to the revolution, and who regarded the enthusiastic and eloquent book he had written as a text-book of political wisdom, were most anxious to avoid a quarrel that must break up and keep the Whig party for many a year in the background, and without a hope of coming into power.* The Duke of Portland, the nominal head of all the Whigs, and most of Burke's personal friends and connexions, advised him to pass over the challenges of Sheridan and Fox, and to continue to be silent in the House as to their offensive declarations of opinion. If Burke had taken this advice, and attempted to follow this silent course, he would assuredly have failed, and have been accused of a breach of agreement by many of his party; for the impetuosity of his feelings, which age had not cooled, nor experience or long trials put under control, would have carried him away, and thunder and lightning, wind and rain, must inevitably have followed any pertness of Sheridan, any imprudence of Fox, or any notes of exultation about the revolution from the mocking-birds of those two orators. But Burke would not engage to give any such promise or to pursue any such course. He declared that these were times that admitted of no such blinking of principles; that the opinions of a man like Fox might have great weight in the country, and that therefore they ought not to be permitted to go abroad unrefuted and uncontradicted. He said that he stood pledged to the House and to the country upon this subject more than any other member in it; that it would look like political cowardice to shrink from the contest; that he had risen to speak, and had been interrupted, more by the friends of Mr. Fox than by any other part of the House; but that he would speak yet, and discharge what he considered his solemn duty to the public. He had been already told that the adherents of Mr. Fox were determined to interrupt him whenever he should attempt to offer any remarks on French affairs; but this vulgar and unjustifiable resolution of theirs only made Burke the more resolute. He continued to speak kindly

* Burke's Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.—In the Public Advertiser of the 18th of April, Fox's concluding words are given thus: "With regard to the change of system that had taken place in the French constitution, Mr. Fox said, there were different opinions entertained by different men; he, for one, admired the new constitution, considered altogether, as the most glorious fabric ever raised by human integrity since the creation of man."

* It has been stated, however, that at this moment there had some prospect opened of a Whig restoration.—"Only a few days before Fox himself had told Burke that there was a hope of the Whigs coming into office, for that the king had said at the levee that if the government could not be properly conducted by Mr. Pitt it might be done by others, as *he* was not wedded to Mr. Pitt." —*Prior, Life of Burke.* This seems to us no very slight ground for believing that George III. really intended changing his ministers; and we think it scarcely necessary to Burke's honour and fame to insist upon a doubtful fact; though we thoroughly believe that Burke would have acted just as he did, if he had been sure of being himself Whig prime minister on the morrow.

and honouringly of Fox, but the asperities of his temper showed themselves whenever he had occasion to mention his inferior adherents. Those inferior spirits too became very rash and noisy. The very next night one of them, and the most busy and talkative of them all, Michael Angelo Taylor, in the course of a speech in the House in a debate on the Quebec government bill, complained that gentlemen were now constantly introducing extraneous matter into debate; wandering from the subjects under discussion, to introduce general principles of government, and to talk about the constitutions of other countries which we had nothing to do with; and he declared, therefore, if he found the minister, or any other right honourable gentleman, wandering hereafter from the strict discussion of the matter before the House, he would call him to order, and take the sense of the House upon it. Burke, and all present, knew that little Michael Angelo, by the "any other right honourable gentleman," meant himself, but he took no notice of his bluster. The thing, however, was irritating, and, when Fox rose to speak, his tone and manner were little calculated to allay Burke's irritability, or to soothe the apprehensions and fears which had been gathering for months round his heart's core—apprehensions that England might be driven into an imitation of the French revolution. Fox said that he had himself, perhaps, been guilty of digressions from the matters before the House, and of recurring too often to the general principles of all governments; that, perhaps, during the present session he had alluded too often to the French revolution; that he had also spoken much about the republican government of the United States of America, because those states were in the vicinity of Canada, for which the House was now legislating. He acknowledged that he had uttered one silly levity, not worth recollecting—he meant an allusion to the happy extinction of nobility in France, and its forced revival by us in Canada. [This silly levity, as he called it, was contained in the expression he had used in a previous debate on the Quebec bill, "that nobility stunk in the nostrils of the people of America."] But he would avow that he was not in the habit of concealing his opinions; that he retracted nothing which he had hitherto advanced; and that, though, from the high respect he entertained for some of his friends, he should be sorry to differ with them, he would nevertheless continue to deliver his opinions fearlessly. Old Mr. Powys hinted that Fox would do a great deal better if he followed the example of Mr. Burke, and wrote a book about the French revolution, instead of being eternally speaking about it in that House. This hint could scarcely have been palatable to the gentleman to whom it was addressed; for the accomplished Charles James, though so fluent and quick with his tongue, was slow at his pen, and, notwithstanding his high merits, his genius, as an orator, he never wrote anything, beyond a few state papers, that ascends much higher than mediocrity. It is true that his *magnum opus* is but a fragment, but its being a fragment, after it had been coddled for so many years, in an elegant retirement, well provided with books and literary converse and encouragement, and undisturbed by any business either public or private, is the strongest proof of the slowness and difficulty with which Fox wrote. Genius, too, may be shown even in an unfinished fragment; but, if men will break away from the prestige and admiration of a great name, they will be fain to confess that it is difficult to find any trace of genius in Fox's fragment of the History of James II. Burke then rose, and, in a very affecting manner, assured the House that nothing depressed him more—nothing had ever more affected him in body and mind—than the thought of meeting his friend as an adversary and antagonist. After a cool and sneering allusion to Michael Angelo Taylor and his threat, he observed that, in framing a new constitution for Quebec, it was not unnecessary to refer to general principles of government and examples of other constitutions, made or making, inasmuch as a material part of every political question was to see to what extent certain principles had been adopted, and how they had succeeded in other countries. He presumed that his opinions on government were not unknown, as gentlemen had lately become fond of quoting him in that House. He would, however, now say that, the more he considered the French constitution, the more sorry he was to see it viewed with any degree of favour. Once in the preceding session he had thought himself under the necessity of speaking out; but since that time he had never mentioned it in the House either directly or indirectly: no man, therefore, could charge him with having provoked the conversation that had passed. He acquitted his right honourable friend (Fox) of any personal offence to himself in the interruption he had lately received in attempting to answer his panegyric on France. Should he and his friend differ, he desired it to be remembered that, however dear he considered his friendship, there was something still dearer in his mind—the love of his country. This was surely far more moderation than might have been expected, if we consider Burke's natural impetuosity of temper, the life-and-soul earnestness with which he pressed every important measure that he touched, and the repeated provocations he had received from a set of men who had at last come to the desperate resolution of attempting to drown his voice whenever he should express opinions contrary to their own on the French revolution. This last resolution, by the way, was quite worthy of that great object of these gentlemen's idolatry, the National Assembly itself. There the same kind of thing had been a most constant and successful practice; but in England there was no hope for it. The Foxite journals, however, continued to recommend the practice, continued to heap abuse upon Burke and upon his book. It was impossible that the quarrel should

remain where it was—that the schism should not be completed. If Burke could have been capable of despising the bitter attacks on himself and his writings, he could never have tolerated the continued plaudits bestowed upon the revolution. He betrayed the vehemence of his feeling in going away from the House on one of these nights. As the night was wet he asked Mr. Curwen to set him down. As soon as the carriage-door was shut he complimented that member on his being no friend to the revolutionary doctrines of the French, on which he spoke with the greatest warmth for some minutes. Curwen gave him to understand that he was mistaken as to his opinions. Burke, catching hold of the check-string, furiously exclaimed, "What! you are one of these people? Set me down—set me down!" With some difficulty Curwen kept him in the carriage, which by this time had reached Charing-cross. A dead silence ensued, which was preserved till they reached Burke's house in Gerrard-street, Soho, when he sprung out of the carriage without speaking, and so ended his intercourse with Curwen.* There was an adjournment for the Easter holidays. When the House re-assembled, on the 6th of May, they proceeded to the re-commitment of the Quebec Bill. The chairman took the chair and began by putting the usual question, "That the bill be read paragraph by paragraph." Upon this Burke immediately rose, resolute to declare his opinions concerning the revolution in France and the doctrines maintained by the advocates of that revolution here. He stigmatised those doctrines, and held up as a warning the horrible consequences which had resulted, and which would yet result from them in France. As the House was about to appoint a legislature for a distant people, it ought to establish its competency to the assumption of such a right. A body of rights, he said, commonly called the 'Rights of Man,' had been lately imported, and held up by certain persons in this kingdom as paramount to all other rights. A principal article in this new code was, "that all men are born free, equal in respect of rights, and continue so in society." If such a doctrine were to be admitted, the power of the House could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada, and recommend to them the free choice of a government for themselves. But he rather chose to argue from another code, on which mankind had hitherto acted—the law of nations. On this alone the competence of the House rested; from this we learned that we possessed a right of legislating for Canada, founded upon a claim of sovereignty which was at first obtained by conquest, but afterwards acknowledged and confirmed by the cession of its former government, and established by a long and uninterrupted possession. This was the competence of the House; but after what model was the proposed constitution to be formed? The House well knew that in Canada there were many ancient French inhabitants, and many new American settlers, who had migrated from the United States. It might, on this account, be proper to inquire whether the constitution of the United States of America or the constitution of France possessed anything superior to our own constitution; anything which, if unprovided by the present bill, might make those people contemplate with regret the happier situation of their former countrymen living in France or in the United States. As for the Americans, he really believed that they had formed a constitution for themselves well adapted to their peculiar circumstances. They had, in some degree, received a republican education, as their old state governments partly partook of republicanism. The formation of their present constitution was preceded by a long war, in the course of which they had learned order, submission to command, and a regard for great men. They trained themselves to government by war, not by plots, murders, and assassinations. There was another circumstance of considerable weight: the Americans had never among them even the materials of monarchy and old aristocracy. Yet were they too wise to set up so absurd an idea as that the nation should govern the nation. On the contrary they formed a constitution as monarchical and aristocratical as their situation would permit—they formed one upon the admirable model of the British constitution. But were the French Canadians to receive from us a copy of this new constitution of France?—a constitution founded upon principles diametrically opposite to our own, as different from it as folly from wisdom, as vice from virtue; a constitution founded on what were called the Rights of Man! The authors of it had told us, and their partisans, the political societies in England, had told us, that it was a great monument erected for the instruction of mankind. This was certainly done with a view to our imitating it. But before we gave it to our colonies we should do well to consider what would be the practical consequences of such a step; to consider what had already been the effects of Parisian politics on the French West Indian colonies. The mode of reasoning from effects to causes was the old-fashioned way. It had been adopted in experimental philosophy, and might with equal propriety be applied to the philosophy of the human mind. He represented, and not incorrectly, the happy and flourishing state of St. Domingo and the other possessions of France in the West Indies previous to the fatal moment in which the Rights of Man, with the rest of the revolutionary code, arrived among them. And then, without exaggeration, (for the case admitted of none), he described the instant effect of the precious doctrines. Pandora's box, filled with all mortal evils, had seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the earth. Blacks rose against whites, whites against blacks, and each against the other in murderous hostility; subordination was destroyed, the cords of society snapped asunder, and every man appeared to thirst for the blood of his

* Curwen's Travels in Ireland, as quoted in Prior's Life of Burke.

neighbour. The mother-country, France, not receiving any pleasure in contemplating this image of herself reflected in her child, sent out a body of troops to restore order and tranquillity. But these troops, well instructed likewise in the new principles, immediately upon their arrival felt themselves bound to become parties in the universal rebellion; and, like most of their brethren at home, began the assertion of their free-born rights by murdering their own general! Should such an example induce us to ship off for Canada a cargo of the Rights of Man? In proof of the facts, he read the account given on the 25th of April in the National Assembly itself. And it is to be particularly noted that, besides this horrible episode in the French West Indies, every account that came from France, between the end of the year 1790, where we broke off our narrative of the course of events there, and the present month of May, was but a proof the more that the revolution was getting deeper into blood and atrocity—was but a warning of what might be expected from a fierce democracy like that of the French when more thoroughly Jacobinized and let loose. Continuing his speech, Burke described the deplorable condition of France itself. The National Assembly had made loud boasts, and their boasts had been echoed in this country by the Unitarians and by the clubs, by the Revolution Society, the Constitutional Society, and a newer club called the Club of the 14th of July. Yet what had the National Assembly really done? They had been nearly two years in possession of the absolute authority which they usurped; yet they did not appear to have advanced a single step in settling anything like a government, contenting themselves with enjoying the democratic satisfaction of heaping every disgrace on fallen royalty. They had a king such as they wished, a king who was no king, over whom the Marquis de la Fayette, chief gaoler of Paris, mounted guard. Lately the royal prisoner, having wished to taste the freshness of the country air, had obtained a day-rule to take a journey of about five miles from Paris. But scarcely had he left the city before his suspicious governors, recollecting that a temporary release from confinement might afford him the means of escape, sent a tumultuous rabble after him, who, surrounding his carriage, commanded him to stop, while one of the grenadiers of his faithful and loyal body-guard presented a bayonet to the breast of the fore-horse, and . . . Here Burke was called to order by that very determined Foxite, Mr. Baker. Great confusion ensued, and not a little time was wasted in violent and fruitless altercation. Fox himself rose and said that he conceived his right honourable friend (Burke) could hardly be said to be out of order. It seemed to him that this was a day of privilege, upon which any gentleman might abuse any government he chose, whether it had any reference or not to the question under debate. Nobody had said a word about the French revolution; and yet his right honourable friend had risen up and abused that event. He might have treated the government of the Great Mogul, or that of China or Turkey, or the laws of Confucius, precisely in the same manner, and with equal appositeness to the question before the House. Every gentleman had that day a right to abuse the government of every country as much as he pleased, and in as gross terms as he thought proper—to abuse any government, either ancient or modern, with his right honourable friend. Burke attempted to explain why he thought that he was in order, and that Baker had been guilty of indecorum and parliamentary disorder in interrupting him as he had done; but there was so loud a roar of voices from the opposition side of the House that he could not make himself heard, and, after several attempts, he sat down. Then Lord Sheffield, the friend of Gibbon, but who did not yet share the historian's horror of democracy and Jacobinism, rose and moved, "That dissertations on the French Constitution, and to read a narrative of transactions in France, are not regular or orderly on the question before the House." Fox himself instantly seconded this motion. Pitt then rose and said that he should be glad of anything that would reduce the debate to something like order; that the question of order and the question of discretion were two different things; and that, not conceiving that the right honourable gentleman (Burke) had been disorderly, he should certainly give his negative to the motion. Fox then rose again, saying that he was sincerely sorry to feel that he must support the motion, as his right honourable friend, in his opinion, had been most irregular and disorderly. Instead of debating the principle of the Quebec Bill, his friend had only come down to strengthen misrepresentations of what he (Fox) had said in a previous debate. The course which his right honourable friend had chosen to take was that which seemed to confirm the insinuation urged in a former debate, that he (Fox) maintained republican principles as applicable to the British constitution. No such argument had ever been urged by him, nor any from which such an inference was fairly deducible. On the French revolution he did, indeed, differ from his right honourable friend. Their opinions, he had no scruple to say, were wide as the poles asunder! But what had a difference of opinion on that, which to the House was only matter of theoretical contemplation, to do with the discussion of a practical point on which no such difference existed? On the French revolution he adhered to his opinion, and never would retract one syllable of what he had said. He repeated that he thought it, on the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind; but he meant to praise the revolution only, and not the present French constitution, which required to be improved by experience and accommodated to circumstances. At all events, the arbitrary system of government was done away, and the new system had the good of the people for its object, and this was the point on which he rested. He had no concealment in

any of his opinions, but he did not choose to be catechized respecting his political creed, and respecting opinions on which the House was neither going to act, nor was called upon to act at all. He then drew an odious and stinging comparison or parallel between Dundas and Burke, as if he believed that Burke had made a regular bargain with Pitt, and was about joining him as Dundas had done in 1783. He had once, he said, been thus catechized by a right honourable gentleman (Dundas); yet the catechizer on that occasion had soon after joined another ministry to support the very measures he then deprecated. Nothing could be more bitter than this, and there was no misunderstanding the allusion or the inference. Returning to the great cause of difference, he said, were he to differ from his right honourable friend on points of history, on the constitution of Athens or of Rome, was it necessary that the difference should be discussed in that House? Were he to praise the conduct of the elder Brutus, and to say that the expulsion of the Tarquins was a noble and patriotic act, would it thence be fair to argue that he meditated the establishment of a consular government in this country? Were he to repeat the eulogium of Cicero on the taking off of Cæsar, would it thence be deducible that he went with a knife about him for the purpose of killing some great man or orator? Let those who said that to admire was to imitate show that there was some similarity of circumstances. It lay on his right honourable friend to show that this country was in the precise situation of France at the time when the revolution began, before he had a right to meet his argument; and then, with all the obloquy that might be heaped on such a declaration, he would be ready to say that the French revolution was an object of imitation for this country. He then spoke contemptuously of Burke's book on the subject, which, though so recently published, was already circulated to an unprecedented extent, and producing daily more conversions than Burke could have expected, or than the enthusiastic admirers of the revolution could brook. He said, as plainly as words could say it, that Burke, who had taken infinite pains to inform himself of every particular, had written in haste and in ignorance of the great subject. He had hinted something of the same sort in the House before now; and his newspaper champions, his pamphleteers and essayists—with one or two exceptions, a most ignorant, ill-informed, incompetent crew—had been repeating this piece of criticism, and accusing the admirably informed Burke of gross ignorance. The words Fox now used were: "He had been warned by high and most respectable authority, that minute discussion of great events, *without information*, did no honour to the pen that wrote or the tongue that spoke the words." And this was followed by an insolent sneer. If, he said, the committee should decide that his right honourable friend should be permitted to pursue his arguments on the French constitution he would quit the House; and, if some friend would send him word when the real clauses of the Quebec Bill were to be discussed, he would then return and debate them. After all these insults, there seemed a hollowness and insincerity when he returned, perhaps for the mere sake of consistency, to the tone of compliment and laudation. He said, when the proper period arrived for discussing French subjects, feeble as his powers were, compared with those of his right honourable friend, whom he must call his master, for he had taught him everything he knew in politics—as he had declared on a former occasion, and he meant no compliment when he said it—yet, feeble as his powers comparatively were, he should be ready to maintain the principles he had asserted, even against his right honourable friend's superior eloquence. He would be ready to maintain that the Rights of Man, which his right honourable friend had ridiculed as chimerical and visionary, were in fact the basis and foundation of every rational constitution. He next proceeded to compare the French revolution with the American, and to contrast Burke's conduct on this and on that occasion. Here, perhaps, the party that had most reason to complain was George Washington, for being put on a level with Lafayette, and men like him. Fox said, during the American war he and his friend had rejoiced together at the successes of a Washington, and sympathised almost in tears for the fate of a Montgomery. From his right honourable friend he had learned that the revolt of a whole people must have been provoked. Such had at that time been the doctrine of his friend, who had said that he could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people. But now he was sorry to find that his right honourable friend had learned to draw such a bill of indictment, and to crowd it with all the technical epithets which disgraced our statute-book; such as false, malicious, wicked, by the instigation of the devil, not having the fear of God before your eyes, and so forth.* He added that, having been taught by his right honourable friend that no revolt of a nation was caused without provocation, he could not help feeling a joy ever since the constitution of France became founded on the Rights of Man, on which the British constitution itself was founded; that to deny this was neither more nor less than to libel the British constitution; that no book his right honourable friend could write, no words he could utter, could ever induce him to change or abandon his opinion;

* Fox, according to the sketch of his speech given in the Annual Register for 1791, said, that it was presumption and intolerance beyond all precedent, civil or religious, to accuse a whole nation of vice and folly because they dared to think for themselves. In the opinion of that House in 1780 the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. To this opinion his right honourable friend had subscribed. If the influence of the British crown was thought dangerous, what, in the eyes of reflecting Frenchmen, must the influence of the crown of France have appeared? His right honourable friend had professed an enthusiastic attachment to our own monarchical constitution. But did he remember that, in the year 1783, when his majesty, in a speech from the throne, lamented the loss which America had sustained in being deprived of the advantages resulting from a monarchical government, how he had ridiculed the speech, and compared it to a man's opening the door, and saying, "At our parting, pray let me recommend a monarchy to you."

and that he must differ upon that subject with his right honourable friend *toto cœlo*. He concluded by saying that he had said more than he had intended, possibly much more than was either wise or proper; but if his sentiments could serve the ministerial side of the House, which had encouraged the discussion, apparently, in order to get at them, they had acted unnecessarily, for they might know him and his sentiments on every subject, without forcing on anything like a difference between him and his right honourable friend; and that now, having heard them, they might act upon them as they thought proper. Here Burke rose, and commenced his reply in a grave and governed tone, observing that, although he himself had been repeatedly called to order and interrupted, he had, nevertheless, heard his right honourable friend with perfect composure, and without attempting the least interruption. Yet that speech, to which he was to reply, was, perhaps, one of the most disorderly ever delivered in that House. His public conduct, words, and writings had not only been misrepresented and arraigned in the severest terms, but confidential conversations had been unfairly brought forward for the purpose of proving his political inconsistency. Such were the instances of kindness he had just received from one whom he always considered as his warmest friend, but who, after an intimacy of more than two and twenty years, had at last thought proper to commence a personal attack upon him. He could not conceive that the manner in which he had been accused of having written and spoken without information, and without the support of facts, manifested any great degree of tenderness towards him. On the subject, however, of the French revolution, uninformed as he might be supposed to be, he had not the least objection to meet that right honourable gentleman hand to hand, and foot to foot, in a fair and temperate discussion. But this, it seemed, was not the principal ground of quarrel: he was accused of attempting to bring forward a discussion of French principles, in order to fix a stigma upon certain republican opinions, which the right honourable gentleman was said to have advanced in a former debate. This charge he denied in the most positive terms. He added the startling fact that Fox himself was no stranger to his intention of introducing the subject of the French revolution in this night's debate. He said he had, previously to the last conversation in the House on the Quebec Bill, opened to the right honourable gentleman very fully and particularly the plan of the speech in which he had that evening been interrupted; he had explained how far he had intended to go, what limits he meant to impose upon himself. This he had done at his own house, from whence they had walked down together to that House, conversing upon the subject the whole way. The right honourable gentleman had then indeed disagreed with him in opinion, but had entered into no quarrel with him; on the contrary, he had rather treated him with confidence, mentioning some private circumstances of a political complexion, to which, notwithstanding what had since happened, he felt no inclination to allude.* After these private explanations Burke said he felt it to be an imperative duty to speak upon French affairs, and to point out the danger of extolling upon all occasions that preposterous edifice the French constitution. The right honourable gen-

* This visit—the last which Fox ever paid to Burke—was on the 21st of April, the day appointed for the recommitment of the Quebec Bill, which was afterwards postponed, on the motion of Sheridan, until after the Easter holidays. In a note to the account of the final quarrel in the House given in the Annual Register for 1791—a note which seems written by a hand different from the hand that wrote the text—it is said that it was in this visit that Fox spoke of the probability of the Whigs coming into office, and that Fox had strong reasons for holding out this hope to Burke, inasmuch as he believed or strongly suspected that Burke was in an understanding with Pitt. It should thus seem as if a delusive hope were vamped up by Fox to retain Burke through the immediate prospect of place and profit; for, as to the existence of any probability of George III. voluntarily taking Fox into office, we cannot believe it, nor can we find the least proof or presumptive evidence of it. But what we do believe is, that no temptation of the kind could have had any weight with Burke, although at the time that great man was labouring under extreme pecuniary difficulties. His conception and impression of the French revolution were with him solemn as a religion; it was his inward belief that any approbation or apathy on the part of public men in England would bring the plague among ourselves; and he had, besides, so thoroughly committed himself to his country and to the whole world by his book in the month of November, that he could not avoid speaking on the great subject in parliament, that he could not possibly have thought, in the month of May, of taking office with Fox and Sheridan, and those men who were professing such an idolatry for the French revolution; and, even were there no other argument, can any one that knows anything of the character and feelings of George III., believe for a moment that he would have admitted these eulogists of what filled his days with anxious thoughts, and his *nights* with horrid dreams, into his cabinet at this most critical time, with Charles Fox as their real head? It was surely childish in Fox to be deluded by such a hope. If he were not really deluded himself, and only attempted to delude Burke, his conduct was surely of the basest kind: and, even admitting that his own delusion was real and not pretended—an egregious folly in one of his age and experience—it was not very honourable in him to fancy that, by making Burke share in it, and in the immediate expectation of power, place, and emolument, he could make him renounce the one great political faith of his soul, or, at the least, remain silent upon it.

"The king," says the note in the Annual Register, "it was said and believed, had lately and at different times used *some expressions very favourable to Mr. Fox*. The minister (Pitt), it was reported, in order to secure himself in his situation, had given out the watchword, that Mr. Fox was by principle a republican; *and it was supposed that, in pursuance of this plan, he instigated Mr. Burke to bring forward, on the present occasion, a discussion of French principles, and an attack on Mr. Fox in the House of Commons*. Mr. Fox, who certainly appears *to have given credit to this report*, on the day first appointed for the commitment of the Quebec Bill, paid a visit to Mr. Burke, accompanied by a friend. Mr. Burke treated him with his usual confidence. Mr. Fox, on his part, as a mark of his usual confidence in Mr. Burke, mentioned what he had heard of the design, *which indeed had the appearance of a plot*, just mentioned. Mr. Burke denied the existence of any such plot; and mentioned the real circumstances on which he supposed the report of this plot to have been founded, but avowed] his intention of entering fully into a discussion of French principles. Mr. Fox requested that this discussion might be postponed for some time, and not take place on the recommitment of the Quebec Bill. [The reader will remember that it was postponed for some time by Sheridan's motion.] The effect of Mr. Burke's refusal to comply with this request on the mind of Mr. Fox, though naturally generous and above suspicion, may be easily conjectured." The rest of the note is an empty bit of rhetoric about principles and tergiversations, meant to insinuate that Burke was actuated partly by a jealousy and envy of Mr. Fox, and partly by motives of self-interest. For ourselves, we can scarcely conceive a grosser insult than Fox's naming this pretended plot to Burke. Where was the necessity of any plot at all in any quarter whatsoever? What need had Pitt to give out any such watchword, when Fox and his satellites were taking all possible means to proclaim in Parliament, and everywhere else, their enthusiastic admiration of the ultra-republican, the ultra-democratic, principles of the French? And who had really brought on, driven on, violently forced on in the House of Commons those discussions of French principles? Had not that splendid mountebank, Sheridan, had not Charles Fox himself exhausted their rhetoric in eulogising the French revolution, in this session, before Burke said one word about it? and had not their newspaper men been calling Burke's Reflections the work of a turncoat and renegade ever since the month of November last? And, under all these circumstances, Charles Fox was to tell Edmund Burke that he believed him to be in a plot with the minister against him, and that, as a proof of his not being in such plot, he must hold his tongue! Verily, it were better for the memory of Charles Fox this note had never been written, or this line of argument adopted.

tleman had himself termed it "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." There was a secondary motive, of a more personal nature, which had, indeed, some little influence over him. He had been accused both of writing and speaking of the late proceedings in France, rashly, unadvisedly, ignorantly, wantonly. He was certainly anxious to refute this charge; but at the very moment when he was about to produce facts in corroboration of his assertions, blended with private information and respectable authorities, he had been stopped in that House in the most unfair and disorderly manner. If they had permitted him to have continued his speech, he would have shown that the issue of all that had been done and was doing in France could never serve the cause of liberty, but would inevitably tend to promote tyranny, oppression, injustice, and anarchy. But what principally weighed with him, and determined him in his present conduct, was the danger that threatened our own government from practices already notorious to all the world. Were there not political clubs in every quarter, meeting and voting resolutions of an alarming tendency? Did they not correspond, not only with each other in every part of the kingdom, but with foreign countries? Were there not Socinian, Unitarian, and other dissenting preachers, preaching from their pulpits doctrines which were dangerous, and celebrating at their anniversary meetings proceedings incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution? Did they not everywhere circulate, at a great expense, the most infamous libels on that constitution? He apprehended no immediate danger; at present we had a king in full power, possessed of all his functions, ministers responsible for their conduct, a country blessed with an opposition of great strength, a common people that seemed to be united with the gentlemen; yet, nevertheless, there was cause for circumspection, for in France there were 300,000 men up in arms, who, at a favourable opportunity, might be happy to intermeddle: and besides, some season of scarcity and tumult might arrive, when the greatest danger was to be dreaded from a class of people who might now be termed low intriguers and contemptible clubbists. He again adverted to the unkindness with which he had been treated by an old associate, who had ripped up the whole course and tenor of his public and private life. The right honourable gentleman, after fatiguing him with skirmishes of order, which were wonderfully managed by the light infantry of his party, then brought down upon him the whole strength and heavy artillery of his own judgment, eloquence, and abilities. In carrying on the attack against him, the right honourable gentleman had been supported by a corps of well-disciplined troops, expert in their manœuvres, and obedient to the word of their commander! Here Mr. Grey called him to order, saying that it was disorderly to mention gentlemen in that way, and to ascribe improper motives for what they chose to do in the House. It has been believed that a little incident which had occurred a few minutes before led to Burke's remarks on the docility of a part of the Whig camp, and thence to Mr. Grey's call to order. Fox, it will be remembered, had declared he would leave the House if Burke were permitted to continue his discourse on French affairs. While Burke was speaking, Fox quitted his seat and went towards the lobby. He was only going to get some refreshment, to strengthen his inward man: but his party thought he was going to carry his threat into execution and quit the House altogether; and from twenty to thirty of his more immediate friends rose, following their portly leader, and evanished with him. After Grey's interruption, Burke, much agitated, proceeded to remark, that this was not the first time there had been a difference of opinion between Fox and himself: that he had, indeed, frequently differed with that gentleman, particularly on the subjects of parliamentary reform, of the Dissenters' Bill, and of the Royal Marriage Act; but that no one difference of opinion had ever before, for a single moment, interrupted their friendship. He alluded to his long services and his grey hairs, and said, it certainly was indiscreet at his time of life to provoke enemies, or give his friends occasion to desert him; yet, if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all, and, as public duty required, with his last breath exclaim, "Fly from the French Constitution!" Here Fox, who had returned from the coffee-room to his seat, whispered that there was, that there could be, no loss of friendship between them. But Burke replied, Yes, there was! He knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty at the price of his friend—their friendship was at an end! Afterwards, addressing himself to the two great rivals, Fox and Pitt, he expressed a hope that, whether they hereafter moved in the political hemisphere as two flaming antagonist meteors, or walked like brethren hand-in-hand, they would preserve and cherish the British constitution, guard against innovations, and save it from the danger of these new theories. In an ecstasy of devotion, which, in Burke, was no rhetorical display, but the real passion of a naturally devout mind, he apostrophized the great God of all, to whom alone must be left the task of infinite perfection, while to us poor mortals there is no rule of conduct so safe as experience. He concluded with moving an amendment, that all the words of Lord Sheffield's motion, after "dissertations on the French constitution," should be omitted, and the following inserted in their place:—"tending to show that examples may be drawn therefrom, and to prove that they are insufficient for any good purposes, and that they lead to anarchy and confusion, and are consequently unfit to be introduced into schemes of government, are improper to be referred to on a

motion for reading the Quebec Bill," &c. Fox rose to reply, but the tears trickled down his cheeks, and his emotion for some time impeded his utterance. The whole House was affected, and there was a dead silence. At length Fox recovered his self-possession, and went on. He said, that, however events might have changed the mind of his right honourable friend, for so he must call him, notwithstanding what had passed, he could never forget that, when little more than a boy, he had been in the habit of receiving instruction and favours from his friend; that their friendship had grown with their years; that it had continued for upwards of five and twenty years, for the last twenty of which they had acted together, and lived upon terms of the most familiar intimacy. He hoped, therefore, that, notwithstanding what had happened that day, his right honourable friend would think on past times; and, however any imprudent words or intemperance of his might have offended him, would believe * that it had not been intentionally his fault. It was quite true they had differed before now on many subjects, and yet it did not interrupt their friendship. Let his right honourable friend speak fairly, and say whether they could not differ also on the subject of the French revolution without any interruption of friendship. The right honourable gentleman well knew, before now, that on this subject his sentiments differed widely from his own; well knew also, that as soon as his book on the subject was published, he condemned that book both in public and in private, and every one of the doctrines it contained. Fox then proceeded to adopt a more recriminating style. He said he could not help feeling that his right honourable friend's conduct looked as if it sprung from an intention to injure him, by imputing to him republican principles, whereas his principles were very far from republican. Nothing, he said, but the ignominious terms which his right honourable friend had that day heaped on him . . . . Here Burke said, loud enough to be heard by the House, that he did not recollect having used any such terms. With a happy promptitude, Fox rejoined, "My right honourable friend does not recollect the epithets: they are out of his mind; then are they completely and for ever out of mine! I cannot cherish a recollection so painful; and, from this moment, they are obliterated and forgotten." But, immediately after this, he complained of Burke's calling the friends who sat near him a corps of well disciplined troops, obedient to the word of command, as if by that he meant that some improper influence had been exercised over their minds. He disclaimed the idea; and his right honourable friend, who had so long acted with him and them, best knew whether any such influence had ever been exercised over his own mind. It was most painful that such a character of a party, linked together by the most honourable principles, should come from one of their own corps. He declared upon his honour that not one of the honourable gentlemen near him who had risen that day to call his right honourable friend to order had been desired by him to do so; and that, on the contrary, wherever he thought he was likely to have his application complied with, he had entreated his friends not to interrupt him. Yet, surely, Fox's threat of quitting the House was but a sequel to little Michael Angelo's threat to call Burke to order whenever he dared to speak on the subject of the French revolution; and the Whig press had continued to recommend this excellent method of muzzling the greatest man in the House or in the country. Continuing his speech, Fox admitted that no friendship should stand in the way of public duty; that, if his right honourable friend thought to do a service to the country by blasting the French revolution, he must do so, but, at the same time, he must allow others, who thought in a different manner, to act differently. He again recalled to recollection the conduct of Burke during the American war, and during other stages of his long political career; and he again, as if determined to pay back with interest the praises with which his name had been honoured in the National Assembly, eulogised the revolution and the groundwork of the French constitution as being admirably adapted to the happiness of the people. The French, he said, were a great nation; and was it not matter for rejoicing that they should have cast off the tyranny of the most horrible despotism? Surely we could not wish liberty to be engrossed solely by ourselves? He lamented the difference that had happened, but hoped his right honourable friend would soon forget what was past. What had been the motives which had induced his right honourable friend and himself to enter into a systematic opposition to the present administration? It was not for the purpose of obtaining power and emolument by means of a faction, but to form a party for supporting the true principles of the British constitution and watching the prerogative. After dwelling for some time on this topic, Fox said, "Let the right honourable gentleman maintain his opinions, but let him not blame me for having mine." He then spoke of the hard manner in which his friend had used him this evening, and of the great pain it had given him. He concluded with saying that he should keep out of his right honourable friend's way till time and reflection had fitted his right honourable friend to think differently upon the subject; that then, if their common friends did not contrive to re-unite them, he should think those friends did not act as he had a right to expect at their hands; that, if his right honourable friend wished to bring forward the question of the French revolution on some future day, he would endeavour to discuss it with him as temperately as was possible; that for the present he had said all that he thought necessary, and that, let his right honourable friend say what he would more upon

* This, or some such expression, must have been that used by Fox. The common reports of the speech have "it would show," which seems to convey no meaning.

that subject, he would now make him no further reply. Burke rose again, and began with remarking that the friendship and tenderness which had been displayed in the beginning and at the conclusion of Fox's speech was quite obliterated by what had occurred in the middle part of it. He regretted in an earnest and fervent manner the proceedings of that evening, which he feared might long be remembered by their enemies, to the prejudice of both. He conceived that, under the mask of kindness, the right honourable gentleman had made a new attack, and in the most hostile manner, upon his character and conduct. Could the most inveterate enemy have acted more unkindly towards him? The events of this night's debate, in which he had been interrupted without being suffered to explain, in which he had been accused without being heard in his defence, made him at a loss to understand what was friendship or what was party. His arguments had been misrepresented. The tendency of all that had been said was to represent him as a wild, inconsistent man, only for attaching bad epithets to a bad subject. For his inconsistency:—because he thought in 1780 with the right honourable gentleman that the influence of the British crown ought to be reduced to a limited standard, was that a reason for saying that the French were right in reducing the influence of their crown to nothing at all? He had been favourable to the Americans, because he had supposed all along that they were fighting, not to acquire absolute speculative liberty, but to keep what they had under the English constitution. Gentlemen had insinuated the inconsistency of his book with his former writings and speeches, but he challenged them to prove it by specific instances; and he asserted that there was not one step of his present conduct, nor one syllable in that book, contrary to the principles of those men with whom our own glorious revolution originated, and to whose principles, as a Whig, he preserved an inviolable attachment. He was an old man, and, seeing what was now attempted to be introduced instead of the ancient temple of our constitution, he could weep over the foundation of the new. He insisted still more particularly that endeavours were actually making to supplant our old constitution by the introduction of the new French doctrines. He could not believe that Mr. Fox, as yet, entertained that wish, or that he had delivered his opinions with any reference to this country; but the effect of those opinions might be different on those who heard them, and might be made still more serious on other people through misapprehension or misrepresentation. He said he had heard Mr. Fox himself own Louis XVI. to be the best-intentioned *sovereign in Europe*. *In truth*, his goodnature and love of his people had ruined him. He had conceded everything, till he was now in a gaol. The right honourable gentleman had somewhat qualified a part of his praise, but any tardy and qualified censure would have very little operation, after his praises of the revolution had been trumpeted, with the loudest blasts, through the nation. But even the old plaudits had been repeated, and the new French system termed a most stupendous and glorious fabric. He had really hoped that the right honourable gentleman had had a better taste in architecture, than to bestow such epithets upon a building composed of untempered mortar: for himself, he considered it as a work of Goths and Vandals, wherein everything was inverted. He grieved for the occurrences in the House of this evening; yet, if the good were for the many, he would willingly take the evil to himself. He would yet sincerely hope that no member of that House would ever barter the constitution of his country, that precious jewel of his soul, for a wild and visionary system, which could only lead to confusion and disorder. Pitt now rose, and, in his ordinary business-like tone, called the attention of the House to the singular situation in which it stood with respect to the question before it. Having declared his own opinion to be that Burke had, in no instance, been at all out of order, he suggested the propriety of withdrawing the motion that had been made by Lord Sheffield; and the motion was withdrawn accordingly. The minister then added that, at present, he thought the constitution could be in no immediate danger; but that if hereafter there should appear more serious grounds of apprehension, and those grounds should be distinctly stated by Burke, he would be eager to give him his warmest support. In the mean time he said he thought him entitled to the gratitude of his country for having on that day, in so able and eloquent a manner, expressed his sense of the degree of danger which he believed to exist already.* Pitt quitted the House that night with the comfortable conviction that the Whig party had received a blow from which it would not speedily recover; and Burke, having found himself alone, opposed to a host of enemies, considered himself absolved from every obligation of party.† On the 11th of May, the House being again in committee on the Quebec Bill, destined to be so frequently interrupted, Fox took occasion, once more, to modify and soften what he had said against aristocracies, declaring that it would be wise, and, what was more, indispensably necessary, that an aristocracy should be a branch in this new Canadian constitution.‡ He stated his conviction that, for a good constitution, there must be the three elements contained in the British; and that, in short, an aristocracy was undoubtedly equally important with either the popular branch or the monarchic. But at the same time he raised his voice against the introduction of nobility into the province of Canada—that is to say, *an hereditary nobility, a titled nobility*. He concluded by declaring that he was so far a repub-

* Ann. Regist.

† Preface by Burke's executors to Two Letters on the Conduct of our Domestic Parties, with regard to French Politics.

‡ Pitt said, sarcastically, he was glad to hear this explanation, for he and every one else had given a very different interpretation to his meaning when he was speaking about aristocracies on the night of the 6th.

lican as to approve of all governments in which the *res publica* was the universal principle, and in which, as with us, the people had considerable weight; and that he conceived that true aristocracy gave a country that sort of energy, that sort of spirit, and that sort of enterprise which always made a country great and happy. This was poor commonplace at the best, and looked very like a mere theatrical clap-trap. Burke, in rising to speak, claimed the protection of the House to the situation in which he stood. He found, he said, that sentence of banishment from his party had been pronounced against him. The House, he hoped, would not consider him as a bad man, although he had been banished by one party, and was too old to seek another. Being thus, without any just cause, separated from his former political friends, he confessed that he severely felt his loss; but what he felt like a man he would bear like a man. He trusted, at least, that he should meet a fair and open hostility for the very short period that he should continue a member of that House. He affirmed that it was incorrect to say he had abused governments merely for being republican; that he had never abused any republic, as such, ancient or modern. But he did not consider France as a republic. No! It was an anomaly in government. He knew not by what name to call it, nor in what language to describe it:—

> A shape,
> If shape it might be called, that shape had none
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
> Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
> For each seemed either: black it stood as night,
> Fierce as ten furies, terrible as Hell,
> And shook a dreadful dart; *what seemed its head*
> *The likeness of a kingly crown had on.*

It was, he added, a shapeless monster, born of hell and chaos! He once more asserted the purity of his motives, and bitterly complained of the imputations which had been thrown upon his conduct. Fox had just asserted property to be the sole foundation of aristocracy. This he absolutely denied. He also complained that Fox and others, in the act of pretending a regard to aristocracy, were labouring to make this new Canada constitution a democratic one. He then spoke of his recent book and of other personal matters. He declared that he could not be of a party with the men who continued to reprobate the principles of his book. He complained, at his time of life, of being obliged to stand upon his defence by that right honourable gentleman, in the vigour of his abilities, who, when a young man, at the age of fourteen years, had been brought to him, and evinced the most promising talents, which he had used his best endeavours to cultivate; and this man, who had arrived at the maturity of being *the most brilliant and powerful debater that ever existed*, had described him as having now deserted and abandoned every one of his principles! But he felt he had been doing his duty; he hoped he had in some measure averted what might have effected the downfall of our constitution; and, supported by such reflections, he was not without consolation, although excluded from his party. A gloomy solitude might reign around him, but all was unclouded sunshine within. Fox replied that, with regard to the declaration of the Right Honourable Gentleman, that he was separated from his party, if he was so separated it must be his own choice; that, if he should repent of that separation, he might be assured his friends would ever be ready to receive him, to respect him, and to love him as heretofore. Some other parts of the reply really seemed meant to irritate and offend still further. He said he did not like bestowing fulsome and unnecessary praises on the English constitution on all occasions; such praises reminded him of Lear's daughters, the most loving of whom made the least professions of affection, while Goneril and Regan spoke in terms of the most extravagant panegyric! He mentioned inflammatory publications which Burke had complained of as being so industriously circulated by political clubs and societies. He hinted that it was misusing the functions and privileges of that House for any member to come down, and, by holding long discourses personal to himself or relating to imaginary plots, prevent a committee from doing its duty, and examining the clauses of a bill of great importance. Burke retorted. He thought that eulogies on the old English constitution were at least as useful as the right honourable gentleman's almost daily professions of admiration of the revolution in France. He referred to the books and pamphlets that were in circulation, and affirmed there was serious cause for alarm when associations publicly avowed doctrines tending to alienate the minds of all who read them from the constitution of their country, especially at a time when that constitution was systematically run down abroad, and declaimed against as the worst in existence. He reminded the committee from how trivial a commencement Lord George Gordon's riots made London bow its head so low. He had been told that, if he would repent, his party would receive him back again. But he could not repent. He had gone through his youth and manhood without encountering any party disgrace; and, though he had now in his old age been so unfortunate as to meet it, he did not solicit the right honourable gentleman's friendship, nor the friendship of any man, either on one side of the House or the other. Here the dispute ended, and here ended for ever the connexion which had lasted for more than a quarter of a century. On the very next morning, the 12th of May, the Morning Chronicle, the great organ of the party, put forth proclamation in its largest type that the Whigs had done with Edmund Burke. The "definitive sentence," as Burke himself called it, ran in these words:—"The great and firm body of the Whigs of England, true to their principles, have decided on the dispute between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and the former is declared to have maintained the pure doctrines by which they are bound together, and upon which they have invariably acted. The con-

sequence is that Mr. Burke retires from Parliament." It was scarcely to be expected that a man like Burke, who knew full well that more than one-half of the Whig party either entertained the same sentiments and fears as himself, or would soon entertain them, as things drew nearer to their climax in France, should sit down silently under this ban and excommunication. He instantly took up his quick and eloquent pen, and wrote his "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs." In this spirited vindication, in which he speaks of himself in the third person, he triumphantly rebuts the charge of inconsistency, proves that in his writings or speeches, his parliamentary conduct or his private actions, he was never more or less of a democrat, or more or less an advocate for aristocracy, than he now was; shows the harsh treatment he had received from the Foxite Whigs, and the manner in which he had been forced into the contention in the House of Commons by Sheridan and by Fox himself. In other respects the appeal was a kind of appendix to the Reflections on the Revolution in France; and the exposures and denunciations it contained transported the republicans of the day with a greater fury than even the Reflections had done. As the English language broke down under some of them, they borrowed French words and phrases; they picked and stole from the vocabulary of Jacobinism, which was rapidly making a tongue or a shiboleth of its own, terms and sentences to express their indignation. As matter of course, they falsified the whole history of the man, making of a most virtuous, honourable, and generous life a congeries of baseness and iniquity. This, indeed, only proceeded from the rabid, low-bred sucklings of Jacobinized republicanism; but it appears that few or no efforts were made by a better-conditioned class to check this virulence, and this class, when occasion seemed to suit, did not disdain to associate and fraternise with their foul inferiors. At the same time, however, many of the principal members of the party with whom Burke had begun his political career gave him explicit testimonies of their concurrence and applause, as most of them had done before at the publication of the Reflections, a book which the printers could scarcely print fast enough for the demand. "He knew, indeed, that many of those whom he had left entertained in their hearts the same sentiments with himself, but till they should have publicly and explicitly avowed themselves, so that he could consistently and honourably act with them, he regarded himself in the House as a mere individual member of Parliament, conscientiously pursuing what the discipline of his early studies, the observation of his more mature years, and his recent examination of the event so long anticipated by him, had firmly persuaded him to be right. He did not seek to engage himself with any other party. *It was not till some months after that he first saw Mr. Pitt in private society, since the latter had been placed at the head of the administration.*"* The rupture between Burke and Fox was the great event of the session. The Quebec Bill, which had been so vehemently disputed, and so long delayed in its progress, was finally carried through the House of Commons on the 18th of May, but considerably amended and altered. In the Lords it encountered a spirited opposition. The Lords Rawdon, Stormont, and Loughborough were its chief opponents, and the principal points they condemned in the bill were—1. The dividing Canada into two separate parts or provinces; 2. The making the members of the Legislative Council or Upper Chamber hereditary like our House of Peers; and, 3. The leaving the judges in what was considered a dependent situation. The first of these points had been strongly opposed in the House of Commons, the opposition holding that it would be better to leave the country as one, as had been done by the famous Canada Bill of 1774, which had given occasion to so many memorable debates.† Lord Grenville, who supported the whole Bill, defended the division with many arguments. It had been urged that in consequence of the division Lower Canada, lying near the seabord and commanding the passage of the river Saint Lawrence, might oppress the trade of Upper Canada by imposing exorbitant transit duties on the commodities passing through its territories, &c.; but Grenville answered that Great Britain, in giving this new constitution to Canada, did not part with the superintending power, which she in fact exercised in the very act of modelling this constitution, and would certainly, in case of the lower province passing any law oppressive to the upper, control that oppression, and remove the grievance by right of her sovereign superintending power. He considered that the hereditary nobility or members of the Legislative Council would be a proper balance to the lower or popular chamber; and with respect to the judges, though he feared that the law of Canada was not yet sufficiently certain or sufficiently cultivated to admit of a perfect independency, he hoped the time was not distant when this desirable object might be attained; when a general system of known laws, and an establishment of salaries sufficient to encourage respectable men to accept of the offices of judges there, would render their appointment for life expedient. The bill was at last passed, and obtained the royal assent at the end of the session. It considerably altered, improved, and liberalised the government of Canada, or the Canadas. In each province the executive power was continued in a governor appointed by the crown; and, instead of a Legislative Council chosen by the king, there were two Legislative Chambers, the Council or Upper Chamber (composed of gentlemen of name or rank, who were to hold their seats for life, his majesty having the power to annex to hereditary titles the right of a seat in this Council), and a Lower Chamber or House of Assembly,

* Preface, by his executors, to Two Letters, &c.
† See vol. i. pp. 164, &c., and Cavendish's Debates.

composed of persons freely elected every four years by the landed proprietors. The Council of Upper Canada was to consist of not fewer than seven, and in Lower Canada of not fewer than fifteen. The Assembly or Lower House in the first of these provinces was to consist of not fewer than sixteen members, and in the lower province of about twice that number; but these numbers were gradually increased in both provinces as population increased. The two legislative bodies, the Council and the Assembly, were to be called together at least once in every twelve months. The qualifications of voters were fixed sufficiently low. There was no reasonable ground of complaint in this respect; but in touching the delicate question of church property and of provision for the clergy, the British parliament of 1791 prepared the great quarrel which has troubled us and those provinces ever since the year 1820. The present bill confirmed the provisions of the act of 1774, by which the dues of tithes of the *Protestant* inhabitants of any parish were reserved for the support of a *Protestant clergy*. This was too reasonable to justify or excuse any murmuring; but the present bill, moreover, added that, besides such fund provided out of Protestant purses, an allotment of lands should be directed to be made out of the crown lands for the encouragement and support of a Protestant clergy; and that in all future grants of land *a seventh part* should be appropriated to that purpose. As the great majority of the population were still French Catholics, the descendants of the original settlers—as they had remained strangers to the new doctrines which had obtained so complete a dominion in the mother country—as, in short, they were very zealous and somewhat intolerant Catholics, they felt the more acutely what seemed disproportionate and excessive in these allotments to the Anglican church. These provisions with respect to the clergy, together with other ecclesiastical matters, were declared by the bill to be alterable or repealable by the Assembly; but the acts altering or repealing them were directed to be laid before the British Parliament previous to their receiving the royal assent, and such assent was not to be given if Parliament should address his majesty to withhold it; [an arrangement which, of course, left the faculty of alteration or repeal entirely with the Protestant parliament of Great Britain. With regard to grants of land, the present bill settled that all future grants in Upper Canada should be in free and common soccage, as in England, and that it should be the same with lands in Lower Canada whenever the grantor should desire it; and further, that in Upper Canada the owners of lands formerly granted on provincial tenures might, on surrender into his majesty's hands, obtain fresh grants to be holden by such soccage tenure. With respect to the power of taxing the colonies, although that power was to rest with the provincial councils and assemblies, it was specially declared that nothing in this act should prevent the parliament of Great Britain from establishing prohibitions or imposing duties, or regulating commerce and navigation, only with the proviso that the produce of such duties should be applied to the use of the provinces themselves as their own legislature should direct. Next to the objection about religion and allotments, the greatest difficulty was that the French Canadians were not yet sufficiently educated and prepared for a constitutional form of government.

Mr. Wilberforce, labouring in his vocation with a degree of zeal and industry seldom equalled, brought forward the subject of the Slave Trade, on the 18th of April, by moving for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the further importation of slaves into the British colonies in the West Indies. In the speech with which he opened the debate he reviewed the voluminous, and in many respects conflicting evidence which had been received by his laborious committee; and he endeavoured to prove the trade as impolitic as it was cruel. He strongly pressed upon the House the mistake of that policy which proposed leaving the work of abolition to the colonial legislatures in the islands, showing that it was the loss of their present power of introducing fresh slaves which could alone make the improved treatment of their present stocks clearly profitable to owners and to agents. He dwelt upon the flagrant cruelty of the means by which slaves were obtained on the coast of Africa, specifying many particular facts, and exposing the mean and inhuman devices of the Europeans concerned in the bloody traffic. He mentioned the notorious fact that different tribes of Africans were urged to make war on each other for the sake of making prisoners to sell to the slave-dealers. He contended that the entire abolition of the trade would not operate injuriously to our West India islands: for the number of the negroes there had not, on the whole, decreased, and the rapid increase of that black population would be secured as soon as ever the planters should be induced to pay a proper attention to the morals and to the bodily health and comfort of their slaves; and this inducement would be forced upon them by their own interests when they should find that they could no longer import fresh slaves. He contended that the Guinea trade was a grave, and not the nursery, of British seamen. It appeared from the Liverpool and other muster-rolls that in 350 slave-ships, having on board 12,263 persons, there had been lost 2645 in twelve months. If the advocates of the slave trade could prove, what certainly had not been proved yet, that their trade was of great importance to this country, still he should exclaim, "There is a smell of blood, which all the perfumes of Arabia cannot remove." He ended a long speech with an animated appeal to the religious sympathies of the House. "On every view," said he, "it becomes Great Britain to be foremost in this work. One half of this guilty commerce has been conducted by her subjects; and, as we have been great in crime, let us

be early in repentance. There will be a day of retribution wherein we shall have to give account of all the talents, faculties, and opportunities which have been intrusted to us. Let it not then appear that our superior power has been employed to oppress our fellow-creatures, and our superior light to darken the creation of our God."* The debate lasted two days. In the course of it the great abolitionist was earnestly supported by Fox; and his friend Pitt, in expatiating upon the needless injustice of the traffic, is said to have equalled any of his best speeches. The opposition was headed by Lord John Russell, who, though described by Wilberforce's friends as a Foxite, would not support Fox in this business; and by Colonel Tarleton, who had distinguished himself as a most adventurous and irregular soldier in the American war. These two members imputed misrepresentations and unsupported facts to the reports of the committee on the slave trade, and to the speech which the champion of abolition had delivered. Certainly neither Whigs nor Tories had made this a party-question; and there was, at this time at least, as much lukewarmness or aversion to the abolition on the one side as on the other. Out of doors it was the same thing. Even that thorough Whig and Foxite, Dr. Parr, declared that these Utopian schemes of *liberty* in the *slave trade* gave alarm to serious men. Scarcely a single person could be found at all inclined to go the length of immediate abolition; and Wilberforce's friends had conjured him to reconsider his plan, telling him that immediate abolition would not go down in the House of Commons, that gradual abolition would be stifled in the Lords, and that he ought not to expect to make any effectual progress this year.† In truth, the terrible insurrection in St. Domingo, of which the first seeds were attributed to Brissot and some other Frenchmen, chiefly deputies in the National Assembly, who had got up a society called *Les Amis des Noirs*, and the very universal dread of all French examples, principles, or proceedings whatsoever, acted most unfavourably against the humane enthusiasm of Wilberforce; who, at this time, or a little later, opened an epistolary correspondence with Brissot, a thorough-paced republican, a constant maligner of the British constitution, and a man of very questionable sincerity or disinterestedness. There was nothing like a full House during the discussion; and at the division, on the second night, Wilberforce's motion was negatived by 163 against 88. This put an end to all attempts to carry the question farther this year. Wilberforce, in other directions, did not relax his efforts, and, backed by Granville Sharp and the Anti-Slavery Society (who annually collected and spent thousands of pounds), he appealed to the justice and humanity of the nation at large. Clarkson and Dr. Dickson were dispatched on provincial tours to call meetings of the friends of the society, and to disseminate widely an abstract of the evidence given before the House of Commons Committee, as also Wilberforce's speech, and the substance of the last debate; and by these and similar means the public mind was slowly and gradually prepared for the subject, and warmed into sympathy with the abolitionists. In this session of parliament, however, a bill was carried establishing a company for carrying on a trade with Africa, and permitting and recognising a settlement at Sierra Leone. This bill was brought in by Wilberforce's friend, the excellent Henry Thornton. The Sierra Leone Company was a trading company, formed by the advocates of abolition, with no promise or expectation of mercantile advantages to themselves, but with a view to create a lawful, a humane, and eventually a profitable trade on the African coast; to commence the civilisation and conversion to Christianity of that part of the world, and so give a practical refutation to all those arguments for the slave trade which were drawn from the alleged intellectual peculiarities and inferiority of the negro race. Wilberforce was one of the directors of the company. A Mr. Devaynes, who had resided for some time on the Sierra Leone peninsula, was examined concerning the fruitfulness of the soil and its capabilities of producing sugar, coffee, cotton, &c. He deposed that these things grew almost spontaneously; but he said nothing about the deadly unhealthiness of the climate, and the deep-sunk rivers and innumerable creeks, the swamps, bogs, and marshes, which must ever render the place destructive to European life. This was, as Wilberforce called it, a very noble design; but, in beginning it, it would have been proper, and, we believe, not very difficult, to have selected a more healthy spot.*

The history of some movements which were made in the course of this session for the relief of the Roman Catholics and of the members of the Church of Scotland will be related in the next chapter.

The state of the law of libel had long been matter of complaint. As early as the 21st of February Fox gave notice of two questions which he intended to bring forward in the course of the session. One of them, he said, would be with respect to the conduct of the Court of King's Bench in giving judgment and sentence upon libels; and the other would relate to informations in the nature of Quo warranto. He believed that the proper mode would

* Life of Wilberforce, by his Sons.

† Letters from Lord Muncaster and Granville Sharpe *in eod.*

* The settlement was begun some time before the bill was obtained from parliament. "The British colony of Sierra Leone was established in 1787 by some philanthropists, who intended to show that colonial productions could be obtained without the labour of slaves. In that year 470 negroes, then living in a state of destitution in London, were removed to it; and in 1790 their number was increased by 1198 individuals of the same race, who had been settled in Nova Scotia, but could not bear the severity of the climate. Ten years later 550 Maroons were transported from Jamaica to Sierra Leone; and in 1819, when a black regiment in the West Indies was disbanded, 1222 black soldiers and their families were settled there likewise. In 1820 the population amounted to 12,000 individuals. Since the abolition of the slave trade (1807) the slaves captured by the British cruisers have been settled in the colony, and the population has thus been so much increased that, in 1839, including a few European merchants, it amounted to about 42,000 souls."—*Penny Cyclopædia*, Art. *Sierra Leone*.

be, in the one case, to move to refer the question to the consideration of their grand committee for courts of justice, and to move the other in the House. It was however the 20th of May before Fox could bring forward his promised motion for a grand committee on courts of justice to inquire into some late decisions of the courts in cases of libel. He said he was not going to attempt anything like innovation (every such attempt now created a panic in the majority), but was calling the attention of the House to one of its most constitutional and important duties, or a strict attention to every branch of the executive government. Nothing, in his estimation, was so important as the proper execution of justice, or more valuable than the proper liberty of the press. He was not going to occupy the time of the House with any general declamation on the liberty of the press. Whoever saw what the world was now, and compared it with what it had formerly been, must be sensible that it had greatly improved in the science of government, and that this improvement was entirely owing to the liberty of the press. He was not a defender of its licentiousness, but of its liberty, in the sense and to the extent in which it could be defended. In his opinion, if the liberty of the press in this country could be in any way endangered, it must be by a series of judgments and a series of punishments decreed by the law courts on free writings. It had nothing to fear from parliament or from any laws they might make. If gentlemen were to argue that from the circumstance of there being at present so much licence there was liberty enough, they would argue very unwisely and very inconclusively. In the course of the last year, when the Nootka Sound armament was raised, a good deal of public discussion had taken place with regard, first of all, to the propriety of that armament, and secondly, with regard to the conduct of parliament in granting the supplies. He thought it very natural that such a subject should be freely discussed in a free country. Yet a newspaper (The Morning Herald), for publishing some strictures on the conduct of the king's ministers on that occasion, had, to the astonishment of most people, been prosecuted. The printer had pleaded guilty, or allowed judgment to go by default, and judgment had been given against him—a judgment which appeared to those who compared it with the paper, and, he confessed, appeared so to himself, to be inordinately severe. If attention had been paid to the state of manners and of things, the printer might have been sentenced to some short imprisonment, or to pay some small fine; but that he should have been sentenced to be imprisoned for twelve months, and to stand in the pillory, was surely a severe and inordinate judgment compared with the degree of his guilt. Fox did not think that ministers themselves could have thought it consistent to have prosecuted the printer at all. He complained of the way in which inuendoes had been filled up and explained in their own way by the court, maintaining that the filling up of inuendoes in alleged libels was the province of the jury, and not of the court, and that after they were filled up the tendency and consequences were inferences at law. This he understood to be the real state of the law as it stood, although, with respect to the inferences, he by no means agreed that the law was what it ought to be. He was perfectly sure that this mode of proceeding was, in the present case, in the highest degree improper and unfair. He did not suppose that the Court of King's Bench had acted from any motives of direct corruption, or from party purposes. If he had supposed anything of that sort, he should have looked whether there were any proofs, and would not have shrunk from the inquiry; but he was perfectly convinced of the contrary, and that what had been done by the court was from error and from the difficulty of their situation as the law now stood on the subject of libels. He declared that he had looked deeply into the subject of the law of libel, and he paid a tribute of enthusiastic admiration to a speech which his rising friend Erskine had recently delivered in court in the case of the Dean of St. Asaph; "a speech so eloquent, so luminous, and so convincing, that it wanted but, in opposition to it, not a man, but a giant—not a pigmy or a dwarf, but something like an adversary capable of coping with it." This speech of Erskine, and the argument it contained on the right of juries, formed, in fact, the groundwork and the materials of the bill which Fox was now presenting, that bill being merely declaratory of the principles laid down by Erskine. Fox alluded to the case of the famous John Lilburne, who, soon after the execution of Charles I., and under the Commonwealth, was indicted for a treasonable paper. Liberty John, who was destined never to be satisfied with any existing form of government, had declared that the jury were all and everything; that the judges were mere ciphers, their duty being solely to register the verdicts of the jury. Fox thought that John, though coarse and homely in his expressions, was quite right in his principles; and he considered the reply of the judge as a specimen of the temper of the times; for Judge Jermyn, who presided on that occasion, said it was a damnable and blasphemous heresy to call the judges ciphers! Lilburne was, however, acquitted in spite of the anger of the judge, and in spite of the influence of Oliver Cromwell. Fox then went through the law and practice respecting libels in the reigns of Charles II., James II., and part of that of King William. He conjectured that from the Reformation till some time after the Revolution, the jury had only to consider whether such a thing was published with or without a licence; if it was published without a licence, it would constitute a crime, and the court afterwards considered the malignity of the offence. He hoped it would not be regarded as cavilling on the subject to declare, *ex vi terminorum*, that it appeared a solecism to say that, to a general issue joined, a special verdict should be given: it was obvious that the jury must give a general verdict according

to the general issue. He conceived that there was a power vested in the jury to judge of law and fact as often as they were united; and that, if the jury were not to be understood to have a right to exercise that power, the constitution would never have intrusted them with it. He could not view the separation of the law from the fact in any other light than as a confusion of ideas. In murder, in felony, in high treason, in every other criminal indictment, it was the province of the jury to judge both of law and fact, the judge contenting himself with advising the jury. Libels were the only exception, the single anomaly, and a great anomaly indeed! Acknowledging the respect and reverence due to the character of that great lawyer and judge, Lord Mansfield, Fox complained of the principles laid down by his lordship in trying cases of libel, and concluded a very long speech by moving that the grand committee for courts of justice should sit on Tuesday next. He was seconded by Erskine, who spoke with great eloquence and ability. The attorney-general (Sir Archibald Macdonald) coincided in opinion with Fox on the main points of his argument; but justified the judges as being in some degree bound to follow the uninterrupted course of precedents, and to be determined by what had been the uniform practice of their predecessors. Pitt supported the same line of argument, declaring that, although he was diffident in setting up his own opinion against the established practice of the judges, he must confess that his opinion went directly against that practice; for he saw no reason why, on the trial of any crime, the whole consideration of the case might not be left to the unfettered judgment of twelve men sworn to give their verdict honestly and conscientiously. He objected, however, to going into committee, and recommended the plan of settling the whole business by two short bills. Fox said he could not have the least hesitation in complying with the suggestion of the right honourable gentleman who had in so candid a manner stated his own opinion, which seemed also to be the general feeling of the House. He hoped, however, that a report which he had heard was true, and that the printer now under sentence had been pardoned that part of his sentence which related to the punishment of the pillory. But the silence of the ministerial benches made him doubt; and he declared that he must take the sense of the House upon a motion for an address to his majesty for his pardon. He saw not how he could do this without going into the committee for courts of justice. Such an address to his majesty would, indeed, be an indirect censure on the court that had passed so severe and so inadequate a sentence: but he thought he could proceed in no other way, as the printer's libel and the record were neither of them before the House; and till the House could get at the record, he could not proceed. If he should be told that the printer had been pardoned, or would be pardoned, the pillory, he would say no more, but consent to withdraw his motion for a committee, and barely move for leave to bring in the two bills which had been suggested. Pitt said that he had not the least recollection of the punishment of the pillory having been remitted, or of any application having been made for that remission. But since he had been in his majesty's council he had, in more instances than one, dissuaded the government from the too frequent use of the pillory, which, in his opinion, could not be too sparingly employed; and, from what he saw in the present case, he had no reason to imagine, if application were made, that there would be any great difficulty in getting that part of the sentence remitted. Fox then withdrew his original motion, and moved, 1. For leave to bring in a bill to remove doubts respecting the rights and functions of juries in criminal cases; and 2. For leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act of the 9th of Queen Anne, entitled "An Act for rendering the proceedings upon writs of mandamus and informations in the nature of a quo warranto more speedy and effectual, and for the more easy trying and determining the rights of officers and franchises in corporations and boroughs." Leave was granted in both cases without opposition. The first bill, relating to the trial of libel cases, was brought in on the 25th of May, and was passed on the 2nd of June with very little opposition. But a cross-wind awaited it in the Lords, where Chancellor Thurlow, ever since the king's malady and the regency intrigues, had made no secret of his ill-will to the prime minister, cavilling at his measures and doing his best to thwart whatever he recommended. It was to meet this hostility that Pitt had deprived himself of the valuable assistance of his cousin William Grenville, and had procured him a seat in the House of Peers. But Grenville, though a good battery, could not silence the obstinate and formidable chancellor, who now opposed the further progress of the bill in that session, and carried a majority with him. The motion for the second reading was thus negatived on the 8th of June.

On the 8th of April a finance committee was appointed to consider and report the amount of the public income and expenditure, during the last five years, or since 1786, when a select committee had reported on the subject. The present committee gave in the annual income at 16,030,285*l.*, and the expenditure, including the 1,000,000*l.* for liquidating the national debt, at 15,969,178*l.*, which left an excess of the income over the expenditure of 61,107*l.* On the 18th of May the chancellor of the exchequer, in his account of the state of the finances, referred to this report. Sheridan triumphantly remarked that the report showed the fallacy of the estimate of future expenses which had been made by the committee of 1786. Pitt replied, that the increase of the expenditure had arisen chiefly from incidental charges and circumstances, which it was impossible the committee of 1786 should have foreseen. Nevertheless, Sheridan, on the 3rd of June, moved

no fewer than *forty* resolutions, calculated to discredit the management of the finances, and to show how much better care he (Sheridan) could have taken of the public money. Of this tedious series the greater number were rejected altogether, and others were amended according to data laid down by the minister and his friends, and more particularly by Mr. George Rose, now one of Pitt's closest friends. Not satisfied with rejecting or amending all Sheridan's handy-work, the ministerialists brought forward sixteen resolutions of their own, which all went to prove that the finances had never been so well managed before, and that there was every prospect of keeping the expenditure far within the limits of the income, and of reducing the national debt at the same time. A wild dream this, indeed, to be entertained on the very brink of the French revolutionary war! In the House of Lords a committee for inquiring into the state of the finances had been moved for by Lord Rawdon, on the 30th of March: it had been opposed by Lord Grenville as altogether unnecessary, since a committee was to be appointed in the House of Commons; and the motion had been negatived by 55 against 23. On the 24th of May Dundas laid a very flattering account of the state of the finances in India before the Commons, making it appear that the revenues there, amounting in all to seven millions sterling, after defraying all expenses, left a clear surplus of near a million and a half per annum. That greatest of nabobs, Paul Benfield, whom Burke had immortalised with an evil fame in his great speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, and who had once more returned from India, alleged that there were many errors in Dundas's flattering statement, and said he could easily point them out, but for the late period of the session. On the 10th of June parliament was prorogued by the king in person. His majesty's speech contained nothing noticeable except the avowal that he was not as yet enabled to inform them of the result of the steps which had been taken with a view to the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte.

The trial of Warren Hastings, which we have kept apart, in order to avoid confusing the other parliamentary business, still went on. The languor which seemed to attend it had been relieved at the opening of the session by some very animated debates which involved exceedingly interesting questions of constitutional law. A question arose whether an impeachment by the House of Commons did not remain *in statu quo*, notwithstanding the intervention of a dissolution. Upon the solution of this question it depended whether the proceedings against Hastings could be taken up by the present parliament where they were left by the last, or whether they must recommence *de novo*. The idea of travelling over ground which had already occupied the parliamentary portions of four years was distressing and alarming; and it seems to have been generally understood that if the *da capo* principle were affirmed, the trial would be thrown up, or would stop where it was. The most learned or leading lawyers of the day differed in opinion, as became their calling, and their party rivalries and differences. Many, we believe the majority, of the managers would have been glad to be quit of a business which had long ceased to excite or interest the nation, and which was now buried and kept out of sight by the crowded events of the French revolution, which excited everybody: but Burke, who believed that he had a great and sacred mission to perform, resolved to persevere, in spite of all discouragements; and, in order to bring the point in dispute to a regular decision, he moved, as early as the 17th of December, in a committee of the whole House, "That it appears, that an impeachment by this House, &c., against Warren Hastings, Esq., late governor-general of Bengal, for sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, is now depending." This, he said, would be but a plain assertion of the privileges of the House of Commons, as handed down to them by their predecessors, through an uninterrupted succession of five hundred years. In all the convulsions of our government, in all the struggles, contests, and incidental or progressive changes of the functions and powers of the House of Commons, this alone, he said, had remained immutable, that an impeachment was never to be defeated by collusion with a minister, or by the power of the crown. He argued that an impeachment abated by a dissolution of parliament was not to be found, in any plain or express terms, on the journals of the House of Lords, on the journals of the House of Commons, or in the minutes of the conferences between the two Houses; that it was as little to be found in any book of authority, or in any good report of law cases; and he maintained that the House of Commons was naturally the watcher, the inquisitor, the purifier of every judicial and executive function; and that, were this privilege to be abandoned or baulked, we should lose our best security for the impartial administration of justice, and our most powerful check on the abuses of political power. The debate which followed lasted three days or nights. Erskine, the close friend of Fox, and one of the champions of the Whig or opposition party, immediately followed Burke, and endeavoured to prove, in a very elaborate speech, that Burke was wrong in his law, and that a dissolution did abate all proceedings of a depending impeachment. Pitt, on the contrary, supported Burke and his resolution, declaring it to be his opinion that the precedents which had been collected in favour of impeachments abating upon a dissolution were so few in number, and of such questionable authority, as clearly to show the weakness of that argument. In the course of a very able and argumentative speech, Pitt insisted that impeachments ought to continue, and did actually continue *in statu quo* from parliament to parliament; and that the non-abatement of impeachments by a dissolution was a doctrine recognised and well established by many precedents in

our early history. Cases perfectly in point might be adduced from the reign of Richard II.; but he would only insist upon the case of the Duke of Suffolk, in the reign of Henry VI., which indisputably proved that impeachments continued from one parliament to another. But he would not confine himself to the more doubtful decisions of antiquity, as more modern times afforded instances of precedents clearer and more applicable to his purpose. By the resolution of the Lords in the year 1673, writs of error and petitions of appeal were made to continue from parliament to parliament; but it had been contended, since no mention was made of impeachments in this resolution, that it was understood by their lordships that a dissolution of parliament operated an abatement of such proceedings. He, however, felt that the very opposite conclusion was deducible from the report of their lordships' committee, which expressly stated that writs of error, petitions of appeal, and *any other business* wherein their lordships act as a *court of judicature*, and not in their *legislative capacity*, ought not to be narrowed in their discussion, but extended from parliament to parliament, being taken up again in the same state in which they were left at the moment of a dissolution. Now, nobody could deny that in hearing cases of impeachment their lordships acted as a *court of judicature*. In the year 1678, soon after the dissolution of the Long Parliament of Charles II., the committee of privileges were expressly called upon to "consider whether petitions of appeal, which were presented to the House of Lords in the last session of parliament, be still in force to be proceeded on: as also to consider of the state of the *impeachment* brought up in the last parliament;" and in their report the committee stated, "That all cases of appeal and writs of error continue, and are to be proceeded upon *in statu quo*, as they stood at the dissolution of the last parliament, without beginning *de novo*; and that the dissolution of the last parliament doth not alter the state of the impeachment brought up by the Commons in that parliament." [The immediate effects of this resolution were the iniquitous trial, conviction, and execution of the Earl of Strafford; but this iniquity of the times does not affect the constitutional question at issue.] This decision had been reversed under another sovereign in 1685; and this reversal had been cited as a precedent in favour of the abatement of impeachments by a dissolution. But Pitt would not allow much weight to such a precedent, which took place when James II., a popish and bigoted prince, had just ascended the throne; when the parliament was obsequiously devoted to the will of the monarch; when a sacrifice of principle was required to be made to practical abuse; when certain popish lords, the favourites of the king, were in prison, and about to be tried in the new parliament. And how, he would ask, did the House of Lords act at such a moment? They rescinded the resolution of 1678, as far as impeachments were concerned, solely for the purpose of screening the popish lords from the impending danger of trial, without any examination into precedents, or even suffering the resolution itself to be read; and this new resolution of 1685 was held in so little repute, that it was never quoted or acted upon after its immediate purpose was answered. He admitted that Lord Strafford had been unjustly condemned; but was that a legitimate and conclusive argument against the principle of continuing impeachments from parliament to parliament? Because the fate of one person, from the continuance of impeachments, had been hard and oppressive, must it follow that the exercise of such a privilege would, in every instance, be attended with the same evil consequences? If the abuse of an institution proved its inutility, the objection might apply; otherwise the honourable and learned gentleman's pathetic expostulations would deserve no attention, for, in deciding upon the weight of a dry precedent, our passions ought not to interfere with our judicial deliberations; and it was obvious that the trial might be undertaken upon legal grounds, although the witnesses examined in the prosecution of it were guilty of perjury. [Erskine had been very pathetic and eloquent upon the fate of Lord Strafford.] He must therefore hold that the credit of the resolution of 1678 was unimpeached, and that it was a precedent which neither eloquence nor sophistry could invalidate. Pitt further urged that the detention in prison of the Lords Salisbury and Peterborough, in 1690, after a dissolution, and even several months after the meeting of the new parliament, proved that the resolution of 1685 was not considered as a permanent rule of law, but as an expedient to serve a temporary purpose. In the end the impeachment of those two noble lords was abated, not by virtue of any usage of parliament, but by the operation of an act of general pardon from the sovereign. After referring to the cases of Sir Adam Blair and three other persons in the same year, 1690, as justifying the inference that impeachments did not abate by a dissolution, Pitt came to the famous case of the impeachment of Lord Danby, who was not discharged till three dissolutions had taken place; whereas, if a dissolution operated an abatement, he must have been released upon the first dissolution. But after that first dissolution, when Danby applied to the Court of King's Bench to be admitted to bail, the judges refused the application, recognising the doctrine that the impeachment did not fall to the ground in consequence of a dissolution. After the second dissolution the judges again refused bail; but, after a third dissolution, and after his lordship had suffered five years' imprisonment, James II. being king, and the notorious Jeffries chief justice, Danby was admitted to bail; which very act acknowledged the legality of his long detention in prison, and of the continuance of the impeachment from parliament to parliament, and Danby, after all, was finally discharged because the Commons declined to prose-

cute, and without a word being said of any of the intermediate dissolutions or of the quality of abatement in them. Pitt next dwelt upon the subsequent cases of Lords Somers, Halifax, Portland, and the same Lord Danby become Duke of Leeds, in which the several impeachments were dropped from the same cause, that is to say, from the Commons declining to prosecute. In the case of Danby, Duke of Leeds, after the impeachment had continued five years, and through several successive parliaments, the Lords came to this resolution—"That, the Commons not prosecuting, the impeachment and articles shall be and are hereby dismissed;" again passing over as unworthy of the least notice the resolution of 1685. After reviewing these precedents, Pitt took into consideration the primary principles of the constitution; remarking that the present doubts had chiefly arisen from confounding the two different powers of parliament, the legislative and the judicial, each of which has its separate and distinct limits of duration. The legislative power, or every depending act of legislation, was not only terminated by a dissolution, but was also abated by a prorogation of parliament: but their judicial power and acts were not influenced either by prorogation or by dissolution; and therefore impeachment, being a judicial proceeding, could not be affected by either. If in the cases of writs of error and of petitions of appeal the process continued from session to session, and from parliament to parliament, still more necessary was it that the proceedings in an impeachment should also continue: for, in the former cases there was generally only one individual against another, upon a question of a private nature; whereas in the latter, the House of Commons, and all the commons of Great Britain, were parties against a state delinquent. He contended that the impeachment of Warren Hastings was not merely the act of the late parliament, but of the whole body of the commons of the realm, the proceedings being in the name both of constituents and of representatives. He concluded his long and much admired speech by declaring that he should cheerfully vote for the original resolution as moved by Burke. Sir John Scott, the solicitor-general, Hardinge, Mitford, and several others of the lawyers supported Erskine, and argued against Burke and the prime minister. On the third day of the debate, after the solicitor-general had delivered his sentiments, Fox rose to declare that he entirely coincided with Pitt and Burke. After so able and eloquent a debate, he said, he should have been contented to leave the question where it stood; but, having always been zealous in supporting the privileges of the House of Commons, and, *on some occasions, contrary to the opinions of those with whom he agreed on other points*, he thought it his duty to give something more than a silent vote in support of a motion in the fate of which he conceived all their privileges to be involved. He paid some high compliments to Pitt, as also to Dundas, who had taken an active share in the debate on the same side. He eulogised Burke, and repeated some of his sarcasms at the expense of the lawyers. Fox concluded with a short review of the precedents which existed, contending that all, except that of 1685, in the time of James II., made against the abatement of an impeachment by a dissolution, and had been so understood by courts of justice and the most eminent law authorities of the country. Upon a division on the third night of the debate, Erskine's amendment, that the chairman should report progress, in other words, that the committee should break up without coming to any decision, was rejected by 143 against 30, and Burke's original motion was then agreed to.

In consequence of this decision, which confirmed and fully established a most important precedent, the Commons informed the Lords, on the 14th of February, that they were ready to go on with the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. Their lordships, before sending an answer to the Commons, appointed a committee of their own to examine precedents, in order to decide whether the dissolution of parliament had or had not put an end to the impeachment. The report of this committee was not ready till the 19th of April, and was not taken into consideration until the 16th of May. On the latter day Lord Porchester moved that a message should be sent to the Commons to intimate that their lordships would proceed upon the trial of Warren Hasitngs on the Monday following. Lord Radnor moved an amendment for referring the question to the judges, in the intention of proving that the obligation of the bond of recognizance entered into by the sureties of Hastings did not extend beyond the last parliament, and that therefore the trial was terminated by the dissolution. A long debate ensued, the Lords going over the same ground as the Commons had already done. Lord Radnor's amendment was, however, rejected by 70 against 20; and Lord Porchester's motion was carried by 66 against 18. Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and Lord Kenyon, chief justice of the King's Bench, were in the minority, having contended for the abatement. On the other hand, Loughborough, chief justice of the Common Pleas, and so soon to be lord chancellor, spoke and voted against the abatement and against any delay, and was authorised by the great Lord Mansfield, who was too old and infirm to attend the House, and by Lord Camden, who was obliged by indisposition to quit it, to express their sentiments, and was intrusted with their proxies.

In the mean time Burke, being well aware of the many complaints about the slow progress of the trial, had moved, on the 14th of February, "That, in consideration of the length of time which has already elapsed since carrying up the impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq., it appears to this House to be proper, for the purpose of obtaining substantial justice with as little delay as possible, to proceed to no other parts of the said impeachment than those on which the managers of the prosecution have already closed their evidence;

excepting only such parts of the impeachment as relate to the contracts, pensions, and allowances." Mr. Ryder moved, as an amendment, that the latter part of the motion, relating to the exceptions, should be omitted. This being rejected, Mr. Jekyll proposed a bolder amendment—"That, in consideration of the length of time which has already elapsed, &c., the House of Commons do resolve to proceed no further in this business." This also being negatived, Hastings's constant friend, Mr. Sumner, moved the question of adjournment, but was outvoted by 194 against 26. In the course of this debate Pitt supported the arguments which were used by Burke, to show the necessity of going into the charge about contracts, &c., to prove that the long duration of the trial was no fault of the managers, and that it was reasoning upon a false principle to estimate the time which the remaining charges would occupy, by the length of time which had been occupied by the former charges. He said it by no means followed, that, because three charges had taken up three years, a fourth charge would take up a proportionate length of time. Every one would acknowledge that three years formed a long period for an innocent man to remain under the suspense and anxiety of accusation, *for which some indemnification would be indisputably due;* and even to a guilty person such a protracted trial must, in any ordinary case, be considered as constituting no small portion of punishment. But, then, should the charges preferred against Mr. Hastings, or even a principal part of them, be proved, what man would assert that the punishment he had already suffered was adequate to the magnitude of his crimes?

The Lords again assembled as a court in Westminster Hall, which was no longer crowded by rank and fashion, or by any other class, for all had grown weary of the business, and were ready to yawn at the mere mention of it. On the 23rd of May the charge respecting contracts, pensions, allowances, frauds, and extortions was opened by Mr. St. John. Three days were employed in the production of evidence. On the 27th, when the court broke up, Mr. Loveden moved in the House of Commons an address, praying "That his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue the session of parliament until the evidence on the part of the prosecution has been closed, Mr. Hastings's defence heard, and judgment finally given." This motion was strenuously opposed by Dundas, who denounced it as an invasion of the prerogative of the crown to continue or prorogue the sittings as it chose. He hoped that the House, which had just vindicated in so excellent a manner its own constitutional privilege, by the resolution on the non-abatement of impeachment, would not, almost at the same moment, encroach so far on the rights of another branch of the legislature, as to desire the crown to commit its prerogative of prorogation to the discretion of three distinct parties, or—to the managers, who might extend the prosecution; to the prisoner, who might prolong his defence; and to the judges, who might protract their judgment. Fox denied that Loveden's motion was any encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, as the right of advising the crown in this matter had been repeatedly exercised by the House. He was, however, of opinion that the motion went rather too far in fixing the period for the sitting of parliament till judgment should be pronounced; and he proposed as an amendment—"To pray his majesty not to prorogue parliament before such further progress should be made as should afford reasonable grounds of expectation that the trial might be brought to a conclusion early in next session." Fox's amendment was rejected by 144 against 61; and Loveden's original motion was then negatived without a division. A similar motion, made in the House of Peers by Lord King, met with the same fate. As nineteen of the twenty-three charges had been rejected altogether—if they had all been retained, the trial must have lasted till Hastings was entombed in Daylesford church—the managers closed their case on the 30th of May. Although he could not now expect to bring his defence before the court during the present session, Hastings begged to be allowed one day for stating what he deemed of importance respecting the further progress of the trial. This request was granted without any demur from the court or from the managers; and on the 2nd of June he delivered a long and able discourse, the effect of which, however, must have been somewhat spoiled by his reading it from a manuscript which he held in his hand. When he had read for about two hours, he requested the indulgence of a few minutes' rest. As soon as he had recovered from his fatigue, he proceeded, and in about another hour and a half he concluded the discourse, which is said to have excited various and deep emotions in the breasts of all classes of his hearers. In it Hastings declared that he was ready and desirous to waive his defence to the charges preferred against him by the Commons, and refer himself to their lordships' immediate judgment, if they should be pleased to proceed to immediate judgment: that for his acquittal he trusted confidently to the evidence produced by his prosecutors themselves to make good their charges; being satisfied that not one criminal allegation of the charges had been made good against him, and that, on the contrary, almost every one of them had been refuted by the evidence brought in support of it. Their lordships, he hoped, would try his conduct by the evidence, oral or written, which his accusers had brought before the court, and not by their brilliant speeches. He gently complained of the effects of such oratory on the public mind. It was, he said, the custom of this country—and a custom having an admirable motive and end—that the court before which trials are heard should be open and free of access to the whole world. "But, my lords," said he, "this custom puts my fame and honour at issue with other judgments than your

lordships; and those judgments are formed not like yours, on calm investigation and a cool consideration of evidence. My lords, the audience come with other minds and with different motives. They come to hear the declamations of invective, and to be amused by the ingenuity of the orators. Bold assertions, however unfounded and unjust, are believed by them, because they are boldly made, and heard without refutation. Misled by the arts of eloquence, they are deceived into opinions of which it is impossible they can either detect the fallacy or perceive the imposition. They are pleased and deluded by the talents of the orator; and whatever prejudices he wishes to create in their minds they of necessity receive; and, after the entertainment of the day, they depart with their passions inflamed, to communicate their effects to the circle of their acquaintance. Is it possible that the general effect of such declamations can fail to embitter my life and affect my peace in society as long as the trial lasts, by producing all the ill consequences, on the public opinion, of guilt and condemnation?" He again earnestly prayed for an immediate decision, and to all the charges gave answers brief, spirited, clear, and carrying the appearance of candour, truth, and a consciousness not only of innocence, but of having deserved well of his country.* The war which had broken out, and was now raging in India, the ambition, power, and resources of Tippoo Sultaun, made ministers and public men more sensible than they might otherwise have been to the value of our Eastern possessions, and to the difficulties of all kinds which Hastings must have experienced in preserving them in a season of almost universal failure, embarrassment, and humiliation. He skilfully alluded to these present difficulties. "My lords," said he, "you are now better enabled to judge of the difficulties which I had to encounter in the last war, than I did suppose it possible for your lordships to be when this trial commenced. Your lordships will now feel for the wants under which I laboured when I had to contend with all the powers of India, combined with the French and Dutch, because your lordships have proofs before you, in the council chamber of parliament, that the resources of India are now utterly inadequate to the support of a war against one native power who is unassisted by any European ally. We are now in alliance with all the Mahratta chiefs, and with the Subadar of the Deccan, who were in the former war confederated against us. The government of Bengal, when this war commenced, was free from foreign and domestic embarrassments. The nabob vizier had completely liquidated his debt, and his subsidy was paid with the utmost punctuality. Benares afforded the full revenue, *which I am impeached for having procured.* The salt, the opium, and the land revenues of Bengal, added to the subsidy from Oude and the Benares collections, produced annually nearly 5,400,000*l.* But, my lords, so inadequate have these resources proved, with the addition of the revenues of Fort St. George and Bombay, that since the commencement of the present war a very considerable sum in specie has been transmitted from England to India; money has been borrowed to the utmost extent of their credit in Bengal; and Hyder Beg Khan, whom your lordships have heard of so often, has assisted Lord Cornwallis with a loan of twenty-two lacs of rupees. I mention these circumstances to your lordships to prove that the resources of India cannot, in time of war, meet the expenses of India. Your lordships know that I could not, and Lord Cornwallis cannot, do *what every minister of England has done since the Revolution.* I could not borrow to the utmost extent of my wants, *and tax posterity to pay the interest of my loans.* . . . . . Allow me, my lords, to call again to your recollection the many and the unprecedented difficulties with which I had to contend. Every measure of my administration was calculated to relieve the public exigencies; nor can any man in England point out other means than those which I employed, by which the public necessities could have been relieved; yet I have been for four years impeached for the several acts by which I preserved what the Indian minister (Dundas) has called, in the House of Commons, the brightest jewel in the British crown!" He said that for this discourse he had, in effect, undertaken to reduce the mass of seven folio volumes into the compass of a few pages—a tremendous labour. After observing that such an address must necessarily be very deficient, he proceeded to reason upon his own fair reputation for so many years, and upon the truth of the old adage, that no man ever became most wicked all of a sudden. "If," said he, "the tenor of a man's life has been invariably marked with a disposition to guilt, it will be a strong presumption against him, in any alleged instance, that he was guilty. If, on the contrary, the whole tenor of a man's life has been such as to have obtained for him the universal good-will of all with whom he has had any intercourse in the interested concerns of life, the presumption will be as well grounded, that he was innocent of any particular wrong imputed to him, especially if those who are the alleged sufferers by that wrong make no complaint against him. But what shall be said of complaints brought against a man who was in trust for the interests of the greatest commercial body in the world; who employed and directed the services of thousands of his fellow-citizens in great official departments, and in extensive military operations; who connected princes and states by alliances with his parent kingdom, and on whose rule the peace and happiness of many millions of men depended; I say, what shall be said of complaints being brought against such a man in the names and on the behalf of all those descriptions of men, who have all united their suffrages in his favour? Such complaints, with such a presumption against the possibility of

* Ann. Regist.

their truth, may have existed, but the history of mankind cannot produce an instance of their being received on such a foundation, until the late and present House of Commons thought fit to create one in my impeachment." He ran over the events of his public life, which had commenced in early youth, and had lasted thirty-five long years. He happily and properly explained that his education in business had been essentially an Indian one, and had been acquired under and from the Company. "With the year 1750," said he, "I entered the service of the East India Company; and from that service I have derived all my official habits, all the knowledge which I possess, all the principles which were to regulate my conduct in it. If those principles were wrong, or if in the observance of them I have erred, great allowances ought to be made for human infirmity, where I possessed such inadequate means of obtaining any better guidance." He declared that he had always reported to the court of directors, his immediate masters, every measure which he had undertaken in India, minutely explaining its motives and its objects; and for the truth of this assertion he appealed to the directors, and to the innumerable volumes of consultations and letters in their possession, and in his hand-writing. Nor was it to the directors only that he had been thus communicative. He had given the then prime minister of England constant information of all that he was doing or intending to do; and his letters to Lord North might show in a striking manner how careful he was to expose all his actions to the knowledge of ministers, and consequently how little apprehension he could have felt that he was doing anything that could be deemed reprehensible. If he was guilty of error or of crime, how could the court of directors themselves, whom nobody thought of accusing, be innocent? "In all instances," said he, "which might have been deemed of a doubtful nature, my communications to them were virtual references for their sanction, or for their future prohibition. If I received neither, their silence was a confirmation, and had more than the effect of an order, since, with their tacit approbation of them, I had imposed upon myself the prior obligation of my own conception of their propriety. Were I, therefore, for a moment, to suppose that the acts with which I am charged, and which I so communicated (for I communicated all to the court of directors), were intrinsically wrong, yet from such proofs it is evident that I thought them right; and therefore the worst that could be said of them, as they affected me, is, that they were errors of judgment; and even for these, in all instances where they were repeated or the causes of subsequent acts deriving the same quality from them, the error and every blame which could attach to them was theirs who might have corrected them, and did not." With no empty or vain-glorious boast he affirmed that he had himself invented the system and made the machinery which governed India. "Every division of official business," said he, "and every department of government which now exists in Bengal, with only such exceptions as have been occasioned by the changes of authority enacted from home, are of my formation. The establishment formed for the administration of the revenue; the institution of the courts of civil and criminal justice in the province of Bengal and its dependencies; the form of government established for the province of Benares, with all its dependent branches of revenue, commerce, judicature, and military defence; the arrangements created for the subsidy and defence of the province of Oude; every other political connexion and alliance, were created by me, and subsist unchanged, or, if changed, changed only (to use the words of my noble and virtuous successor, applied to the principles of my arrangements in the province of Oude) 'with a view to strengthen their principles, and render them permanent.' . . . . . To sum up all," said he, "I maintained the provinces of my immediate administration in a state of peace, plenty, and security, when every other member of the British empire was involved in external wars or civil tumults. . . . . I raised the collective annual income of the Company's possessions under my administration from three to five millions sterling, not of temporary and forced exaction, but of an easy, continued, and still existing production: the surest evidence of a good government, improving agriculture, and increasing population. To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for desolating the provinces of our dominion in India, I dare to reply, that they are, and their representatives in parliament annually persist in telling them so, the most flourishing of all the states of India. It was I who made them so. The valour of others acquired, I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to, the dominion which you hold there; I preserved it; I sent forth its armies with an effectual but economical hand through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other Indian possessions—to the retrieval of one of them from degradation and dishonour, and of the other from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation, or that of others, not of mine. When you cried out for peace, and your cries were heard by those who were the object of them, I resisted this, and every other species of counteraction, by rising in my demands; and I accomplished a peace, a lasting, and I hope an everlasting one, with one great state. I gave you all; and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment! I am, above all things, desirous that your lordships should come to an immediate decision upon the evidence before you. But if the shortness of time should prevent you from complying with this my earnest desire, and the trial must of necessity, and to my unspeakable sorrow, be prolonged to another session, then, my lords, I trust you will not consider me, by anything I have said, as precluded from adopting

such means of defence as my counsel may judge most advisable for my interest."*

The Lords then retired in their accustomed order to their own House, and there resolved to proceed with the trial on the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament.

The war with Tippoo Sultaun continued to illustrate the extraordinary ability and vigour with which Hastings had conducted the last and incomparably more difficult war, and was the means of calling forth in his favour the testimony of many men who had the best opportunities of forming correct opinions and estimates. Every ship that arrived from Madras or Bengal was full of Hastings's admirers. Every gentleman from India, whether in a civil or a military capacity, whether in the service of the Company or in the king's service, applauded the late governor-general wherever he went; and by these and other means a wonderful change was effected in public opinion. Even the sufferings of the Begums of Oude and of the two old unmanned men were forgotten; and people preferred thinking of the sufferings and the wrongs of one who had rendered such brilliant services to his country, and had got so little by them: for, by this time, the Aladdin-lamp stories of Hastings's treasures were all exploded, it being very generally known, and proved beyond the reach of a doubt, that the late ruler of a vast empire had brought home no great wealth, and that what he had brought was nearly all consumed by the enormous expenses attending this never-ending trial. The public press too rendered Hastings very material service, for the number of his eulogisers now far exceeded that of his vilifiers. Continually, letters, remarks, statements of facts, appeared in the newspapers, written by persons who had been in the East, and who had learned on the spot the high estimation in which he was held by natives of all castes and conditions, as well as by the English settlers or employés in the country. Various journalists and pamphleteers, including the loose but clever Logan, seem to have been regularly retained for the late governor-general by Major Scott, who thus made the money fly very fast among a hungry herd. Burke probably did not much overstate the sum when he declared, as early as 1790, when the campaign, in a manner, had but begun, that 20,000*l.* had been employed in winning over the press. But, besides these writers of "leaders" in newspapers and these hired pamphleteers, there were other men who did the work for love. Chamberlain John Wilkes, who was now in affluence, and who was very capable of doing friendly actions for nothing when he was not in want of money, took up the pen and wrote at least one pamphlet in defence of Hastings, who calls the production "a most elegant as well as sensible composition."† As the history of France and Europe, which must, to a certain extent, be included in our narrative, becomes more and more complicated and crowded, as events most startling, and of the deepest and most lasting interest, are now gathering around us from every side, it may be preferable to anticipate some few years, and conclude at this place the now tedious story of this impeachment, so as not to have to return to the subject in a confused and confusing manner.

On the 14th of February of the following year (1792), which was the seventy-fifth day of actual trial, the court was again assembled in Westminster Hall; and Mr. Law (afterwards Lord Ellenborough), the leading counsel for Hastings, opened the defence in form. His speech occupied three whole days. After Law had finished, Plumer, another counsel for the defendant, began; and this learned gentleman, as if ambitious to surpass his senior, spoke for five mortal days, without ever getting beyond the first article of the impeachment, or the Benares charge. It was not till the 1st of May that the evidence for the defence began to be adduced. The printed evidence presented was about double the bulk of the managers' evidence—a mass of folio print enough to alarm the most laborious lawyer. The managers made as many objections to this evidence as Mr. Law had made to theirs; and days passed in wearisome wrangling and jangling about what was admissible and what otherwise. When this was over Dallas, another of the defendant's counsel, summed up the evidence on the Benares business, and occupied three days in so doing. As soon as he had finished the Lords adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament, and agreed to proceed with the trial next session. Their lordships, however, did not keep to the day they had appointed, for, though parliament reassembled on the 13th of December, 1792, they did not resume the trial till the 15th of February, 1793. On this the ninety-sixth day of the trial Law opened the defence on the Begums of Oude charge in a speech which lasted two days. Then followed evidence, with disputes about its reception; another speech from the long-winded Dallas, which lasted four days; and another from Plumer, which lasted three days. Hastings then read another short address to their lordships, complaining of the slowness of the proceedings, and describing his state of suspense as almost insupportable. He said he was resolved to abridge the matter of his defence on the other articles, and hoped that the managers might conclude their reply to it before another prorogation. He averred again that his eminent services to his country had been rewarded with injustice and ingratitude. For this he was sharply reprehended by Burke, who said it was for the Lords to consider the propriety of such a speech, applied by a culprit at their bar to the Commons of Great Britain. Evidence was then produced on the remaining charges, and a mass of testimonials, commendatory letters, and addresses to Hastings from India were heaped upon the groaning table. The proofs as to the comparatively small amount of property Hastings had ever

* Ann. Regist.
† Letter from Hastings to Mr. Thomson, in Gleig's Life.

possessed were clear and satisfactory, and fully established the fact that few men had ever been more indifferent to money. When this evidence was closed, instead of leaving it to be summed up by his counsel, who, in all probability, would have occupied eight or ten days, Hastings himself addressed the court with brevity and great force. As he had not to go into the dark transactions at Fyzabad—as he had nothing to say about the Begums and the two old men, or even about the transactions at Benares, his task was comparatively easy, and his words may all be taken as solemn truths. He once more protested before God that all his most startling actions had been done solely for the good of his employers and the good of his country, and that he had in no one instance sacrificed his public trust to his private interest. He solemnly asseverated that Mr. Woodman, his attorney, had received all the remittances he had ever made to Europe; and that at no time had his whole property exceeded 100,000*l.** He allowed that he had raised money and obtained supplies in an irregular manner; but, though he was accused of these irregularities as if they had been committed needlessly or for his own personal advantage, they had in fact only been resorted to in cases of extreme state necessity, and for the benefit of the Company and the British nation. In concluding he charged the managers of the impeachment with a foul design to prolong the trial till another year; and he implored their lordships to resist this machination. Fox as well as Burke were indignant at this accusation, and challenged him to the proof that a single moment of unnecessary delay had been created by them. The defence was terminated on the 28th of May, 1793. On the return of the Lords to their own House they agreed to adjourn further proceedings for a fortnight, and no longer. Upon this resolution being communicated to the Commons, Burke complained that, considering the mass of evidence to be digested, the time allowed was not sufficient for the managers to prepare their reply. Burke next proceeded to censure, with great asperity, the appeals which Hastings had made to the House of Lords, and the language he had used respecting the House of Commons. He declared that odium had been thrown upon the House of Commons—that affronts had been heaped upon the managers, the servants of that House—that the managers had been grossly calumniated. He also alluded to an incident which had taken place a few days before in Westminster Hall, while he (Burke) was cross-examining Mr. Auriol, one of Hastings's witnesses. Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York, whose son had held a high employment in India under the late governor-general, with a very unbecoming violence of language and gesture told Burke that he examined the witness as if he were examining, not a gentleman, but a pickpocket; and that the illiberality and the inhumanity of the managers, in the course of this long trial, could not have been exceeded by Marat and Robespierre, had the conduct of the trial been committed to them. To this prelatical outbreak Burke, with great dignity and presence of mind, had replied in the Hall:—"I have not heard one word of what has been spoken, and I shall act as if I had not." But from his place in the House of Commons he displayed his resentment, giving the archbishop good cause to repent the hasty words he had spoken. He moved for a committee of the whole House to investigate with all possible publicity the conduct of the managers, undertaking to prove before it that the managers had neither protracted the trial by unnecessary delay, nor shortened it to the frustration of justice. Pitt preferred a select committee to inquire and report, as being more expeditious than a committee of the whole House; and this proposition was unanimously adopted. On the next day, May the 29th, the Lords, being informed by a message from the Commons that more time was necessary to the managers to prepare their reply, immediately agreed to grant a few days more. On the 30th the report from the select committee was brought up, and a motion was made, and carried by a majority of more than two to one, that a further day should be desired to make the reply in the Hall. As soon as this was carried Burke moved, "That the managers be required to prepare and lay before the House the state of the proceedings in the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.; to relate the circumstances attending it, and to give their opinion and make observations on the same, in explanation of those circumstances." This motion was violently opposed. Burke called loudly upon the justice of the House either to dismiss him from their service as a manager, or to allow him to defend himself from the aspersions which had been thrown upon his character. Dundas thought it would be prudent in Burke to withdraw his motion; though, if he persisted in it, he would certainly give him his vote, as he perfectly agreed with him that the managers had great cause to complain. Pitt spoke to the same effect. Upon a division, however, Burke's motion was negatived by a majority of four votes. On Wednesday the 5th of June (1793) Mr. Grey said in the House that it would be impossible for the managers to be ready by Monday next, the day fixed by their lordships, to reply to a mass of evidence which was not yet all printed; that, considering the late period of the session, it would be impossible to get through the remaining business of the trial without compromising the claims of justice; and that, therefore, he should be ready in his place the next day to move that a message be sent to the Lords to adjourn further proceedings in the trial till the next session of parliament, when the Commons would be ready to proceed, day by day, till final judgment should be given, if their lordships

* It appeared that 238,757*l.* had been remitted through the Company in the name of Mr. Hastings. But Mr. Woodman, his attorney, swore that the greater part of this was remitted for other persons; and that the sum remaining in his hands, as the property of Mr. Hastings, at the time of his return to England from India, was 72,463*l.*

thought fit. Dundas gave Mr. Grey his real or apparent support; but the motion was negatived by 66 to 61. Two days after this, on Friday the 7th of June, Mr. Grey said that he wished the House would accept of his resignation as a manager; that he had to reply to the defence of Mr. Hastings on the first article of the impeachment; that it was impossible for him to be ready on Monday; and that, in his distress, he must apply to the House for advice and instruction. Dundas suggested that the best thing to do was for the House to apply once more to their lordships for a little delay. A motion to this effect was put, and was carried by 82 to 46. On the 10th of June, the great appointed Monday, a petition to the Lords was presented from Hastings, remonstrating strongly against this application for delay. Lord Stanhope, a zealous defendant of the late governor-general, moved to give notice to the Commons that the Lords would grant no more than two days, and would proceed on the trial on Wednesday next. Lord Abingdon severely condemned this proposition, and said it would bring a national censure on their lordships' House to refuse the application of the Commons. "Do you mean," said his lordship, "by a side-wind, or by some other manœuvre, to get rid of this trial?" Lord Grenville then rose and proposed as an amendment, that, instead of Wednesday next, the second Tuesday in the next session of parliament should be fixed for hearing the reply of the managers and continuing the trial; and this, after some debate, was carried by 48 against 21. On the 13th of February, 1794, being the one hundred and eighteenth day, their lordships resumed their seats in Westminster Hall. Hastings's counsel immediately desired that their client might have the advantage of the high evidence of Lord Cornwallis, who had just arrived from India. The managers having assented to this request, not as a right, but as an indulgence, their lordships adjourned the trial for a week to allow Lord Cornwallis time. When the week had expired, Cornwallis was very ill, and therefore their lordships adjourned for five days longer; at the end of which time Hastings's counsel announced that, in consequence of the continued indisposition of Lord Cornwallis, and of their client's desire for dispatch, they would waive the benefit of his lordship's evidence. The managers then brought forward evidence to rebut the defence on the Benares charge. They proposed that Mr. Philip Francis should be admitted as a witness on this point. This gave rise to a hot dispute, which lasted for the greater part of two days. At the end of it their lordships determined that Francis should not be admitted; and when we reflect upon the animus, the malice, the whole character of that man, we cannot feel surprised at their lordships' determination. To destroy the value of a vote of thanks which Hastings had received from the Court of Directors, on his return to England in 1785, the managers offered to produce a paper containing sundry censures, printed by order of the directors in 1783. This was, indeed, preposterous, as the document of 1785 did away with the censures or criticisms hazarded in 1783, when Hastings, yet in India, had had time neither to explain all the motives of his conduct to the Court of Directors, nor to complete the great schemes he had in hand. After his counsel had spoken, Hastings himself rose and observed that the earlier of the two papers was an ill-considered and intemperate act of a Court of Directors who were his political enemies. "It was," he said, "a species of unparalleled cruelty to bring it forward to oppress a man who had already suffered so much, for no other reason, which he could divine, than having at a time of great public danger effectually served his country and saved India. He relied upon their lordships' humanity, honour, and justice, that they would not suffer this minute of the censure to be read, it having passed at a moment of intemperate heat and agitation, and having been utterly extinguished by a subsequent resolution." *Burke rose* as soon as Hastings had finished, and contended that it was proper to read the paper, because it was an answer to a letter which the prisoner had dared to write to the directors, his masters, and to print and publish at Calcutta. Here Hastings rose again, and said with great warmth, "My Lords, I affirm that the assertion which your lordships have just heard from the manager *is false*. I never did print or publish any letter at Calcutta that I wrote to the Court of Directors. I knew my duty better. That assertion is a libel: it is of a piece with everything that I have heard uttered since the commencement of this trial by that *authorised, licensed*—(he paused for some time, and then added, turning to Burke) *manager!*" Burke re-affirmed that Hastings *had* printed and published the letter in Calcutta. Hastings loudly called out to him—"It is not true;" and the counsel said to Burke, "No! No!" The Lords adjourned to consult the judges, and, in conformity with the opinion of the judges, they, on the following day, announced to the managers that the paper could not be given in evidence. On the 1st of March their lordships announced that they were averse to proceed in this important business, which so constantly gave rise to questions in law, without the assistance of the judges; and that, therefore, on account of their absence on the circuit, they must adjourn the court to the 7th of April. On the 6th of March Burke succeeded, in the House of Commons, in getting the managers themselves appointed a committee to inspect the journals of the Lords, and to examine into the mode of procedure adopted on the trial; and, on the 17th of the same month, it was ordered, on Burke's motion, that the managers should lay before the House the circumstances which had retarded the progress of the said trial, &c. When their lordships re-assembled in Westminster Hall, Lord Cornwallis, having recovered from his illness, was examined on behalf of Hastings; and spoke highly of the merits of his administration and management of affairs in times of unprece-

dented difficulties. Cornwallis, indeed, seemed to admit—what no man in his senses ever doubted—that Hastings had at times gone beyond the strict limit of law or right, as every statesman in his circumstances must have done. To the most serious charges, and the least defensible—such as the treatment of the Begums and the two old eunuchs—Cornwallis could not speak, having no direct or personal knowledge of the matter; but in what might bear a reference to the case of the Rajah of Benares, his lordship said that he did not know that the government of Bengal had any right to call upon the tributary princes, in time of war, for any aids or sums of money over and above what they had agreed to pay; and that, for his own part, he had never demanded any such extra aids. But, if Lord Cornwallis had been in the same straits as Warren Hastings, would he not have demanded extra aids, and resorted to extraordinary measures, rather than have witnessed the ruin of the British empire in India? After the examination of his Lordship, some days were passed in examining a Mr. Larkins, who had recently returned from India, and in disputing about the admissibility of some of his evidence. The testimony of this gentleman, whose examination was insisted upon, not by Hastings, but by the managers, went to prove the defendant's extreme disinterestedness in money matters. On the first day of his examination, Hastings again implored the court to expedite the business. He had heard, he said, a report that parliament would soon be prorogued; and therefore he conjured them to come to an end before the session came to an end, for "human patience (meaning no disrespect to the Lords) could not sustain this eternal trial." And on the next day, while the managers and his counsel were wrangling, he repeated his prayer that their lordships would continue to sit and finish the trial in this present session. After numerous disputes and interruptions, during which Burke more than once lost all control over his temper, and said things quite as violent and indiscreet as the outbreak of the Archbishop of York, the evidence was all closed on the 6th of May, the hundred and twenty-ninth day of the trial. Then the managers began to sum up the evidence in reply: Mr. Grey, on the Benares charge; Sheridan, on the Begum charge; Fox, on the charge about presents; and Taylor, on that about contracts, loans, &c. When these gentlemen had occupied seven days with their speeches, Burke commenced on the 28th of May his concluding speech, which occupied the court nine more days. While Burke was in the midst of it, or when he had spoken for three days, Hastings again addressed a petition to the House of Lords for dispatch, and to entreat their lordships "to become suitors to his majesty's goodness on his behalf, that the present session of parliament might be permitted to continue till the reply on the part of the honourable managers for the House of Commons be fully and finally closed." In consequence of this application Burke broke the thread of his long oration to complain both of the House of Lords and of the prisoner; of the latter, for writing an audacious libel under the name of a petition; and of the Lords, for having recorded it in their journals He then resumed his speech, which was concluded on the 16th of June. The business now hurried to its end. On the 20th of June, Pitt moved, in the House of Commons, a vote of thanks to the managers for their faithful management in the discharge of the trust reposed in them. The motion was seconded by the "India minister" Dundas, who, as well as his friend and principal the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared that the managers were entitled to the gratitude of parliament and their country; and that if vexatious delays had occurred, it was no fault of theirs. Mr. Sumner, after expressing his regret at being obliged to vote against the minister, and his enthusiastic admiration of the character and abilities of Hastings, said he should have little objection to the vote of thanks if only Burke were excluded from it. Mr. Wigley and several others agreed with Sumner, and would vote for the motion if Burke were excepted, and the thanks given to all the rest of the managers. Long before this the rupture between Burke and Fox, which we have related in the history of the session of 1791, had severed the Whig party, and Burke was now sitting on the ministerial benches; but Fox was not therefore disposed to indulge in the paltry malice of supporting Sumner's proposition at the expense of his old friend and teacher, who had taken the lead in the impeachment, and without whom, in all probability, no impeachment whatever would have been begun. Fox and his friends disclaimed the invidious distinction which was attempted to be made between them and their distinguished leader; and they called it a miserable affectation to pretend to feel disgust at the strong language which Burke had occasionally used, but which, they said, was only the natural language of a strong indignation at vices and crimes of which all the managers believed the party impeached to have been guilty. There was now in the House of Commons a rough Northumbrian, of the Honourable Company's service, who had passed some years in India—a Mr. Law, brother to Hastings's counsel, the to be Lord Ellenborough. As if to prove that a bad temper and a rough tongue were not peculiar to one member of his family, this Mr. Law delivered a speech against the *coarseness* of Burke, in language more coarse and vulgar than any that had been heard for a long time in that place. With a bungling allusion to Burke's early but exquisite essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, this mannerless Law said, "If any passage in his speech could be called sublime and beautiful, it was, at the best, but sublime and beautiful nonsense; and at other times his expressions were so vulgar and illiberal, that the lowest blackguard in a bear-garden would have been ashamed to utter them." He professed to be astonished that a gentleman like Fox "should

condescend to mix his character with that of the leading manager, whose follies and intemperance he had vainly endeavoured to correct." "And as for his information," added Law, "I am really astonished that a man who has been twenty-two years employed in Indian inquiries should still be so very ignorant of India." Pitt's motion for the vote of thanks to all the managers was nevertheless carried by 50 against 21. The prorogation of parliament took place a few days after, so that no further proceedings could be had until the next session. On the 13th of January, 1795, their lordships returned to the business, and appointed a committee to inspect their journals for precedents of the mode of giving judgment on trials of high crimes and misdemeanors. The report of this committee was referred to a committee of the whole House, whose deliberations thereupon were prolonged from the 2nd to the 31st of March. Thurlow, who had descended from the woolsack to make way for his much-hated rival Loughborough, continued to take the side most favourable to Hastings; while Loughborough, as a matter of course, ranged on the opposite extreme. Thurlow maintained that, from the evidence produced by the managers, no criminal act whatsoever was proved; Loughborough, with an equal show of logic and law, insisted that the managers and their evidence proved nearly all the allegations. Although the Lords, at the beginning of the trial, had insisted that the evidence should be given in a lump, they now determined to judge of the articles one by one, and even to break some of them into several parts, and to decide upon them separately. The mode of procedure they adopted was to decide upon each part or point three several times; first, in a committee of the whole House; next, in the House itself; and the third time, as judges in Westminster Hall. The report of the committee was altogether favourable to Hastings. On the 17th of April the House determined the form of the questions which were to be put to the Lords in Westminster Hall; and on the 23rd of the same month they proceeded to judgment. On this last day of the trial public curiosity, which had so long slept, seemed to be revived, and the ancient Hall was almost as much crowded as on the first day. Nearly the length of one of the seven ages, which the greatest of all poets has allotted to man, had elapsed since that first day of wonder and excitement, and more than usually great had been the changes which had taken place in the long interval. Of one hundred and sixty noble lords that had walked in the procession on the first day, sixty were now in their graves. The close friendship in which the chief managers were then linked was now more dead than death; the ties of party had been snapt asunder; everything seemed changed. The young and light-hearted, who had come to the first day's pageant as to a festival, were now middle-aged and care-worn; and the men that were robust and comely at the commencement of the trial, were now—and none more so than Burke—withered and shrunk. Hastings might well say the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another! Only twenty-nine Peers attended in the Hall to vote. The question on the first article was put by Loughborough, as Lord High Steward for the trial; and it was first put to the youngest of the peers:—"Is Warren Hastings, Esquire, Guilty or Not Guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged by the Commons in the first article of charge?—George Lord Douglas (Earl of Morton in Scotland), how says your Lordship, is Warren Hastings, Esquire, Guilty or Not Guilty of the said charge?" And hereupon Lord Douglas stood up, uncovered, and laying his right hand on his breast, pronounced—"Not Guilty, upon my honour!" The question was then put successively to all the other peers present. Twenty-three said "Not Guilty," and only six said "Guilty."* On the other charges the majority in Hastings's favour was still greater; and on several of them he was unanimously acquitted. When all the charges had been put and severally answered by that thin attendance of peers, Hastings was called to the bar, and, in the not very friendly voice of Loughborough, informed that he was acquitted by the Lords, and solemnly discharged. Hastings bowed gracefully and retired; and the curtain fell on this long drama.†

He was acquitted: but, if his honour and character were cleared, his purse, in a worse sense, was cleared also; and for some time there seemed a chance of his concluding his eventful career on the debtors' side of some English prison. Besides the enormous expenses of the trial, the sums paid to Law, Plumer, Dallas, and his other lawyers, to the newspaper men and the pamphleteers, he had laid out about 40,000*l.* in building, planting, and improving; for, just as the trial began, he succeeded in purchasing Daylesford, the seat of his ancestors, which had been alienated more than seventy years. As the old manor-house was in ruins, he had knocked it down and had built a new one; he had dug a lake, constructed a grotto, and laid out the grounds with great taste. Probably some of the money which his wife had saved had been expended for these purposes, for it was all gone, and her husband was in debt.‡ Pitt had spoken in the House of Commons about indemnification, *if* the charges should not be made good; but there was slight hope that the chancellor of the exchequer, hampered for ways and means to pro-

* Those who said Not Guilty were—Lord Douglas, Lord Fife, Lord Somers, Lord Rawdon (Earl of Moira), Lord Walsingham, Lord Thurlow, Lord Hawke, Lord Boston, Lord Sandys, Lord Middleton, the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Horsley), the Bishop of Bangor (Dr. Warren), Viscounts Sidney and Falmouth, the Earls of Dorchester, Beverley, Warwick and Coventry, Marquess Townsend, the Dukes of Bridgewater and Leeds, the Earl of Mansfield, and the Archbishop of York. Those who said Guilty were—the Earls of Carnarvon, Radnor, Fitzwilliam, and Suffolk, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Chancellor Loughborough.

† Hist. of the Trial.—Ann. Regist.—Mill, Hist. Brit Ind.

‡ The original purchase-money for Daylesford was no great sum. "From an entry in his diary, dated the 26th of August, 1788, I find that he that day completed the purchase, and that the first cost, including an annuity of 100*l.* a-year to Mr. Knight and his wife, amounted barely to 11,400*l.*"—*Gleig, Life.*

secute the terrible war raging with France, would ever attempt to carry a grant of public money for this object. The great house in Leadenhall-street afforded a better prospect than St. Stephen's Chapel; and it seemed natural to expect that the court of directors would make up his losses, and afford him the means of living in comfort for the rest of his days. In effect, at the desire of nine proprietors, a general court of the East India Company was held on the 29th of May (1795), at which two resolutions were passed, recommending that indemnification should be made by the Company to Mr. Hastings for the legal expenses he had incurred; and that, in consideration of his important services, a pension of 5000*l.* a-year should be granted to him and his representatives during the term of the Company's exclusive trade. Both these questions were determined by ballot in the affirmative, within five days of their being first proposed. Hastings thought that all his expenses in the prosecution should be paid, not by the Company, but by the nation, who, through the House of Commons, had undertaken the impeachment. It is said that he had even refused to apply to the Company in this matter, and that his friends had made the application in spite of him. "I feel," said he, in a letter to one of these friends, "equally with you, that I shall suffer great injustice, if, after having been acquitted on every charge, I be left to pay my own costs during the trial; but my claim lies not against the Company, but against the British nation. I have been subjected to a long, and, as the issue has proved, an unmerited prosecution, at the instance of the people of England, or at least of their representatives. It is for the country at large, not for any corporate body of its inhabitants, to replace me on the ground which I occupied ere the prosecution began; and if parliament refuse this act of justice, I must submit. I can have no claim whatever upon the court of directors."* But Pitt and his government were not only disinclined to make any grant of public money, but were also determined to throw obstructions in the way of the generosity or common justice of the Company. By Pitt's India Bill the power of the Company to recompense their servants and dependents had been very considerably restrained. The court of proprietors and the court of directors united could no longer vote away sums of money out of the territorial revenue, without the sanction of the board of control, which meant of course the sanction of the ministry of the day. In the present instance the board of control showed no alacrity or good will. They returned no answer whatever to the application made by the directors till the beginning of the following year (1796). In the meantime they had consulted the attorney and solicitor general as to the strict legal interpretation of the restricting clauses in the bill; and, when they sent in their tardy answer to Leadenhall-street, it was about equally unfavourable to the granting of money for paying the law expenses as to the granting the pension or annuity. This left Hastings in a cruel dilemma, oppressed with debt, with a ministry who would neither give nor let give, with a prison staring him in the face. The majority both of the court of proprietors and of the court of directors felt for his trying situation, and were sincerely earnest in their endeavours to relieve him. At nearly every meeting they took the subject of his losses and embarrassments into consideration; they made fresh applications to the board of control; they entered into a long controversy with the government; and some of them privately lent Hastings money to enable him to quiet a few of his most troublesome creditors. At one time, it is said, the late governor-general of India, who had managed so many millions of money, and disposed of principalities and powers, was left in so sad a state of impecuniosity, as not to have wherewith to pay his weekly bills. Luckily Hastings had none of the morbid irritability of Lord Clive—luckily his liver was not a diseased, but a sound one, and he had no chronic spasms or malady of any kind—or he might have made his exit from this world as his predecessor had done! At length, however, after frequent representations and remonstrances from the proprietors and directors, a sort of compromise, sufficiently mean and absurd, was entered into by the board of control and the directors. On the 7th of March (1796) it was announced at a general court at Leadenhall-street, that the board of control and the court of directors had agreed to grant to Hastings an annuity of 4000*l.* for twenty-eight years and a half, to date from June the 24th, 1785. Nothing was determined respecting the reimbursement of his law expenses; but, in order to relieve him from his embarrassments, a sum of 50,000*l.* was lent to him by the Company, for eighteen years, and without interest.

We have left to biographers the task of representing this extraordinary and indisputably great man as a perfect being without spot or blemish; and have endeavoured to show the evil as well as the good that was in him, charitably intimating that the far greater part of the evil arose out of his Indian education, the loose and at times infamous policy of his employers, the tremendous difficulties of his situation, and the vehement passion which we fancy every Englishman must have felt in contending, in a season of disgrace and disaster, with the French for the real dominion of Hindustan. Among the evil qualities more indigenous to his nature, and less susceptible of excuse or palliation, was a silent, quiet, but most lasting vindictiveness. Burke, indeed, he seems to have forgiven, in part: but he never forgave Dundas or Pitt, from whom he had at first expected not enmity, but favour and support; and he was ready to indulge his animosity against Pitt even at the expense of political principle, and at the risk of seriously injuring his country.* He, however, had

* Letter in Gleig's Life.

* "Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics, and that interference was not much to his honour. In 1804

little opportunity of gratifying this dangerous revenge, for he had no wealth to make him considerable as an owner of seats and a controller of votes in parliament, and no ability as a public speaker. He was too old to acquire the latter habit, being considerably past sixty before he was acquitted and set at some ease in his circumstances. He continued, indeed, to exercise some trifling influence and patronage in the East India House, where he was often anxiously consulted; but he never got into the House of Commons. The last twenty-four years of his life—for so long did he survive his acquittal—were spent chiefly at Daylesford, of which he made a beautiful place. Though excluded from power and dignity, though deprived of the coronet and the red riband with which his hopes had flattered him when he quitted India, he had, most happily, tastes, habits, and pursuits which made retirement not only an endurable, but a joyous thing. He delighted in equestrian exercise, and in riding through a pleasant country on beautiful high-bred Arab horses: he was a farmer, a landscape-gardener, a rearer of cattle, and an enthusiastic horticulturist and lover of flowers. He was, moreover, a busy writer both in prose and verse, addicting himself as he grew older more exclusively to rhyming; but, notwithstanding the plaudits of his biographer, it may be doubted whether Hastings's poetry ever ranged above that pleasant gentlemanly order called "occasional verses," or *vers de société*, in which he himself evidently intended it to rank.* He bred horses, reared sheep, fatted bullocks, and made various experiments in the introduction of new plants and animals. He tried to naturalise in England that delicious fruit of Bengal, the leechee; he imported seeds and slips of a very fine kind of apple-tree which grew in the governor's villa of Allipore, near Calcutta; he attempted to naturalise the goat of the table-land of Thibet, whose down supplies the materials for the finest shawls of Cashmere, as also the breed of cattle of Bootan, whose peculiar tails are considered a great beauty, and are in high esteem in the East as the best fans for driving away the musquitos. At the same time he suggested to his friends in India various improved methods for growing grasses, feeding elephants, &c. &c. His letters at this time are chiefly the letters of a gentleman farmer, abounding in little traits of character which make one love the man. Notwithstanding his advancing years and his pleasant occupations, he had, however, occasional visitations of ambition. On the death of Pitt and the breaking up of the Tory cabinet in 1806, he put himself forward as a Whig, and wrote to Colonel MacMahon, the private secretary of the Prince of Wales, to request an audience of the prince, who had on various occasions treated him with much kindness. The audience was immediately granted, and Hastings was received at Carlton House with every mark of respect. To the prince's question, "What were the specific objects he looked to?" he replied, not without some symptoms of senility, that his first object had once been public employment—employment either in the board of control or the government of India; but that now he had relinquished all such thoughts, which, perhaps, he ought never to have entertained; that his next view was to obtain some reparation from the House of Commons for the injuries which he had sustained from their impeachment, particularly as, though acquitted, he yet stood branded on their records as a traitor to his country and false to his trust; that the third point on which he had wished to speak regarded the expectations which his royal highness had himself excited in the breast of that person whose wishes he had ever preferred to his own. [This, of course, alluded to his German-born wife, his "elegant Marian," who was very desirous of becoming an English peeress.] "Though the best, the most amiable of women," said Hastings (who informs us that the prince responded '*She is so*'), "she is still a woman, and would prefer her participation in a title to any benefit that could be bestowed upon me." His royal highness thought that there would be no harm in his trying for the peerage; said he must employ Lord Grenville and Lord Moira to bring it about, and bade him go immediately to Moira, and tell his lordship that he (the prince) desired it. The coronet, however, was found not to be attainable; and he was fain, as he expressed it, "to be content to go down to the grave with the plain name of Warren Hastings."* It appears he never again attempted to obtain either title or office, and that this disappointment did not long disturb his happy disposition; and, though he never obtained any reparation from the House of Commons, he lived to see himself received in that assembly with extraordinary marks of reverence or respect. In 1813, when the East India Company's charter was to be renewed, much discussion took place in parliament, and it was determined to examine at the bar, among other witnesses, this remarkable old man. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and, when he retired, rose and uncovered—all but one or two who had been managers of the trial,† and a

he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr. Addington, against whom Fox and Pitt had combined, from resigning the treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man so able and energetic as Hastings can have thought that, when Buonaparte was at Boulogne, with a great army, the defence of our island could safely be intrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the important question which had raised Mr. Addington to power, and on which he differed from both Fox and Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Mr. Addington. Religious intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr. Addington had treated him with marked favour. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations, rather than by a regard to the public interest."—*Art. in Edin. Rev., on Gleig's Life of Warren Hastings.*

* Mr. Gleig more than half threatens the public with a whole volume of the poetical effusions which the ex-governor-general used to read to his guests at the breakfast-table at Daylesford; but we hope, for Hastings's sake, that the reverend biographer will never put this threat into execution.

* Hastings's own Diary, as cited by Gleig.

† These managers sat in the very same seats which they had occupied in 1795, when they had received the vote of thanks, moved by

very few of their friends, who believed, with them, that the impeachment had not been unnecessary, and that Hastings's character had not been purified by the ordeal. "This examination of Hastings," says one present, who had himself recently returned from India, "was a very striking exhibition. The appearance of a man of fine countenance, and in possession of spirit and strength, as well as understanding, at the distance of thirty years after he had retired from the supreme government, respectfully listened to as a witness, at the same bar where he had been arraigned as a culprit, created a strong interest."* In the House of Lords, where he was examined shortly after, he was received with equal respect. He was now eighty-one years old, "too late a week," one might have thought, for academical honours; yet the University of Oxford chose this season for conferring on him the honorary degree of doctor of laws; and, when the octogenarian went into the Sheldonian theatre, the junior members of the university rose to a man and greeted him with tumultuous cheering. The oration in Latin was delivered by Dr. Phillimore; and Mr. Elijah Barwell Impey, one of the sons of his friend and fellow-sufferer, Sir Elijah Impey, wrote a poem in English on the occasion, describing, in spirited verse, the great man's career, and coupling him with Nelson, who had fallen at Trafalgar, and with Wellington, who had triumphed over the French in the Peninsula, as a great benefactor of his country. In 1814 Hastings unexpectedly received an official intimation that the prince regent had added his name to the list of privy councillors; and that his presence was desired at the next meeting of the council, in order to his being sworn in. He hastened from Daylesford to accept the honour; and he was admitted to a long audience by the regent. In the summer of the same year when the allied sovereigns came over to England and visited Oxford, Hastings was especially invited by the university to meet them there; and his entrance into the Sheldonian theatre was again hailed with the noisest acclamations of the undergraduates. He followed the sovereigns to London, and was present as a guest at the magnificent entertainment which the city gave to them in Guildhall on the 18th of June. On this occasion the prince regent himself presented him to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, as one of the greatest men of this country; and declared publicly that higher honours than a seat in the privy council were in store for him—that he should yet be honoured as he deserved. But nothing came of these fine promises; and, in the midst of all these flattering distinctions, he was again allowed to be distressed by pecuniary cares: for his resources, after his law expenses and his other debts had been discharged, were not very considerable, and his farming, planting, and experimentalising, the hospitality he constantly kept up at Daylesford, and his sundry other tastes and habits, were rather costly. He had been compelled by fresh debts to apply to the court of directors once or twice before for assistance, which had not been refused; and now, in the eighty-second year of his age, he appeared again before the directors as a suitor, for he had outlived the period for which his annuity had been fixed, and there was nothing except that provision between him and pauperism. After some delay the court of directors agreed to continue the annuity for the term of his natural life. Hastings, of himself, or through his friends, had ventured to ask that the annuity should be raised to 5000*l.*, and that the name of Mrs. Hastings should be included in the grant; but the court declined acceding to either of these propositions, and at this Hastings was much hurt, for, though he had no children to provide for, he was anxious for his much-loved wife, who was likely to survive him, and who did survive him a good number of years. It appears, however, that the elastic-minded old man did not long permit these things to depress him. In 1816, when in the eighty-fourth year of his age, he rebuilt the old parish church of Daylesford, which stood upon his own land, urging on the work with characteristic eagerness, and pleasantly boasting, when it was finished, that he had done it all in just four months. At last, on the 22nd of August, 1818, he died, and was interred behind the chancel of that church, among the bones and dust of his ancestors. His clear intellect was unclouded to the last, his illness was very short, and he met death with the utmost composure. Among his numerous merits, and the great deeds that will preserve his name in the history of his country, must be mentioned the noble encouragement he gave while in power to liberal studies and curious researches. He patronised most liberally travels in the various countries of the East, experiments, institutions for promoting education, publications, and all useful or elegant projects. As well by his example as by his munificence he gave an impulse to learning in the indolent atmosphere of Bengal. He acquired himself a deep knowledge of Persian and Arabic literature; and, though he did not learn that mysterious and jealously guarded language himself, he was the first that succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Pundits, or hereditary priests of India, whereby he obtained for other English scholars and students the key to Sanscrit, and to the secrets of the ancient Brahminical theology and jurisprudence. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its career; and it was during his administration that Englishmen really began to acquire that knowledge of India, and the character, habits, and institutions of the people, without which our anomalous empire could not have been maintained for any length of time.

Pitt, for the services they had rendered in Westminster Hall; for, by the courtesy and usage of the House, a member who has been once thanked in his place, is considered as having a right to that place ever afterwards.

* Letter of Sir James Mackintosh, dated April the 3rd, 1813, in Life by his Son.

The fate of Hastings's friend Sir Elijah Impey was rather different. Through his triumphant refutation of the Nuncomar charge, his prosecution or persecution was of but very short duration, and he continued to retain, and in an increased degree, the friendship and regard of his earlier acquaintance, and of some of the most eminent and best men of the day. So well did he stand with Pitt's government, that he was solicited by the chancellor to return to Bengal with a seat in council; and in hopes that he would return to India, his valuable and important place was kept vacant for a whole year. But, disgusted at the treatment he had received, and anxiously engaged in the care of a young and numerous family, to whose education he applied himself with unremitting assiduity, he declined the offer with proper thanks to the government. At the general election in 1790, Sir Elijah, by means of a committee, canvassed Stafford, and thought of contesting that borough with Sheridan, who, next to Burke, had been the bitterest of his assailants. All the electioneering tricks were resorted to by the Sheridan party, who, regardless of the decision of the House of Commons, placarded the late chief justice of Bengal as the infamous murderer of Nuncomar, and carried in their processions pictures of a man hanging on a gallows, with other ingenious devices to exasperate the popular mind against the new candidate. Some short time after, however, Sir Elijah took his seat in the House of Commons as representative of the borough of New Romney. About the year 1797 he retired into private life. In the mean time the fortune which he had made in India, and which was never more than a moderate one, had been greatly reduced through a too credulous belief in the stability of the financial system of M. Necker. The costs incidental to his defence in the House of Commons—for which he was never remunerated—had not been inconsiderable; he was apprehensive of increased expense from an impending impeachment, which would have ruined him; and, naturally anxious about a provision for his wife and children, he yielded, like many others at that time who had less reason, to the temptation of high interest, and invested a great part of his capital in the French funds. There it could not have been touched by managers of impeachments and lawyers in Westminster Hall; but the fast-coming Revolution swept it all away, passing its remorseless sponge at once over capital and interest. This investment being lost at the commencement of the troubles in France, and not recovered till after his death, at the peace of Paris, and then only in part, Sir Elijah parted with his house in London, and lived entirely at a country-house, Newick Park, in Sussex, which he rented of Lord Vernon. There was not a man living in that distinguished neighbourhood, where good men were not and are not scarce, more generally esteemed for kindness of heart and for all the social virtues; and many who are still living can bear ample testimony to the fact.* For the sake of his children who are yet living, and whose very reverence and fond attachment to his memory prove that he was no common man, we venture upon these details, which more properly belong to biography than to history; and we do it the more readily and earnestly because their hearts have been made to bleed by the severity of a recent attack on their father's memory. Sir Elijah died on the 1st of February, 1812, aged seventy-seven, and was buried at Hammersmith, the place of his birth, where a plain tablet marks the spot where he lies.† Until death removed that high-minded man and honourable statesman, Lord Shelburne, the first Marquess of Lansdowne (in 1805), Impey retained his friendship and frequent correspondence, which assuredly would never have been the case if the least doubt had existed in his lordship's mind as to any part of his judicial conduct in India. The friendship with Hastings, with the most familiar intercourse, continued undisturbed till Impey's own decease, and was then continued by Hastings to his widow and children. In disproof of a very mischievous report that there existed a difference between him and his official brother, Sir Robert Chambers, their intimacy continued when Chambers returned to England, and, when that friend and familiar associate of Dr. Johnson died at Paris in the year 1803, Sir Elijah paid the last offices of friendship by attending his funeral. When Sir Gilbert Elliot, now Lord Minto, went to India as governor-general in 1807, he patronised to his utmost and showed every possible kindness to a son of Sir Elijah Impey, who was in the country, in the Company's service. Sir Gilbert, it will be remembered, had moved the impeachment, and had made the terrible speech in the House of Commons, charging Impey with the legal murder of Nuncomar, although his (Sir Gilbert's) own brother had been the bosom friend of Sir Elijah, an inmate in his house at Calcutta, an interpreter on the trial of Nuncomar, and one to whom no secret of Impey's heart was unrevealed. This Alexander Elliot had even printed in England, before his elder brother took up the business of the impeachment, a full account of Nuncomar's trial.‡ His death, which happened before Sir Gilbert made his motion in the House of Commons, and before the accused judge returned to England, was wept by Impey and his

* *Private information*, authenticated by letters, &c.

† An anecdote is related in his family, which shows the gentleness of the old man's disposition. When he was dying it was necessary to remove him from a couch to his bed: during this operation he leaned unintentionally with his whole weight on a female domestic, who shrunk with some little exclamation of pain: his last intelligible words were, "God forgive me for hurting you, my dear." He vividly retained his classical recollections in old age, in pain, and almost in death. As they were applying leeches, he recited Horace's line—

Non missura cutim nisi plena cruoris hirudo.

At Cambridge Impey had obtained very high academical honours, on commencing batchelor of arts as fellow of Trinity College. In the Cambridge Calendar, under the head of Triposes, A.D. 1756, the second name on the column is * Impey (B), Col. Trinit. The marks designate that he was fellow of a college, and had obtained the junior chancellor's medal, instituted in 1752, and for which none are qualified to contend who have not previously won a mathematical prize. In other words, Impey was junior wrangler and medalist.

‡ See ante, p. 268.

family, as though he had been a son or brother; and his premature loss appears to have been deplored by all who knew him. In attacking Sir Elijah Impey, Sir Gilbert Elliot had in a manner assailed the character and memory of his own brother; and now, perhaps, as Lord Minto, he was anxious to make some amends to both by his friendship and patronage to Impey's son.

We have already, under the date of the year 1788, gone so fully into the charges against Impey, that we can scarcely venture to try the reader's patience with more of that matter. Yet, from the not ungenerous and perfectly disinterested motives which we have just expressed, and because some little new light has broken in upon us, we will hazard a very few more lines before we quit for good the story of Sir Elijah, whose reputation we trust we have already left in a much better state than we found it; and, as this effect has been produced in the strictest spirit of justice and impartiality, our satisfaction is unalloyed.

A very eminent living lawyer, on attentively studying the printed trial of Nuncomar, has declared that, throughout, Impey evinced a strong tendency to mercy; that the most prominent feature in the whole of those proceedings is a decided leaning to mercy on the part of the presiding judge. But upon this particular charge, to which Sir Elijah's own defence before the Commons was a complete and triumphant answer—so triumphant, that upon hearing it they let drop all the other charges—no farther comments are necessary. With respect to the charge founded on his acceptance of the office in the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, against which we ventured to doubt whether, if it had been pressed, he could have made so successful a defence, we have collected a few particulars which tend materially to remove that doubt from our own minds. In the first place, some hitherto unpublished letters, written by Sir Elijah Impey from Calcutta to his brother, Michael Impey, Esq., of Hammersmith, give rather a new view of the manner in which that second well-paid judgeship was offered and accepted, and make it appear that the good agreement which had been restored between Hastings and his schoolfellow Impey was more owing to the retiring of the turbulent, mischief-making Francis, than to any other circumstance. On the 12th of March, 1780, four months before Hastings wounded Francis in the duel,* Impey wrote to his brother:—"The governor-general and council, without any provocation whatever, have committed open hostility against the court. . . . . The contention in which I am now unhappily involved—the particulars of which you may learn from Dunning or from Sir Richard Sutton, for I have not time to give you the details—makes my remaining here extremely disagreeable; but my public duty requires it, and I must content myself with the consciousness of my having ever acted upon the soundest principles of honour and integrity." On the 12th of November following, Impey wrote to the same relative:—"Since my last, Mr. Francis has declared his resolution of vacating his seat in council. He proceeds to Europe on board the 'Fox,' Captain Blackburn, who will sail either the latter end of this or the beginning of next month. This, I apprehend, will create an opening for the new arrangements of Mr. Hastings's government; the first symptom of which is, that, notwithstanding the disagreeable contests, during which I have made it my duty to support the independence of the court against the aggression of government, the governor and council have solicited me to accept the superintendency of the native courts of justice, and to preside in the tribunal of dernier appeal called the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut. Such a trust, reposed in me under circumstances which bear the strongest testimony of my having acted, though in a manner adverse to them, yet under a sense of public duty, cannot but be flattering to me. This new office must be attended with much additional labour; yet, in the hope that I may be able to convert these courts, which, from ignorance and corruption, have hitherto been a curse, into a blessing, I have resolved to accept it. No pecuniary satisfaction has, as yet, been offered or even mentioned; but I do not imagine it is intended that my services are to go unrecompensed. You will communicate this to Sulivan, and procure his support at the India House, if this should be a matter of discussion there."* This certainly does not look like selling his conscience for an additional salary, the construction which has been generally put upon the transaction; nor does it look as if it had ever entered into the mind of the chief justice, who must be supposed to have been well acquainted with the scope of the charter under which he acted, that there was the slightest illegality in his accepting the presidency of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, which court was properly subordinate to his own. In this opinion he was borne out by some of the first lawyers of the time; and even those who were adverse to his accepting the place grounded their objection on no dictum of law, but merely considered that accepting place and salary from the Company might make the chief justice dependent on the Company and its chief servants in India. We confess we consider this objection perfectly *well* grounded; and if a reform of the native court of appeal was loudly called for, and if the placing Sir Elijah Impey at the head of it was the means of making the bad better, that arrangement was certainly not calculated to make it best, or to put the subordinate court and the Supreme Court, also presided over by Impey, upon the proper footing on which they ought to stand. One man might accept the place

* This duel was fought on the 14th of July, 1780.—See ante, p. 145.

* MS. Letters of Sir Elijah Impey. The Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, though a native court, had not been presided over by natives, but by Europeans—by men who had received no legal education, who were unlearned in the laws of the country and in every other kind of law, who were liable to every error, and, apparently, open to every corruption,

and the pay of the Company, and yet preserve his integrity as a judge of the Supreme Court, where he was paid by the British government, and submit to no undue influence whatever; while another man of weaker character and lower principles might pursue a very different course. In all such serious arrangements as little as possible ought to be left to depend on the personal character of individuals. In favour of Sir Elijah it is asserted, and we believe proved by very satisfactory evidence, that, while the Supreme Court was kept as pure and high as it had ever been, the native courts, which had before been under the control of the governor or council, became as independent as the Supreme Court, and administered justice among the natives in a better manner than had ever been done before.* Besides, it is asked, if a judge so situated must needs become corrupt—if nothing but a regard for the impartial administration of justice in India, and the judge's independence of the Company, were, as they were assumed to be, the sole motives for recalling Impey—why did not those who were, or pretended to be influenced by that opinion recall also Sir Robert Chambers, who was made Company's judge at Chinchura, and afterwards accepted the superintendence of the police with a large salary from the Company? or, why did they allow Impey's other colleague, Mr. Justice Hyde, to remain and officiate as magistrate over the inferior native courts with another large salary from the Company? Yet Chambers and Hyde were not only allowed to remain for many years, but, after the faint attempt to obtain a vote of censure upon Chambers in the House of Commons,† as far as we have discovered, their conduct or their motives were never publicly called in question. Was a difference in the amounts received by these different judges considered decisive of their conduct? Was it believed that Chambers and Hyde could accept 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* a-year from the Company without losing their independence, and that Impey could not accept of 7800*l.* a-year without selling himself and the laws he had to administer to the governor and council? The specific cause assigned by ministers for recalling Sir Elijah, in 1782, was his having accepted the place and salary from the Company; and in Lord Shelburne's letter to him no other ground of complaint was mentioned, nor any other topic alluded to: yet Sir Gilbert Elliot and the rest of the impeachers, as if acknowledging that nothing could come of a prosecution upon this ground, set foremost the case of Nuncomar, which had happened so long before, and which had never been thought of in his recall. It is surmised that Sir Elijah had the sanction of the government of the day to his acceptance of the new place and salary; and it is quite certain that that acceptance was sanctioned by the directors in Leadenhall-street, after they had put the question of law to some of the most eminent lawyers of the day—to Dunning, then chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Wallace, the attorney-general, and J. Mansfield, the solicitor-general.* It appears, therefore, that it was unfair in any ministry to make this matter the ground of a recall, and that Impey's enemies must have felt it impossible to make it the ground of a parliamentary prosecution. From a private note from Hastings to Impey, we learn that in the summer of 1782, two or three months after the resignation of Lord North, a recommendation of the House of Commons to the directors, which was by them referred to the proprietors, to recall the governor-general (Hastings himself) from Bengal, had been positively rejected by the proprietors; that no recall of Sir Elijah Impey had taken place; and that it was firmly believed that neither he nor Sir Robert Chambers would be recalled.†

The other undefended charges—undefended because they were let drop by those who had raised them—are of much less consequence to the character or fame of Sir Elijah Impey. In the Benares and Lucknow business it is urged for him that the taking of the depositions, though extra-judicial, was justifiable in equity and in principle. We have already corrected one serious mis-statement, that he was ignorant of the languages in which the depositions were made; and we find an additional evidence of what we have asserted in one of the examinations of Mr. Bogle before one of the Committees of the House of Commons.‡ From Sir Elijah's private letters we are persuaded that he must have felt convinced that Cheyte Sing, at least, had preconcerted an attack upon Hastings and the dominions of the Company. With regard to the Patna and the Cossijurah charges, as they were called, they related solely to the consequences which had arisen out of the conflict of the two authorities, or that of the Governor and Council and that of the Supreme Court, and can hardly, by any construction, be made to affect the character of the chief justice.§

Yet Burke persisted to the last hour of his life in believing and asserting his belief, in all places and on all occasions, that Warren Hastings, at least, was guilty of all the crimes that had been

* Impey's appointment to the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, it will be remembered, had nothing to do with the trial and execution of Nuncomar. The trial took place in the month of July, 1775, and the appointment was not made or thought of until the end of 1780.

† See ante, p. 178.

* For the opinion of these three eminent lawyers, which was given on the 19th of December, 1781, see ante, p. 177. Mansfield, as we have stated in that place; had afterwards expressed a doubt whether the acceptance of the salary, to be held at the pleasure of the Company, was not forbidden by the spirit of the act; but he did no more than *doubt*, and in so doing expressed his great respect for the opinions of those gentlemen (Dunning and Wallace), with whom he had lately *concurred*, and whose *judgment*, he said, *ought* to have *much more weight* and authority *than his own*. It is also to be remarked that Mansfield's revised opinion did not in the least affect the *legality* of the acceptance, but merely went to the question of political expedience.

† MS. note of Hastings.

‡ Mr. Bogle, as respectable and as trustworthy a witness as any one of the hundreds that were examined in the whole course of these proceedings, affirmed that Sir Elijah spoke both Bengalee and Persian with considerable fluency.

§ Sir Elijah's own account of the Patna cause &c., will be found in the Commons' Journals, vol. v., pp. 187, 367, and 369. in Letters addressed to the Earl of Rochford and to Lord Weymouth. Mr. Mill's comments on the subject are rather a criticism on the expensiveness of English law than on the conduct of Sir Elijah Impey.

charged against him; and that the impeachment, which had cost him such an immensity of toil, was a necessary and a holy work. In 1796, when the trial had been disposed of, he said:—"Were I to call for a reward, which I have never done, it should be for those services in which, for fourteen years without intermission, I showed the most industry and had the least success—I mean in the affairs of India. They are those on which I value myself the most—most for the importance, most for the labour, most for the judgment, most for the constancy and perseverance in the pursuit. Others may value them most for the *intention*. In that, surely, they are not mistaken."* When Burke wrote these words he had achieved what others considered the greatest work of his whole life, literary and political; he had published his Reflections, he had exposed and held up to detestation the French revolution, and he had broken for ever with his party and his friends rather than suffer them to harangue and write the people of England into a reverence and imitation of that revolution. The very men who had thought him insane in taking up the dark suggestions of Philip Francis, and in declaiming against Hastings and Impey as he had done, and in driving on an impeachment through so many years when all the world had grown weary of it, except the lawyers who pocketed the fees, now looked upon him as inspired by the spirit of prophecy and unearthly wisdom, and considered the services he had most recently rendered to government, morals, and social order as the greatest of all possible benefits. But not so Burke: he continued to believe that his great work was the having exposed the dark deeds which had been committed in India, and in his having rendered difficult the recurrence of any such deeds. In 1796, when his heart was chastened with sorrows, when his only son had sunk into the grave, and when he himself was rapidly approaching the house appointed for all that live, he remonstrated with a friend who had ventured to speak of Hastings with respect and kindness. "I am surprised," said he, "at your speaking of such a man as Hastings with any degree of respect; at present I say nothing of those who chose to take his guilt upon themselves. I do not say I am not deeply concerned; God forbid that I should speak any other language. Others may be content to prevaricate in judgment; it is not my taste: but they who attack me for my fourteen years' labours on that subject, ought not to forget that I always acted under public authority, and not of my own fancy; and that, in condemning me, they asperse the whole House of Commons for conduct continued for the greater part of three parliaments." Even when quite broken-hearted and dying, and anxious to forgive and to be forgiven of all men, he thought of Warren Hastings in this hard manner. It was, as we have said, in Burke's nature to be rather over-vehement and excessive on every great subject he took to heart, and of these the impeachment was certainly one of the greatest. Yet, if his over-heat and natural enthusiasm proved too injurious and uncharitable to the object of the impeachment, it would be unwise and unfair to say that the impeachment itself, with all the investigations which preceded it, or to which it gave rise, was not calculated to produce eventually a great and lasting good. And without that enthusiasm, which of itself inevitably leads to exaggeration and excess, perhaps no mortal man would have undergone such an extremity of labour; and perhaps, without that ardour and passion, which a later age may turn into ridicule, other men would not have been sufficiently excited to go along with him in the laborious scrutiny of such remote matters, or have been awakened to an interest in the fate of the natives of India, the wrongs or sufferings of people dwelling at the distance of fifteen thousand miles from our shores. The long-continued impeachment, which was heard of in almost every part and corner of the world, had the effect of telling the natives of India that there was a tribunal before which the greatest of the servants of the great Company might be brought to account and made to quail; it had the effect of telling those servants of the Company, and the government judges and other chiefs appointed by the crown, that they must take heed to their ways, and renounce the high-handed proceedings and the summary acts which may be necessary in a first conquest and settlement, but which are inexcusable afterwards; and it contributed, together with the gradual and universal improvement in civilization, political philosophy, and moderation, to better the government of our Indian possessions and the condition of the teeming native population. Until public virtue and political science were improved at home, there could be no hope of any improvement in the management of such remote possessions: in proportion as men became honester and wiser, more moderate and tolerant at home, they became, perhaps with some pardonable difference in the degree, honester and wiser and better rulers abroad. Without this gradual improvement, the effect of Burke's labours of fourteen years might have been very inconsiderable; but linked with it, and going hand-in-hand with it, we believe them to have been of a potent efficacy, and to have afforded good reason to many millions of men to bless the name and the memory of the great manager. The regular publication in the newspapers of the debates in parliament (a benefit which had been fully secured not many years before the impeachment began), the reports of the grand speeches delivered in Westminster Hall, the crowd of books, the shoals of pamphlets, published year after year, had also the effect of familiarising the popular mind with the vast subject of India, and of leading the people to reflect upon occurrences and things and places they had never thought of before, and whose names were all unknown to them. Up to this time, even among the educated classes of Englishmen, few, very few, except the Company's servants and some

* Letter to a Noble Lord on his Pension.

naval and military officers, knew much about Hindustan; and Fox had good reason to exclaim—"The affairs of India had long been hid in a darkness as hostile to inquiry as it was friendly to guilt, but by the exertions of ONE MAN these clouds have been dissipated!" Almost a new vocabulary was introduced into the language, and the people of England learned to give a proper meaning to numerous Eastern words which had been unintelligible and rarely used before.

We return to the year 1791, to resume our narrative in chronological order. With all his wisdom and rightness of intention, Burke, as we have already hinted, had put a good deal of his excessive enthusiasm and heat in his book upon the French revolution, and had carried out some of his conservative principles to a length which justified some cavil from the friends of liberty, and even from such of them as might think as ill of the phenomenon, and deprecate as much any imitation of it, as he did himself. His heat and violence might have excited violence and heat in his opponents, although it may be doubted whether any such provocation were required by a most excitable and excited class of politicians, who, from the beginning, had fallen down upon their knees to worship the revolution, and who seemed determined never to get up again so as to look it in the face or examine its real complexion. We have alluded to the fierce war carried on by the newspapers against the Reflections; but, in addition to these light troops, heavier troops took the field under the form of volumes of all sizes and pamphlets of the most truculent description. Nearly every one of these combatants declared that Burke's book was a flimsy piece of rhetoric and fine writing, which the simplest logician might tear to pieces; but the tumultuous numbers in which they took the field, and the fierceness with which they all gathered round this single isolated foe, seemed to tell a very different story. The most conspicuous of these combatants were the late Sir James Mackintosh, Thomas Paine, and Dr. Priestley.* Mackintosh was at that time a very young and inexperienced man—with a profession and fortune all to seek—with a strong turn for metaphysical inquiries and political speculations—with a good deal of enthusiasm, such as most young men worth anything possess, for abstract notions of liberty and the perfectibility of man through improved governments and institutions. His 'Vindiciæ *Gallicæ*," or defence of the French revolution, was published in the month of April, while Parliament was sitting, and was distinguished amidst a rabble-rout by the beauty of its language, the happiness of its illustrations, and its gentlemanly tone. It immediately made its amiable author famous: he was applauded and courted by all the Whigs that shared the sentiments of Fox; and his essay was repeatedly quoted by them in parliament and at public meetings. Fox himself, in the House of Commons, called him "that eminent writer." Burke himself was struck with some beauties in the work, and probably discovered that a little time and a little more study and experience (for Mackintosh was deficient in both these) would correct what was wrong in principle, and soften what was extravagant in expression: he had no insult to complain of, for Mackintosh, instead of treating him as Thomas Paine, Priestley, and so many others did, as an apostate, a renegade, and scoundrel, spoke of his character and motives with respect, and of his genius and eloquence with a most fervent admiration. What Burke seems to have foreseen and to have calculated upon from the rightheartedness that was in this young writer soon came to pass: the massacres of September and the other atrocities that so crowded upon one another in Paris soon disenchanted Mackintosh of the French and their bloody experiment. He began, in various essays (which chiefly appeared in the 'Monthly Review'), to retract some of the boldest assertions he had made in the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ;' and at the close of that great man's life he entered into a correspondence with Burke, which would have ripened into a friendship, if Burke's heart had not been broken, and his hours numbered. In one of his letters Mackintosh read his recantation in a noble and feeling manner. "From the earliest moments of reflection," wrote he to Burke, "your writings were my chief study and delight. The instruction which they contained is endeared to me by being entwined and interwoven with the freshest and liveliest feelings of youth. The enthusiasm with which I once embraced it is now ripened into solid conviction by the experience and meditation of more mature age. For a time, indeed, seduced by the love of what I thought liberty, I ventured to oppose, without ever ceasing to venerate, that writer who had nourished my understanding with the most wholesome principles of political wisdom. I speak to state facts, not to flatter: you are above flattery; and, permit me to say, I am too proud to flatter even you. Since that time a melancholy experience has undeceived me on many subjects in which I was then the dupe of my own enthusiasm. I cannot say (and you would despise me if I dissembled) that I can even now assent to all your opinions on the present politics of Europe. But I can with truth affirm that I subscribe to your general principles, and am prepared to shed my blood in defence of the laws and constitution of my country. Even this much, Sir, I should not have said to you, if you had been possessed of power."*

* Among the controversialists utterly unworthy of notice were, the hair-brained Earl Stanhope, the enthusiastic but graceful Mary Woolstonecroft, and that *energumène* of a republican, Katherine Macaulay, called, by a large courtesy, "the historian."

* Letter written in December, 1796, as given in the Life of Sir James Mackintosh by his son. Grieving in soul and suffering in body, Burke could not write to this new correspondent, but he immediately dictated a letter to him, full of beautiful and gentle sentiments; and he told him that, though he now saw very few persons, and had, since his misfortune (the loss of his only son), studiously declined all new acquaintances, he would be happy and honoured to receive him as a visitor at Beaconsfield. Mackintosh soon went down to that now melancholy retreat, and passed a few days with the dying orator, poet, statesman, philosopher. After his return from this visit, which was shortened on account of Burke's infirmities, Mackintosh spoke in raptures of all that he had heard from his lips and seen of him.

In a short time longer Mackintosh's recantation became much broader, increasing exactly in proportion with his experience and calm study; and he was ready to declare "democracy the most monstrous of all governments, because it is impossible at once to act and to control; and, consequently, the sovereign power in such a constitution must be left without any check whatsoever."* If he had been cooler, or better informed of what was really passing, the progress of the French revolution, which was utterly hopeless in April 1791, ought to have carried this conviction to his mind before he wrote the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ;' but, like so many other men of far maturer years, he had indulged the hope that the revolution would correct its own vices. At the short peace of Amiens, in 1803, when Mackintosh paid a visit to Paris, he found that his book was better known than he then wished it to be, and that his recantation was not known at all. To some Frenchmen who complimented him on his 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ," as the best defence of their revolution, he replied, "Gentlemen, you have so completely refuted my arguments!—*Messieurs, vous m'avez si bien réfuté!*" †

A very different assailant was that fierce and incurable democrat Thomas Paine, whose coarseness and violence had been materially increased by his residence in Paris, by his frequenting the galleries of the Assembly and the hall of the Jacobins, and by the French citizenship which had been conferred, or was about to be conferred, upon him. The man had become almost as rabid as Marat. He exhausted his knowledge of the English language in finding terms of opprobrium and reproach to heap upon Burke, although, in the course of his peripatetic, discontented, comfortless existence, he had tasted largely of the elegant hospitality of Beaconsfield, and had received many favours which a better man would never have forgotten, even in the rage of controversy and the madness of liberty and equality. Starting with the proposition that the cause of the French people was that of all Europe, or rather that of the whole world, and that nothing was wanted to make a heaven upon earth but an immediate and universal imitation of the French revolution, Paine accused Burke of high treason against human nature for attempting to check its progress and repudiate its principles. The motives, he said, were as base as the design was atrocious, for Burke had received, or was to receive, a pension from the liberty-hating court of England for his book, and for his equally abominable speeches in parliament. Because Burke had taken the most liberal side on the question of the American revolution, which resembled the French one scarcely more than water resembles blood, Paine held that he was bound to support every revolution or insurrection against kings and priests and nobles that any people might choose to make, and that his not supporting the French revolution proved him to be the meanest of turncoats, the blackest of apostates. He also held that Burke, the man most filled with knowledge of any of his time, was labouring to stop the progress of knowledge, to restore the darkness and barbarity of the feudal ages, to reduce the people of England to the condition of serfs, to the state of beasts, "to eat straw, as in Hanover or in Brunswick."* He compared Burke most disadvantageously with Lafayette. "How dry, barren, and obscure," said he, "is the source from which Mr. Burke labours! And how ineffectual, though gay with flowers, are all his declamation and his argument, compared with the clear, concise, and soul-animating sentiments of the Marquis de Lafayette!" Like the vast majority of the great man's assailants, this half-educated, vulgar-minded writer accused Burke of ignorance and incompetence, of a total want of the higher reasoning faculties, and, in short, of being capable of nothing but an inflated over-ornamented rhetoric. "I know," said he, "a place in America called Point-no-Point; because, as you proceed along the shore, gay and flowery as Mr. Burke's language, it continually recedes, and presents itself at a distance before you; but when you have got as far as you can go there is no point at all. Just thus it is with Mr. Burke's three hundred and fifty-six pages. It is therefore difficult to reply to him. But, as the points he wishes to establish may be inferred from what he abuses, it is in his paradoxes that we must look for his arguments." He was quite sure that Burke had no idea of principles in contemplating governments. In describing with an undying eloquence, and in words that are engraven on every heart, the fate of the fair Marie Antoinette, Burke had deplored that the age of chivalry was gone. Paine taxed this as being very ridiculous, saying—"When we see a man dramatically lamenting, in a publication intended to be believed, that *the age of chivalry is gone!* that *the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever!* that *the unbought grace of life*, if any one knows what it is, *the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone!* and all this because the Quixote age of chivalry nonsense is gone,—what opinion can we form of his judgment, or what regard can we pay to his facts? In the rhapsody of his imagination, he has discovered a world of windmills, and his sorrows are, that there are no Quixotes to attack them. But if the age of aristocracy, like that of chivalry, should fall—and they had originally some connexion—Mr. Burke, the trumpeter of the order, may continue his parody to the end, and finish with exclaiming, 'Othello's occupation's gone!'" He compared Burke to that madman, Lord George Gordon, who was now lying inhumed for a libel on the Queen of France. "Certain it is," said he, "that Mr. Burke, who does not call himself

* Diary of a Lover of Literature (by the late Thomas Green, Esq., of Ipswich).

† Diary of Mr. Moore in Life of Mackintosh by his Son.—It is said that his present majesty, Louis Philippe, then a neophyte of the Jacobin Club, had employed his juvenile pen in translating into French a good part of the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ.'

* Rights of Man.

a madman, whatever other people may do, has libelled, in the most unprovoked manner, and in the grossest style of the most vulgar abuse, the whole representative authority of France; and yet Mr. Burke takes his seat in the British House of Commons!" He said this defender of tyranny and aristocracy could only feel for the misfortunes and sufferings of the great;* that he was indifferent to the sufferings of common humanity, and was sorry in his heart that the Bastille was pulled down. In one of his best written passages—and Paine was capable of fine and powerful writing—he said—"Not one glance of compassion, not one commiserating reflection, that I can find throughout his book, has he bestowed on those who lingered out the most wretched of lives, a life without hope, in the most miserable of prisons. It is painful to behold a man employing his talents to corrupt himself. Nature has been kinder to Mr. Burke than he is to her. He is not affected by the reality of distress touching his heart, but by the showy resemblance of it striking his imagination. *He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird.* Accustomed to kiss the aristocratical hand that hath purloined him from himself, he degenerates into a composition of art, and the genuine soul of nature forsakes him. His hero or his heroine must be a tragedy victim expiring in show, and not the real prisoner of misery, sliding into death in the silence of a dungeon."† He said he would refresh Burke's memory with the history of the whole transaction of the capture of the Bastille, which was to be "either the prize or the prison of the assailants;" the downfall of which "included the idea of the downfall of despotism;" so that "this compounded image was become as figuratively united as Bunyan's Doubting Castle and Giant Despair." [But Paine himself had spoiled Burke's gusto for the destruction of that state prison, by informing him in a letter from Paris, written in the summer of 1789, and only *three days* before the capture of the Bastille, that the destruction of the monarchy was resolved upon; that the leaders of the revolution had determined to set fire to the four corners of France rather than not carry their principles into practice; and that no danger was to be apprehended from the army, for it was *gained*.]‡ Forgetting what he had written to Burke and to other persons in England who might have produced the letters, Paine declared that there had never been any plot or conspiracy except on the part of the court and aristocracy against the Assembly and people. As for the murders of the aged Foulon and his son-in-law Berthier, and all the lanternings and promenading of heads upon pikes, he said this was nothing but the work of the ignorant mob, so numerous in all old countries, and arising out of the ill-construction of all old governments, that of England included with the rest. "It is," said he, "by distortingly exalting some men that others are distortingly debased, till the whole is out of nature. A vast mass of mankind are degradedly thrown into the background of the human picture, to bring forward with greater glare the puppet-show of state and aristocracy. In the commencement of a revolution these men are rather the followers of the *camp* than of the *standard* of liberty, and have yet to be instructed how to reverence it." He found that everything that had been done at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October had been well done, or had been provoked by the delay of the king in not sanctioning and forwarding the decrees of the National Assembly, particularly that of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. He described the conduct of Lafayette on that occasion as generous, noble, heroic: he boasted that he had derived his information personally from that great man, with whom he had lived in habits of intimacy for fourteen years. Bailly also, whom Burke had attacked for his unfeeling insult to the king, was warmly defended by Paine, who in fact eulogised everybody concerned in the revolutionary proceedings, except men like Lally Tollendal who had fled from their excesses. According to him the American revolution was a fine thing, as it had set an example sure to be followed by other nations; but the French revolution was something still finer: all governments, all distinctions of rank and fortune, had been brought about by the conspiracy of the few against the many, by artifice, treachery, and blood; and therefore the sooner men rose and destroyed these governments and these distinctions everywhere, the better: the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, which stood upon first principles, was the most glorious code that had ever been erected, and no truth was so indisputable as its leading doctrine, that men were born equal and remained so: mankind had been governed first by superstition, then by force and conquest; but now it was time for them to govern themselves according to the common interest of society, and the common rights of man. The first was a government of priestcraft, the second of conquerors, but the third a government of reason. Aristocracy of any kind was either a very contemptible or a very oppressive thing, and he (Paine) had heard M. Lafayette say that the English House of Peers was a corporation of aristocracy, and a very improper corporation to have in a free and enlight-

* Mackintosh made use of the same argument in his Vindiciæ Gallicæ, and was properly reprehended for so doing by his lively and able friend Mr. Wilde. "You talk," said Wilde, "of Burke's 'sensibility being scared at the homely miseries of the vulgar.' I think his whole life has shown the contrary. As to myself, I have often felt myself moved at the sight of an old wife gathering cinders. Had I, in the year of famine, seen the poor Highlanders asking bread at your grandmother's door, I would, with you, have divided with them my oaten or barley cake. But not to mention this, I am afraid it is an intellectual illusion, not an illusion of the heart, which leads to regret *general* miseries which you do not witness. You will never persuade me that a man who can callously contemplate *individual* suffering, especially in high rank, which enhances the suffering in proportion, can feel for any other distress. If the sufferings of eminent individuals do not move us, we will never feel for the sufferings of a whole people. In feeling for a people, we always picture out individuals to our imagination. It is the eternal law of sympathy. A man would drown himself in a hogshead of wine; his feelings may be refined and elevated by a bottle."

† Rights of Man.

‡ Prior, *Life of Burke*.

ened country like France, where men had determined to exterminate the monster aristocracy root and branch. It was very ridiculous of Mr. Burke to hold up the English constitution to the French, who believed that there was just enough liberty in England to enslave a country by, more productively than by open despotism. The best thing the English could do would be to imitate the French and their constitution, and that day must soon come. The established church and the aristocracy of England were ripe for destruction, and when the people had destroyed them then they might call themselves free, and be prosperous and happy, thriving every man of them upon the spoils of the church, the nobility, the squirearchy, whose possessions had all been acquired by plundering the people, and but too often by butchering them. In his apprehension and in that of all enlightened men, the English constitution, about which such a talk had once been made, was a preposterous anomaly, without simplicity, uniformity, or coherence of parts; a jumble of three nominal powers, whereas there ought to be but one power or will, with an executive, subordinate and dependent. The continual use of the word constitution in the English parliament showed that there was none; and that the whole was merely a form of government without a constitution, and constituting itself with what powers it pleased. If there were a constitution, it would certainly be referred to as a document, and the debate on any constitutional point would terminate by producing the constitution. But one member in the House says, this is constitution; and another says, that is constitution; to-day it is one thing, and to-morrow it is something else; while the maintaining the debate proves there is none. How different the real substantial constitution (it was not yet quite finished) made by the National Assembly, a constitution as definite and as clear as the Rights of Man, which formed the basis of it! The thing they called a constitution in England was after all a thing but of modern invention: it had not yet continued beyond the life of a man, yet in that short space it had so accumulated taxes and incurred debts, that it must soon fall from those causes alone, even if the people should be content to suffer, to starve, and be degraded as they now were. Among his personalities, which none could despise more than the party to whom they were addressed, Paine said,—"Mr. Burke writes neither in the character of a Frenchman nor Englishman, but in the form and character of that creature known in all countries, and a friend to none—a courtier. Whether it be the court of Versailles, or the court of St. James's, or Carlton House, or the court in expectation, signifies not; for the caterpillar principles of all courts and courtiers are alike. They form a common policy throughout Europe, detached and separate from the interest of nations, and, while they appear to quarrel with one another, they agree to plunder. Nothing can be more terrible to a court, or a courtier, than the revolution of France. That which is a blessing to nations is bitterness to them; and as their existence depends on the duplicity of a country, they tremble at the approach of principles, and dread the precedent that threatens their overthrow." *

The republican party in England—if we can call by that, or by any other fixed name, a confusion of theorists, disaffected sectarians, disappointed Whigs, and discontented murmurers—considered this rude and crude piece of reasoning as a masterpiece of human intelligence and genius, and as a complete refutation of the sophistry and all other parts of the Reflections; and such of them as could meet at public dinners were accustomed to drink the toast—"Thanks to Mr. Burke for the discussion he has produced!" Fox himself, it is said, was loud in his applause of Thomas Paine and his Rights of Man. Other individuals, who would have had still more to lose than Fox and the noble family to which he belonged by any practical illustrations of Paine's French theories, not only perused the book with extasies of delight, but contributed to get up cheap editions of it, and to scatter it over the country, as if to teach the people of England the way they ought to go—as if to invite them to cut the throats of their patriotic instructors, and make an equal division of the land and of all that was upon it. But the book itself, without any such high patronage, and without the recommendation of societies and clubs that boasted of Lords for their presidents and members of parliament for their vice-presidents, seemed well fitted to make its own way among the uninformed and less fortunate classes of society. It appealed directly to their passions and their supposed interests; it was, in good part, written with very considerable power; its arguments seemed as clear and simple as the first rule in arithmetic, and its coarseness was but a recommendation the more to coarse and vulgar minds. The wonder is that it did not produce more impression than it did; and particularly as some of the correctives adopted by government were injudicious in the extreme, and calculated—as all petty persecutions are—to promote rather than check the evil. Mackintosh's Vindiciæ Gallicæ had not been half so well suited to the vulgar taste, and, though it ran through several editions, its circulation was far inferior to that of the Rights of Man. But the Reflections carried along with them the vast majority of the better educated classes, and they certainly contained a pabulum more suited to English natures in general, at that time, than the foreign nutriment. The real disciples of Paine, either among the poorer orders or the middle classes, were at no time very numerous.†

* Rights of Man.

† Burke himself has given what we consider a true and correct character of Paine and his book:—"He is utterly incapable of comprehending his subject. He has not even a *moderate* portion of learning of any kind. He has learned the *instrumental* part of literature—a *style* and a method of disposing of his ideas—without having ever made a previous preparation of study, or thinking, for the use of it. *Junius*, and other sharply penned libels of our time, have far

Joseph Priestley, who, like Dr. Price and some other preachers of that class, waged the controversy not merely through the press but also from the pulpit, was a Socinian or Unitarian minister settled in the manufacturing town of Birmingham. His best fame depended then, and will ever depend, on his devotedness to natural philosophy, and on the experiments and discoveries he made in it. When the world shall have forgotten the bold sectarian, who was far from being disposed to grant that toleration to others which he claimed for himself and for his infinitesimal sect, and the rash and somewhat unscrupulous politician, they will remember with respect and admiration the experimentalist—the chemist that unlocked some of the secrets of nature, and opened the way to great and important discoveries. In treating of a season that was fiery hot, and when all classes, or nearly all classes, of politicians and writers seemed to lose the best of our national attributes, calmness and moderation, we would, with all our heart, endeavour to preserve the balance of the strictest impartiality, and we trust it is alien to our nature to carp at, or lightly to disparage, a man of science and genius. But, after a perusal of some of his writings, polemical and political (few ever look into them now or know the spirit that is in them), we are forced to the conclusion that Priestley, even before this violent and exciting season, had proved himself a dogmatic controversialist, an intemperate disputant, and a man that would risk the peace of society for a dogma of his own, or for the insane purpose of enforcing the speculative opinions of his almost invisible minority upon the majority. Horace Walpole said of him that he wanted a papal power; and the wit is scarcely too severe. In his controversy with Gibbon, the historian, who, whatever he was besides, was a good-natured person and a gentleman, Priestley conducted himself in a manner to disprove his claim to be either one or the other. In his polemical discussions, even with his friend Dr. Price, he was neither gentle nor charitable; and no pope of Rome could have spoken more contemptuously of other churches or faiths than he wrote and habitually spoke of the Church of England, and of all sects or modifications of sects that differed from his own, which was in good part a sect of his own making, and of which he was, in very truth, the Pontifex Maximus. His disciples describe him as "the grand restorer of the ancient Unitarian system, maintained at the era of the Reformation by Socinus and other learned men of the Polish or Cracovian school," and as the vindicator of "the genuine, unadulterated doctrine of primitive Christianity."* He regarded all civil establishments of Christianity, and all connexions between church and state, as crying abuses and barriers to the propagation of truth—by which truth, to apply Horne Tooke's analysis of the word, he meant simply what he, Dr. Joseph Priestley, trowed. But at various periods of his life he had trowed or believed in very different manners, reversing the ordinary process, and believing less and less as he grew in years; and the great and rapid transitions in his own creed ought to have moderated his zeal in enforcing his present belief or conviction upon others. He had lately held a long and terrible controversy with Dr. Horsley, who had been provoked by one of his many publications, and had taken the field as a champion of the established church, and with far more heat than was decorous, although assuredly Priestley had no right to reproach him on that account. In the month of January of the present year, 1791, Priestley declared to his friend Dr. Price, who, he says reproachfully, had meddled but little with the established church, that he "had long since drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and was very easy about the consequences."* This surely was not language becoming the apostle of primitive Christianity: this sentiment was even adverse to toleration, and the first principle and foundation of the gospel of Christ, teaching love unto all men, and even unto foes. It were magnanimous, it were wiser and better, for men to act otherwise; but in these matters, when a preacher and teacher of doctrines odious to the vast majority hoists the black flag and cries no quarter, he must expect at the very least some hard knocks. He must have foreseen the consequences, though perhaps not their full extent, when he boasted that he was so easy about them. He had contrived before this, by expressing doubts concerning the immateriality of the sentient principle in man, to obtain the reputation of an unbeliever in revelation and an atheist.†

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nished a stock to the adventurer in composition, which gives what they write an air (and but an air) of art and skill; but as to the rest, Paine possesses nothing more than what a man whose audacity makes him careless of logical consequences, and his total want of honour makes indifferent to political consequences, can very easily write."—*Letter to Sir William Smith.*

* W. Belsham, Memoirs of the Reign of George III.

* Letter from Birmingham, dated January 27, 1791.

† This was by and through his 'Introductory Dissertation' to Hartley's 'Observations on Man,' published in 1775. Matters were not much mended by his later publications. In 1782 he had produced his 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity,' in which he had treated all churches as congeries of selfishness and iniquity. The Dutch took the book so much to heart, that, in the city of Dort, they caused it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

Like Price, he took the earliest opportunity of exulting in the French revolution, and he did not abate a jot of his admiration with the progress of the phenomenon. At a moment when the excitement was at the highest he published his 'Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, in Refutation of several Charges advanced against the Dissenters and Unitarians by the Rev. Mr. Madan,' in which his ironical style gave great offence even to the populace, who were very loyal and very orthodox.* The personal popularity of George III. had kept on the increase throughout the kingdom; and, taking the great body of the people, there probably never was a time when England was in so high a royalist humour as at the beginning of the French revolution. Events and circumstances, not unassisted by exertions purposely made, gave somewhat of fanaticism to this feeling; but, after all, the feeling was as pure and quite as rational as the contemporary fanaticism of liberty and equality. Long before the excitement of politics was superadded to the excitement of religious controversy Priestley had become exceedingly obnoxious to the Birmingham people. A public library was established in that town in the year 1779, by small subscriptions entered into by the respectable inhabitants. Some time after Priestley had been a resident, some of his friends attempted to vote into the library his 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity,' which had been burned by the hangman at Dort, and also his 'History of Early Opinions concerning Christ.' The clergy of the town, some of whom were members of the library and of the directing committee, took great offence at this attempt, which they attributed to a fixed design to Socinianise the town. A sensible, peace-loving man proposed that books of controversial divinity should be excluded altogether from the library; but this proposition was equally disapproved of by the clergy and by Priestley. The Unitarian doctor wrote and published a long letter on the subject, addressed to the subscribers to the library. This curious production betrayed a degree of literary and controversial vanity that has rarely been surpassed. The exclusionist had said that he was much concerned to see a spirit of controversy creeping into the library by the purchase of so many books of religious disputation—books of no real use, and, after the present moment, mere lumber. Priestley angrily denied that books of controversy were of a temporary nature, or useless; maintaining, on the contrary, that they were very useful and interesting. "The controversy that *I* am now carrying on with the learned defenders of the doctrine of the Trinity," said he (meaning the controversy waging or raging between him and Dr. Horsley and other doctors of the established church), "grows every day more interesting, especially as it has gained the attention of the two universities. My controversy with the Jews also promises to be highly interesting, as it actually engages the attention of the Jewish nation in all parts of Europe, and is the only one that ever has done it."* He declared that it was not he that had attempted to force his own controversial books into the library; that, on the contrary, he had endeavoured to keep them out of it, and would, perhaps, have used his endeavours much longer to keep out of the library every work of that nature, if it had not been for the unreasonable offence that was taken at the ordering of his 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity,' by several of the clergy, and their *intemperate and childish* behaviour on that occasion. He complained that some controversial letters of his had been rejected, and the orthodox answers to them admitted into the library. He confessed that he had also recommended 'The Theological Repository,' of which he was the publisher; but this he said was necessary to the controversies already introduced; and, besides, it was a work open to all sects and parties, and contained several articles against his own Socinian creed. He accused the clergy of the establishment of very unfair play, because, while they were excluding his books from the library, they had distributed among the young people of the town, previously to their confirmation, a pamphlet entitled 'A Preservative against Socinianism.' Others, he said, hated religious controversy because they hated religion, having no belief in Christianity. "These," said he, "will vote with the friends of the established church, whatever it be, in all such questions as these, but on very different principles. If there be any such among us, they ought, in decency, to decline giving any vote at all; otherwise their conduct will be the same as that of the dog in the manger—they will neither read books relating to religion themselves, nor suffer others to read them." He had himself voted for the introduction of Dr. Horsley's book against himself; and he wished the library to be enriched with works on both sides of every controversy.† As the Birmingham library was then but a small place, as the subscribers were not very numerous, and their subscriptions were very low, there would neither have been room to hold these books, nor money to buy all this religious controversy, if Priestley's rule had been adopted. Fortunately the library was not destroyed; but from this time, in the summer of 1787, there was strife and discord in Birmingham, which had nearly all arisen out of this controversy.‡ The animosities were made the keener by the very active part Priestley and his friends had taken in petitioning and in urging on in parliament the repeal of the test and corporation acts. Priestley complained that the clergy of the establishment in Birmingham refused to walk in fu-

* In these 'Familiar Letters' Priestley, assuming the prophetic tone, announced the speedy triumph and establishment of Unitarianism, which the inhabitants of Birmingham considered as something almost synonymous with atheism. The irony and the boast were alike irritating.

* Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the Riots in Birmingham, Part 2, by Joseph Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S., &c. The letter from which we have quoted is given, with some other curious documents, in the Appendix to this pamphlet, which was published in 1792.

† Id. id.

‡ Life of William Hutton, Stationer at Birmingham, &c., written by himself.

neral processions with dissenting ministers, and particularly with himself, on the pretext that his opposition to the doctrines and discipline of the church had carried him into excesses which they deemed illiberal and indecent. Priestley, however, said that this was "an absurd bigotry of long standing in the place;" and he told several anecdotes to show that it existed before he went to reside there.* The *odium theologicum* was certainly in a very rabid state, and Priestley never allowed it time to sleep or grow calm, for he was constantly writing and printing, taxing the orthodox as incurable bigots, and as being animated with a thirst for power and control and an exclusive dominion not to be borne. The French Academy of Sciences had paid a very proper compliment to the scientific merits of Priestley in electing him an associate or honorary member of their body; and he maintained a correspondence with several of those men of science and literature that had put themselves foremost in the revolution, and that were labouring to bring about a republic without that titular king which as yet they retained. Other incentives, besides his own strong political sympathies, were not wanting to set the ready pen of Priestley a-going against the 'Reflections.' Besides some strong things said in parliament against Price, Kippis, Towers, and other dissenting ministers, including Priestley himself, who had made such use of "the pulpit, drum ecclesiastic," Burke had fallen upon old Price in his book, and had given him a terrible mauling—such a mauling, indeed, that Price, happening to die soon after the appearance of the 'Reflections,' was said to have been killed by it, although his fourscore years seemed to make death a very possible accident, without attributing it to mere pen and ink. Before the murderous book had been long in existence Priestley put forth his 'Letters to the Right Honourable Mr. Burke, on his Reflections on the Revolution in France.' Though professing a regard for the English constitution, Priestley applauded all that was doing in France as supereminently just and wise, and, with very little periphrasis, recommended an imitation of those performances. Mankind, he said, were everywhere opening their eyes to the nature and uses of government; and, consequently, the whole of the Gothic feudal system, embracing matters both civil and ecclesiastical, was beginning to shake to its foundation, producing a tremor and a convulsion that must be felt in every state in Europe. He attempted to repay with interest the sarcasms of Burke, which were said to have killed old Dr. Price at Hackney; but his periods had little of Burke's pungency.* Many other things in the book would have inflamed the Birmingham mind, which was getting as hot as a furnace, against a man or writer not otherwise obnoxious; but, as coming from Priestley, who had incurred so long a score of grudges and spites, it roused all the angriest passions. He was told in anonymous letters to look to himself, as such an enemy to church and state, as such a deist or atheist, would not long be tolerated in a town into which he had introduced nothing but dissension and discord. In this state of the Birmingham mind a certain number of Priestley's friends resolved to celebrate with a dinner and toasts, speeches and songs, the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. A few days before this appointed feast a printed handbill was circulated through the town, to act like a challenge and defiance to the hot church-and-king citizens and in-dwellers. It bore no signature, and was addressed to the people at large. It was as follows:—"My countrymen, the second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give his sanction to the majestic common-cause by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember that on the 14th of July the Bastille, that 'High Altar and Castle of Despotism,' fell! Remember the enthu-

* These anecdotes were not very charitably meant. They insinuated that the regular clergy were very eager to get all the fees for burying dissenters, although they did not like either to walk or to ride in mourning coaches with living dissenters. One of the stories is rather amusing:—"At the funeral of Mr. Gisborne, a dissenter, when Mr. Dovey (a minister of the establishment) refused to walk in procession with Mr. Bourn (a dissenting minister), a man of activity and spirit, the following pleasant circumstance happened:—Mr. Dovey, meeting the corpse, and finding Mr. Bourn walking before it, directed him to walk behind. Mr. Bourn not complying with this order, Mr. Dovey endeavoured to outwalk him; but Mr. Bourn, being as nimble as he, kept up with him, till, the rector quickening his pace, they both fairly ran for it till they got to the church-door. Mr. Dovey was so much offended, that after the funeral, his pride getting the better of every consideration, he sent back the hat-band and scarf, and even the pins that had been used on the occasion.—*An Appeal to the Public, &c., Part 2.*

* Burke of course did not forget Price's famous sermon of the 4th of November, 1789 (of which we have given a short extract at page 449), or the dinner which followed it, where Earl Stanhope was charged with the congratulatory address to the National Assembly. He showed that the resolution of the Society arose out of the sermon, and was moved by the preacher of it:—"It was passed by those who came reeking from the effect of the sermon, without any censure or qualification, expressed or implied." "For my part," continued Burke, "I looked upon that sermon as the public declaration of a man much connected with literary caballers and intriguing philosophers, with political theologians and theological politicians, both at home and abroad. I know they set him up as a sort of oracle; because, with the best intentions in the world, he naturally *Philippises*, and chants his prophetic song in exact unison with their designs. That sermon is in a strain which I believe has not been heard in this kingdom, in any of the pulpits which are tolerated or encouraged in it, since the year 1648, when a predecessor of Dr. Price, the Rev. Hugh Peters, made the vault of the king's own chapel at St. James's ring with the honour and privilege of the saints, who, with the 'high praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands, were to execute judgment on the heathen, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron.' Few harangues from the pulpit, except in the days of the league in France, or in the days of our solemn league and covenant in England, have ever breathed less of the spirit of moderation than this lecture in the Old Jewry. Supposing, however, that *something* like moderation were visible in this political sermon, yet politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement. No sound ought to be heard in the church but the healing voice of Christian charity. The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by this confusion of duties. Those who quit their proper character, to assume what does not belong to them, are, for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind." After some severe hits at "a noble and reverend lay divine" (Stanhope), and "other lay divines of rank and literature," *who were eager for all manner of changes*, he went on to call Price "this arch pontiff of the Rights of Man," and the Society "and audience," "these gentlemen of the Old Jewry," &c., "the gentlemen of the society for revolutions, who see nothing in that of 1688 but the deviation from the constitution, and take the deviation from the principle for the principle."—*Reflections.*

siasm peculiar to the cause of liberty with which it was attacked! Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to save the lives of oppressors! Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected and sent as a free-will offering to the National Assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal? Your ministers hypocritical? Your clergy legal oppressors? The reigning family extravagant? The crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it? Too weighty for the people who *gave* it? Your taxes partial and excessive? Your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom? But on the 14th of this month prove to the political sycophants of the day that you reverence the Olive Branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority shall exclaim *The Peace of Slavery is worse than the War of Freedom!* Of that moment let tyrants beware." The people of Birmingham believed that this paper proceeded from the dissenters and republicans that had appointed to feast at the tavern on the 14th; but Priestley and these individuals affirmed that it had been written, printed, and distributed by some bigot or bigots of the church-and-state party in order to make mischief and interrupt their celebration. An honest burgher, who ranged with the dissenters in religion and with the liberals in politics (but who was too cool and sensible a man to partake of their enthusiasm and extravagance, too honest to assert what he knew to be false, and too shrewd and inquiring and intelligent to be easily deceived), says, it appeared afterwards that it was fabricated in London, brought to Birmingham, and that a few copies were privately scattered under the table at an inn. "I have been tempted to question," says this sensible man, "whether the author of it meant any more than a squib to attract public attention; but it proved a dreadful one, which burnt our houses."* Priestley asserts, at one and the same time, that there was a particular plot against the Unitarian dissenters at Birmingham, and that the same high-church spirit prevailed through most parts of England, threatening trouble and tumult. Many, he says, were of opinion that, if Dr. Price had been living, the storm would have fallen at Hackney, in preference to Birmingham. On the appointed day about eighty persons assembled to commemorate the French revolution; and the magistrates and a number of the church-and-state inhabitants assembled in another tavern to drink long life to the English constitution. Priestley did not attend, and probably the alarming reports of riots which had been spread kept away several other individuals from the first of the two feasts. Indeed there had been a design to postpone the commemoration till a quieter season, but the tavern-keeper, whose viands would not keep in that hot July weather, told them he had prepared the dinner, and that they might eat it without any danger of assault, provided only they did not sit too long at table, and dispersed at an early hour. As the company assembled, they were hissed and hooted by some dirty little boys, who also piped, "Church and King! Church and King!" The most extravagant reports had been spread as to the wicked toasts, and the disloyal, diabolical devices that were to be used at this symposium. The landlord or the company had procured, to be set upon the table, three figures: one a medallion of the king encircled with glory, another an emblematical figure of British liberty, and the third an emblematical figure of Gallic slavery breaking its chains. Either through ignorance or design (or it might be through some defect of the Birmingham artist) a spy of the loyal mob, who got admittance into the room, reported out in the street that the revolutionists had cut off the king's head and placed it on the table! The toasts which are said to have been really drunk began with "The King and Constitution," and were by no means exceptionable, or even ridiculous, except the second on the list, "The National Assembly and Patriots of France, whose virtue and wisdom have raised twenty-six millions from the meanest condition of despotism to the dignity and happiness of freemen." But out of doors it was rumoured, and believed by the people, that their first toast was, "Destruction to the Present Government, and the King's Head upon a Charger." And, in the language of a newspaper reporter, "no sooner had this treasonable toast been made known to the people, than loyalty, *swift as lightning, shot through their minds, and a kind of electrical patriotism animated them to instant vengeance.* They rushed into this conventicle of treason, and, before the second course was well laid upon the table, broke the windows and glasses, pelted and insulted these modern reformers, and obliged them to seek for safety in immediate flight."* But according to less rhetorical and more reliable authority, the "electrical patriotism" was not quite so sudden in its action, the orthodoxy of Dadley, the keeper of the tavern, acting as a non-conductor. Some persons of better condition cried out to the dirty little boys that were piping "Church and King!" and beginning to throw stones, "Don't break Dadley's windows: he is a churchman." And it appears that it was not during the dinner, but some hours after, when most of the company had separated, that some of the mob broke into the tavern in search of Dr. Priestley, who had not dined there.† "They wanted," they said, "to knock the powder out of Dr. Priest-

† Life of William Hutton, Stationer, of Birmingham, &c., written by himself.—"With all these occurrences," adds Hutton, "I believe the riots would not have taken place had it not been for two men of desperate fortunes, who probably expected a place or a pension; a hungry attorney and a leading justice."

Priestley says:—"A letter of Dr. Tatham, in which the dinner to celebrate the anniversary of the French revolution was called an *illegal and unconstitutional act*, and which was eagerly circulated in Birmingham before the dinner, contributed much more to the riot than this hand-bill."—*Appeal to the Public, Part* 2.

* 'The Times' of Tuesday, July 19, 1791.
† Life of William Hutton.

ley's wig!" A well-conditioned townsman, zealous for church and state, smiled his assent to the proposition; and it is said that the ultra-loyal magistrates, who had been dining at the "Swan" (it ought to have been at the Goose) close at hand, huzzaed "Church and King!" and waved their hats in the air, "which inspired fresh vigour into the mob, so that they verily thought, and often declared, they acted with the *approbation* at least of the higher powers, and that what they did was right."‡ There appears to be little doubt but that the worshipful magistrates and their friends had over-heated their excessive loyalty by too much drink at the "Swan;" and that the recollection of old grudges urged them to pat the mob on the back, neither foreseeing nor wishing for the very serious consequences that followed to the good town of Birmingham. No doubt they wished to see the powder knocked out of Priestley's wig, and a meeting-house or two, in which, according to their conceptions, treason had been preached, knocked down or otherwise destroyed; but there, no doubt, they wished the rioting to cease. It is said that when the mob had thrown Dadley's tavern topsy turvy, and smashed all his front windows, a gentleman said to the mob, "You have done mischief enough *here;* go to the meetings." Whether these words were said or not, it is certain that the mob went down Bull-street, roaring like bulls of Bashan (for by this time it was eight or nine o'clock in the evening, and the artisans and other working men, having finished their day's work, had joined the dirty little boys for a little recreation), straight to the New Meeting, where Priestley preached on Sundays, and broke into it without any ceremony. In a trice pews and pulpit were broken to pieces, cushions demolished, and books torn and sent "flying all abroad;" and, to cap the mischief, fire was set to the chapel, which in half an hour was all one blaze. After shouting and rejoicing at this spectacle, the mob went away to the Old Meeting-house, and treated it as they had done the New. Some of the most *respectable* people of the town are said to have encouraged them in this work, and to have treated them with drink while it was doing. When the Old Meeting-house was burning fast to the ground,† the mob marched away, about a mile and a half, to Priestley's dwelling-house, at Fair Hill. The doctor and his family had fled; but his house, the whole of his valuable library, and more valuable collection of apparatus for philosophical experiments, together with some manuscript works and notes on which he placed a high value, and all the furniture, were plundered, burned, or destroyed. This finished the work of the night of the 14th of July. When the heads of the loyal respectables had recovered from the fumes of strong drink, they probably thought that the mob had carried matters rather too far; and they certainly hoped that they would go no farther. But on the following morning, the rabble of the town, being joined by the worst rabble of a very indifferent neighbourhood, by miners and founders, by workers in iron and in brass, by the amazon nail-makers of Walsall and all that district where the fair sex still work at the anvil, and by strong-armed women from other parts, renewed their destructions and depredations to the tune of Church and King! They were armed with bludgeons and carried terror wherever they appeared, for there was no military force in the town, and the stupid magistrates knew not what to do. About the hour of noon a body of men, women, and children mixed, and about a thousand strong, attacked the house of Mr. John Ryland at Easy Hill. "Every room," says Hutton, "was entered with eagerness; but the wine-cellar, in which were wines to the amount of three hundred pounds, with ferocity. Here they regaled till the roof fell in with the flames, and six or seven of them lost their lives. I was surprised at this rude attack, for I considered Mr. Ryland as a friend to the whole human race. He had done more public business (in the town of Birmingham) than any other within my knowledge, and not only without a reward, but without a fault. I thought an obelisk ought rather to have been raised to his honour, than his house burnt down, to the disgrace of others." Mr. Ryland had not been at the anniversary dinner; but he was a dissenter and a friend of Priestley, and probably the odour of his well-filled wine-cellar contributed as much as anything else to bring upon him the visitation of these drunken royalists. In fact, the love of drink and the maddening effects of liquor were at the bottom of nearly all this mischief, from first to last. But even in the madness of intoxication this rude rabblement, furnished by some of the worst districts in the country, gave proof that they were of English breed; for though they had for many hours the whole town and neighbourhood at their mercy, and talked about knocking on the head the enemies to church and state, they shed not a drop of blood, nor ever appear to have really thought of shedding any. A French mob, in the like circumstances, would not have got so drunken, but they would have butchered at least some of the victims of their fury. The next house attacked was Bordesley Hall, the residence of Mr. John Taylor, another dissenter. After the greater part of its splendid furniture had been demolished or carried away, they set fire to it; and in a short time house, offices, stables, the hayricks in the farm-yard, were all in a blaze. It was said, at the time, that a gentleman who made great exertions to save the place offered them one hundred guineas; and that the mob refused the money with loud cries of "No bribery! No bribery!" In the course of the day the mob broke open the town prison and liberated all the prisoners, who very naturally joined their deliverers. At about three in the afternoon they paid a visit to Mr. Hutton, the opulent stationer, de-

* Life of William Hutton.

† "Here again," says William Hutton, "a system seems to have been adopted, for the engines were suffered to play upon the adjoining houses to prevent their taking fire, but not upon the Meeting-house, which was levelled with the ground."

claring that they would pull down his house. This William Hutton was no common man. By the force of his own industry, ability, and wondrous steadiness of purpose, he had raised himself from a condition of the most abject poverty, had educated himself, and acquired knowledge under the most adverse and discouraging circumstances, and had latterly even acquired some literary reputation by published works. He had been, in no small degree, a benefactor to the town: he was the first man that had established in it a circulating library; he had written a history of Birmingham, of which the townspeople had reason to be proud; he had promoted many local improvements; and he had been for a good many years the most active and valuable commissioner in that most useful court, the Court of Requests, doing a vast deal of business therein without salary, fee, or reward of any kind, except such as he found in his own conscience, and in the approbation of the more enlightened of his fellow-citizens. In the year 1787 he had published a valuable little volume relative to this Birmingham Court of Requests, containing a great variety of cases, and the decisions upon them, with shrewd and sensible remarks, very proper to guide men of less natural ability and less experience in their discharge of the same useful duties. His judgments as a commissioner had been admirable in other respects besides that of their rigid impartiality; but, as he says himself, in administering justice, he could not please everybody. "Armed with power," said the venerable commissioner, "I put a period to thousands of quarrels, softened the rugged tempers of devouring antagonists, and, without expense to themselves, sent them away friends. But the fatal rock upon which I split was, *I never could find a way to let both parties win.*" Hence, alone, Hutton had not a few enemies in the town. He was also a dissenter, and very liberally inclined in politics; but he was as far as possible from being a zealot either in his religious or political faith. He had a far higher and correcter notion of toleration than his friend Priestley, of whose heat in controversy he disapproved. "It would be happy," said he, writing before the smoke had well cleared away from the wreck and ruin of his property, "if a man could enjoy his own opinions, and let another alone in his. The ardent desire of making proselytes has been the bane of the world. . . . . If Dr. Priestley chooses to furnish the world with candles, it reflects a lustre upon himself; but there is no necessity to oblige every man to carry one. It is the privilege of an Englishman to walk in darkness if he chooses." He had lived in friendship with clergymen of the established church, and with a Catholic clergyman, as well as with Priestley and other dissenters; and in a little room at the back of his shop in the High-street were often seen assembled together, in friendly converse, the preachers and teachers of these various creeds—Berington, the Catholic historian, Priestley, and Mr. Newling, the rector of St. Philip's. But, no doubt, at this moment, his house was particularly obnoxious as a frequent calling and resting place of the Unitarian doctor, and as the property of the commissioners of the court of requests. He says that a *gentleman* whom he well knew said to the mob—"If you will pull down Hutton's house, I will give you two guineas to drink, for it was owing to him I lost a cause in the court." When the mob broke into his paper-warehouse, they merely said they would have money. He gave them all he had, but they wanted more; and they began to break his windows and steal his goods. He borrowed all the money he could from his neighbours, gave it to them, and shook the hard dirty hands of some hundred vagabonds. They next said they would have some drink. He promised them as much as they pleased, if they would not injure him. They dragged him by the collar to a near public-house, where in half an hour the fast-drinking devils ran him up a score of *three hundred and twenty-nine gallons of ale*. The affrighted magistrates were now sitting at the "Swan," in Bull-street, where, on the preceding evening, they had been guzzling and toasting church and state, and were swearing in special constables, whom they ordered to rendezvous in St. Philip's churchyard, promising to join them there, and lead them against the rioters. But the valour of the worshipful evaporated in promises, and they never went. Without their aid, however, the newly-created officers of the peace, armed with sticks and broomsticks, fell upon the mob, who had been drinking so much ale at Hutton's expense, and dispersed them with little difficulty. But instead of staying to protect Hutton's house, they went away to guard Mr. Ryland's, which was already nearly burned to the ground, and there they got dispersed themselves, not without bruises and broken heads. The special constables never rallied that day; and about nine o'clock in the evening, after Mr. Thomas Hutton* had repeatedly bought them off, the rioters burst into the house and plundered or demolished everything in it—a very large stock of paper and a good library being included. The furniture was thrown out at the windows, with loud shouts of "Down with the court of conscience! No more ale-scores to be paid!" A person observed to one of the most active of the destructionists, that he might perchance get hanged, like the London rioters in 1780: "O, d—n Hutton," was the reply; "he made me pay fifteen shillings in the court of conscience." The sufferer of this sad havoc had retired to his country-house at Bennett's Hill, from which, by night, he watched the flames rising from Bordesley Hall. Such was the work of the 15th, which was to be much surpassed by the doings of the 16th. The magistrates about noon on the 15th had resolved to call for military assistance; but instead of applying to some military that were in the neighbourhood, or to the lord-lieutenant, who

* The only son of William Hutton. This gentleman is still living at Bennett's Hill.

could have called out the militia of the county, they applied to the secretary-at-war, and made choice of so sluggish an express, that it was two o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th before he reached London. At four o'clock in the morning of the 16th, before one part of the rioters had done destroying his premises in the town, another part of them arrived at Hutton's country-house to make a more perfect devastation; for though they had attempted it several times, they had been prevented from setting fire to the house in the town by some persons who prudently considered that a conflagration once begun in that crowded place might spread through half Birmingham. Having thrown all the furniture into heaps, they set fire to it, and the pleasant house at Bennett's Hill, which Hutton had built himself, with coach-house and stables, was soon reduced to ashes; and the garden and grounds, the trees of which he had planted with his own hands, after carrying them on his own back, were trampled over and spoiled. The most active of the incendiaries were women, who went about with lighted faggots, swearing they would not do their work by halves. The next sacrifice was the costly mansion of Mr. George Humphreys, which was sacked, and the internal part of it destroyed. The house of another rich dissenter, Mr. William Russel, of Showel Green, was burned to the ground; and the houses of two other dissenters at Moseley Wake Green were next attacked and plundered, and greatly injured, but not burned. Another country-house in the neighbourhood, Moseley Hall, was inhabited by Lady Carhampton, mother to the fair Luttrell, who had become Duchess of Cumberland, but it was the property of Mr. John Taylor, whose other house, Bordesley Hall, had been already consumed. Lady Carhampton was very infirm and blind with age; but she was ordered to remove her furniture and other effects by the mob, who told her that if she wanted help they would give it her, but that the house must not stand. Her ladyship removed what she could; and then Moseley Hall was set fire to and consumed. The house of a presbyterian minister on Balsarr Heath, and a house occupied by a blind old Baptist, were destroyed next. In the whole of this day eight houses were destroyed, exclusive of the residence of Mr. Coates, a Unitarian minister, which was plundered and damaged, but not burned or knocked down. During the day several noblemen, justices of the peace, and squires from the neighbouring country, which was all excessively loyal and devoted to church and state, came into the town, sat in council, drank their wine, and made some speeches to the mob, telling them that they had done enough, and ought now to be quiet. No riot act was read; and the commanding officers of two recruiting parties who were in the town, and offered their assistance, had been told by the Birmingham magistrates the day before that pacific measures were adopted. Some placards were stuck up in the streets which did little honour to the Birmingham magistrates, who called the rabble rioters "friends and brother churchmen;" told them that a continuance of their proceedings must injure that church and that king they were intended to support; that it was very unlawful to destroy the property of any of their neighbours; that the great losses sustained by the burning and destroying the houses of so many individuals would eventually fall upon the county at large, and not upon the persons to whom they belonged; that the damage already done would amount to upwards of 100,000*l.*, the whole of which enormous sum would be charged upon the respective parishes, and paid out of the rates; that they must, therefore, as friends, conjure them to desist immediately, as otherwise the very proceedings of their zeal for showing their attachment to their church and king would be the means of most seriously injuring innumerable families, who were hearty supporters of government, and bring on an addition of taxes which themselves (*the mob*) and *the rest of the friends of the church* would feel to be a very grievous burthen, &c.* On the morning of Sunday, the 17th, as Hutton, who had fled from his burning house at Bennett's Hill as far as Tamworth, was returning towards Birmingham to see what was going on, and, if possible, to protect the wreck of his property, he found, on approaching Birmingham, the fields, roads, and hedges lined with *friends and brother churchmen* dead drunk. But there were other rioters not quite so drunk, and to them this Sabbath was no day of rest. They burned at Wharstock a dissenting preacher's chapel and house, after drinking all the ale and small beer in his cellar; they went a mile farther to King's Wood Meeting-house, and reduced it to ashes; and then going about three hundred yards farther they burned the parson's house. After destroying nine houses, in all, in the parish of King's Norton,

* They assured the mob that this was the case in London in 1780, when so many houses were burned and destroyed, and that it would certainly be the case with Birmingham. Another of these documents, which bore the signatures of sixteen loyal and substantial Birminghamers, concluded in this guise:—

"And we must observe to you, that any further violent proceedings will more offend your king and country than serve the cause of him and the church.

"Fellow churchmen, as you love your king, regard his laws and restore peace.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

A still more notable manifesto was put forth by a certain Mr. Brooke, who had a house at Ashted, tenanted by one Mr. Windsor from Coventry, who had the reputation of being a dissenter. Moreover, a report had been circulated by "some detestable villains" (as Brooke gently calls them), that that said house of his at Ashted, tenanted by Windsor, in reality belonged to the presbyterian corporation of Coventry. Brooke, well knowing that these reports might lead to the destruction and burning of his premises, solemnly informed the mob in his hand-bill that his most hearty attachment to the real friends of church and king was well known; that upon his word and honour, as a church and king's man, the premises at Ashted belonged to him, and that neither the corporation of Coventry nor any other presbyterian whatsoever had any concern or interest in the said buildings and property; that Mr. Windsor, his tenant, when living in the city of Coventry, had uniformly voted against the corporation and presbyterian interests, and always *supported the real true blue, which is the church and king party.*"* He concluded:—"Mr. Brooke therefore is convinced that this address will be attended to by the *gentlemen of the church and king party*, and offers a reward of ten guineas for the detection of the rascals who gave rise to so false a report.

"CHURCH AND KING FOR EVER."

* It appears that this appeal of Master Brooke to *the gentlemen* was perfectly successful, and that his house at Ashted was left uninjured.

an extensive manor belonging to the king, whose cause and interest they pretended they were serving, they returned to Birmingham, whither the Wednesbury colliers had come up in a body to join their brethren for church and king. On the evening of this black Sunday three troops of light dragoons rode into the town, and were received with joy and acclamation by the inhabitants, including the highest and hottest of the high church party, who were now quaking for their own property and for the safety of all Birmingham; for the drunken rogues were now beginning to break open true-blue houses to get at the drink in their cellars. When the troops arrived, they were busy breaking open the house of Dr. Withering, at some distance from the town; "but before their work was completed the words *light horse* sounded in their ears; when these formidable banditti mouldered away no soul knew how, and not a shadow of them could be found."* Indeed, except at fists and sticks with the special constables, these rioters had shown not the least disposition for fighting, but had run away hundreds or thousands together wherever anything like resistance with fire-arms was offered. In one place they had scampered from before a single pistol. Birmingham was joyously illuminated that night, and by Monday morning, the 18th of July, the town was tranquil as ever, and not a trace could be seen of the rioters except in the ruins they had made. It was, however, reported that some parties of them still kept together in considerable numbers, and had moved off by Hagley and Hales-Owen. A squadron of the cavalry was sent in pursuit, but, before they could come up with them at Hales-Owen, they had been routed and dispersed by the country people of that neighbourhood, who, moreover, had taken ten of them prisoners and lodged them safely in gaol. As if to keep up the impression that government was not very seriously grieved at the events which had happened, no proclamations were issued from the Secretary of State's Office until the 29th, and then the reward offered for discovering and apprehending a chief rioter was only 100*l.*

These Birmingham riots were sad and disgraceful enough, but it requires great ignorance or a stupendous impudence to assert, as is done by one of Priestley's disciples in politics and in religion, that they were "far worse, indeed, than any disorders which had as yet occurred in the progress of the French revolution."† The doctor himself got safe to London, and shortly afterwards took charge of Dr. Price's congregation at Hackney, which became his residence till the year 1794, when he expatriated to America. The liberality of his friends and admirers more than made up for his pecuniary losses: his brother-in-law gave him an annuity of 200*l.* a-year, and made over to him the sum of 10,000*l.*; but as the money was invested in the French funds, it may be doubted, notwithstanding the deep sympathy which Frenchmen professed for him, whether he ever got much of it. He also recovered by law compensation for damages to the amount of 3098*l.* Nor was Priestley without other consolations. He published pamphlet after pamphlet to exhibit his wrongs and to attribute them all to the infernal malice and preconcerted designs of a bigoted, intolerant clergy, and a set of selfish slaves, who were ready to barter for gold, or distinctions, or the smiles of a court, the birthright of all Englishmen.* He occupied, at least in the eyes of his own party, the enviable and honourable position of a martyr; and, besides numerous other testimonials, condolences, and most flattering compliments, he received from his French brethren of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, who called him their "most illustrious associate," a letter brimfull of compliments and generous sympathy. This letter was written by no less a man than Condorcet, who was at this time secretary to the Academy, and whom we shall soon have to introduce more formally to the reader's notice as one of the leading republicans in the National Convention. In a very short time Priestley published the letter to the world, together with addresses from the committee of dissenters at Birmingham, from the members of the New Meeting-house, from the young people belonging to his congregation at Birmingham, from the congregation of Mill Hill, Leeds, where he had once officiated, and from the protestant dissenters in Great Yarmouth, from the Philosophical Society at Derby, &c. &c. Condorcet, as might have been expected, laid it on pretty strongly. "You are not the first friend of liberty," wrote this scientific secretary, "against whom tyrants have armed the very people whom they have deprived of their rights. These are the only means which they can make use of against him, whose disinterestedness of mind, whose elevation of soul, and whose purity of conduct equally shelter him from their seductions and their vengeance. They calumniate such a person, when they can neither intimidate nor corrupt him; they arm prejudices against him, when they dare not arm the laws; and that which they have done in regard to you is the noblest homage that tyranny dares to render to probity, to talents, and to courage. At this present moment a league is formed throughout Europe against the general liberty of mankind; but for some time past another league has existed, occupied with propagating and with defending this liberty, without any other arms than those furnished by reason; and these will finally triumph! It is in the necessary order of things that error should be momentary, and truth eternal. Men of genius, supported by their virtuous disciples, when placed in the balance against the vulgar mob of corrupt intriguers—the instruments or the accom-

* Life of Hutton.—These three troops of the 15th Light Dragoons came all the way from Nottingham, a distance of fifty-nine miles, in one day, but to the great injury of their horses.—*Ann. Regist.*

† Belsham.

* In the second of his appeals to the public, which was published early in the following year (1792), he pretty directly accused Burke of being one of the promoters or originators of the persecution he had endured. "Among other *calumniators*," said he, "Mr. Burke particularly distinguished himself by his invectives against us (the Unitarian dissenters) in the House of Commons; but he only discovered his *utter ignorance* of our principles and conduct."

plices of tyrants—must at length prevail against them. The glorious day of universal liberty will shine upon our descendants, but we shall at least enjoy the aurora." [We shall presently see the sort of aurora it was that Condorcet enjoyed; and, as for the meridian day that shines upon his descendants, we have but to look to the present condition of France!] This letter from a zealot of the Revolution, with the other matter which Priestley printed so rapidly, was not likely to allay the storm which had been raised. The Derby philosophers, whose secretary was one Richard Roe, and whose president, we believe, was Dr. Darwin, author of the 'Loves of the Plants,' &c., who packed his religious belief in a smaller compass even than Priestley, were quite as vehement as the philosophers of Paris. They compared the doctor to Galileo and to Socrates. "Almost all great minds," said they, by the pen of Richard Roe, "in all ages of the world, who have endeavoured to benefit mankind, have been persecuted by them: Galileo, for his philosophical discoveries, was imprisoned by the Inquisition; and Socrates found a cup of hemlock his reward for teaching 'There is one God.' Your enemies, unable to conquer your arguments by reason, have had recourse to violence; they have hallooed upon you the dogs of unfeeling ignorance and of frantic fanaticism; they have kindled fires like those of the Inquisition, not to illuminate the truth, but, like the dark lantern of the assassin, to light the murderer to his prey. Your philosophical friends, therefore, hope that you will not again risk your person among a people whose bigotry renders them incapable of instruction: they hope you will leave the unfruitful field of *polemical theology*, and cultivate that philosophy of which you may be called the father, and which, by inducing the world to think and reason, will silently marshal mankind against delusion, and with greater certainty overturn the empire of superstition."* In replying to this address, Priestley, who seems never to have found any compliment or comparison too extravagant, told the philosophers of Derby that he felt greatly encouraged in his present sufferings from the effects of bigotry by the sympathy expressed by them and by other liberal friends of science here and abroad; that he felt himself more animated than ever, and was setting about the re-establishment of his philosophical apparatus and resuming all his former pursuits. "Excuse me, however," said he, like a true polemic, "if I still join theological to philosophical studies, and if I consider the former as greatly superior in importance to mankind to the latter." He seized every opportunity of contrasting the bigotry and misery of England, and the enlightened toleration and happiness of France. In the preface to the first of his appeals he said:—"How different are the spectacles that are now exhibited in France and in England! Here bigotry has been fostered, and has acquired new strength. There it is almost extinct. Here the friends of the establishment are burning the meeting-houses of the dissenters, with all the rage of crusaders; while in Paris one of the churches has been procured by the protestants. It was opened by one of their ministers to a crowded audience, among whom were many Catholics, all in tears of joy for the happy change. The preacher's text was, *The night is far spent, the day is at hand.* Here we must rather preach from Isaiah, lx. 2: *Behold, darkness shall cover the land, and gross darkness the people.*" To keep up and increase the irritation of these blisters, fresh addresses and condolences poured in from France upon Priestley, who published a proud list of them all, while he or his friends published many of the peppery documents at full length. A few days after Condorcet's letter, the Jacobins of Lyons wrote him an address, and this was followed, in rapid succession, by other addresses from the Jacobins of Nantes, from the Jacobins of Marmande on the Garonne, from the Jacobins of Clermont, in Auvergne, from the Jacobins of Toulouse, and from the Société Mère—the great genetrix and nursing-mother of them all—in the Rue St. Honoré, at Paris. As a climax, the National Convention, almost as soon as it met, nominated Priestley a citizen of the French republic! The Revolution Society at London, and the congregation of the Old Jewry, were, of course, in the field betimes, as addressers and condolers, and as panegyrists of the glorious march of events in France.* On the other hand, the zealots, not merely among the high church party, but also among the Wesleyan Methodists and other sects that could not tolerate Priestley's attacks on the mystery of the Trinity, assailed him in a bitter manner. He was accused of having converted Silas Deane, the American republican, to atheism; of having declared that he would never rest till he had pulled down that impostor Jesus Christ, even as his friends the philosophes in France had done; of being not merely a speculative republican, but a sworn enemy to the present government by king, lords, and commons. A song, set to the tune of 'God save the King,' and entitled 'Old Mother Church,' made him very truculent indeed:—

"Gunpowder Priestley would
Deluge the throne with blood,
And lay the great and good
Low in the dust."

* The conclusion to this letter or address shows still more clearly the school of rhetoric and belles-lettres in which Richard Roe, secretary of the Derby philosophers, had studied. It was—"In spite of the persecution you have sustained, we trust that you will persevere in the exertions of virtue and the improvements of science. Your fame, already conspicuous to every civilised nation of the world, *shall rise like a phœnix from the flames* of your elaboratory with renovated vigour, and shine with brighter coruscation."

* The letter from the committee of the Revolution Society, dated August the 16th, not satisfied with condemning "the ignorant and lawless savages" who had burnt his house, "the ignorance and brutality and most execrable bigotry" of the Birmingham mob, &c., ranged beyond the Channel, and applauded more than ever the revolution there, which had been becoming more wild and savage every day. "It is with exultation and triumph," said they, "that we see the success of the late just, necessary, and glorious revolution in France; an event so pregnant with the most important benefits to the world, that not to rejoice in it would be unworthy of us as freemen." Priestley modestly told them in return, that his principles were entirely the same as theirs; and that these principles, notwithstanding all opposition, must prevail in this as well as in other countries.—*See Letters in Ann. Regist.*

But a certain T. G. Hancock, in describing the philosopher in prose, in an 'Address to Unitarians,' beat the lyrical poet hollow. "Dr. Priestley," said he, "at present seems a chaos in miniature, not worth God's notice, and has neither belief nor understanding given him. For a careful analysis proves his spirit of the order of rebelling angels, his principles frothy and fiery, like fixed and inflammable air mixed with gunpowder, his body a *terra damnata*, and the whole compound a *devil incarnate*." Thus ran pens, and thus wagged tongues all over the kingdom, Priestley and his minority making up for their deficiency in numbers by a wonderful degree of activity in writing, printing, and speaking, and consoling themselves for their defeat at home by the sympathy and applause they got from France. The public mind was in this state when the trials of some of the Birmingham rioters who had been apprehended came on. As the circuit was at hand, the prisoners had not long to wait. Of five of them who were tried at the assizes for Worcestershire, on the 22nd of August, for offences committed *near* Birmingham, only one was convicted. But of those tried at the Warwick assizes on the 25th, four received sentence of death. Those who had suffered in their property, and all those who sympathised so deeply with Priestley, maintained that there ought to have been a good many more convictions, that the trial was unfair, or, at least, that the jury was all chosen from among the high church party. "The solicitor of the Treasury," says Hutton, "was sent from London to conduct the trials of the rioters. He treated me with civility, and said, 'If Mr. Ryland and I would go to his lodgings at Warwick, he would show us a list of the jury, and we should select twelve names to our satisfaction.' I thanked him, and took the journey accordingly. Upon perusing the list, I was surprised to find they had but *one* sentiment. I returned the paper with an air of disappointment. 'They are all of a sort,' said I; 'you may take which *you* please.'"* But, if they had taken some of the sturdy partisans of the other side, we really believe—so inflamed were both parties—that they would have fought in the jury-box, and would never have agreed in any one verdict; and if they had taken them all from that opposite party, who, great philanthropists as they were, had no notion of secondary punishments, but, in their vengeance, a most decided taste for gibbets and halters, there would have been such a black list of convictions as had not been seen in Warwick for many a day. But, besides the advantage of the one-sidedness of the jury, the rioters had in their favour nearly the whole strength of public opinion in those parts, and many witnesses who, believing that the original motive of their conduct was a good and loyal one, were probably not overscrupulous as to what they swore in order to screen them and get them off. It could also be proved, upon better evidence, that several of these rioters had previously been inoffensive, well-conducted men, and that they had only been excited by their own inward belief that Priestley and his friends were sworn enemies to the king and church. Besides all this, there was the favourable confusion of great numbers, the contradictory evidence of the illiterate witnesses for the prosecution, and the common flaws in indictments, when drawn up, as these had been, in a hurry, and upon loose testimony. And, after all, it is a difficult and odious and agonizing task to select out of so great a number a few men for examples. Previously to, and during, the trial, the sufferers from the riots and their witnesses were publicly abused and threatened in the streets of Birmingham and Warwick, where—as in many other places—the favourite toast of the church and king party was—"May every revolutionary dinner be followed by a hot supper!" Priestley himself says, that, while he was at Warwick attending the assizes, several persons in the public hall cried aloud "Damn him! there is the cause of all the mischief;" and that one man, an attorney in the place, followed him in the crowded public street, damning him in the most vociferous manner, and wishing that he had been burned as well as his house and books.* Although, including the man convicted at Worcester, five rioters were sentenced to death, only three were hanged, the other two receiving his majesty's free pardon. Green, who was condemned for the burning of Priestley's house, declared on the scaffold that he took no part whatever in that demolition, but that he deserved to suffer as he had been very active in destroying Hutton's house. The people, and many that were not populace, deplored even this very limited sacrifice of life. Priestley, although he had one man hanged to his own share, was very much dissatisfied with the result of the trial. He said, and published to the world immediately afterwards, that every possible difficulty was thrown in the way of procuring evidence against the rioters, and everything done to screen them from punishment; that a subscription was made to defray the expense of defending the rioters at the assizes; and that a letter was drawn up by some of the clergy of Birmingham, to the judges on the circuit, begging them to make a distinction between those of the rioters whose object was mere plunder, and those who acted from a pure but blind motive to serve the church and king.† The doctor was accused in prose and rhyme of being virtually the murderer of the three men who had suffered, and their ghosts were put into a ballad to haunt his nightly slumbers. Favoured by the feelings and the circumstances of the times, the fanatics of Toryism and high churchism took some bold strides in advance. The very Sunday after the riots a sermon was preached in one of the parish churches of Birmingham, upon the text from Saint Paul, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers;" and

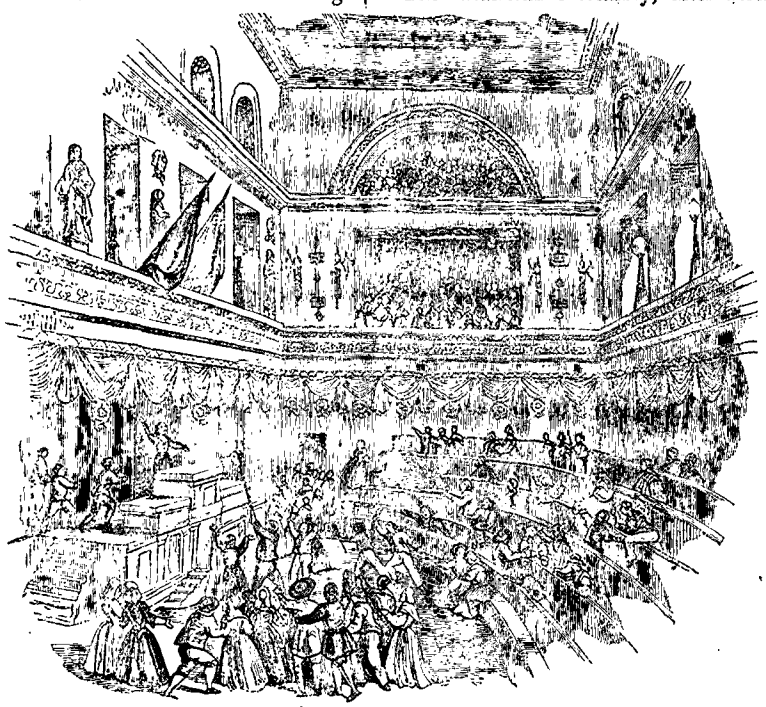
* Life. Hutton adds:—"At that moment John Brooke, the true blue and church and king's man (he who had been so anxious about his premises at Ashted), and the attorney employed against the sufferers, whose houses had been burned, &c., entered, and as silently as if he had listened behind the door. He had, no doubt, fabricated the list. I instantly retreated."

* Appeal to the Public, &c., Part II. † Id.

the preacher, quite a modern Sacheverell, made the doctrines of the Stuarts, passive obedience and non-resistance, flame as hotly as the burning houses had done a few days before. But in the evening another clergyman ascended the same pulpit, and preached upon another text from the same apostle: "Let your moderation be known unto all men."* But, alas! it was long ere this healing doctrine could take root in the hearts of the Birmingham-ers! And the flaming Toryism and high-churchism were not confined to the town where buckles and buttons were made.

We left France and her revolution as they stood at the end of the year 1790; and we now continue that narrative, or at least a relation of the chief and more decisive occurrences which took place between the deginning of 1791 and the beginning of 1792.

The National Assembly, after seizing all the



NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, PARIS. From a Drawing by Duplessis Bertaux.

property of the church, and driving half of the superior clergy into exile, complained that the priests who remained were enemies to liberty and the revolution. After several more violent proposals had been made and rejected, an ecclesiastical committee was appointed; and upon their report, drawn up by Mirabeau and assistants, it was voted and decreed that a civil oath—*serment civique*—should be exacted from all the clergy that remained. During the debate, in which Abbé Maury contended with great spirit with the athletic Mirabeau, it had been said that the Bishop of Nantes had disappeared, the Archbishop of Paris had fled the country, and that therefore these two prelates, together with many others in similar circumstances, ought to be deprived of their mitres, and their sees given to better friends of the constitution. "It is true," said Maury, "that the Bishop of Nantes has disappeared, but it was only to escape being the victim of a popular insurrection. And yet that prelate had protested against nothing; he had opposed nothing; he had merely said that your new demarcation of dioceses ought to be made with the consent and concurrence of the pope; and for that alone the people wanted to put him to death. The reporter of your committee denounces the absence of the Archbishop of Paris, but he very well knows the cause of that absence; he knows that that virtuous prelate, the benefactor of the people, was near being stoned to death by the people." He was interrupted by cries and murmurs, and loud calls for passing to the order of the day. "Take care what you do," exclaimed Maury: "it is not good to make martyrs; conscientious priests will show you that the sacrifice of all that they possess in this world, the sacrifice of life itself, costs them nothing when their sacred duties are concerned; that they do not live for the present time, that they look to eternity, that it is there that they expect goods that will not perish, and a true life. . . . . Then you will treat as enemies to the country those who oppress the men who pray for you. . . . . " Here he was interrupted by peals of laughter. After they had carried the decree, Cazales, that loyal and bold dragoon, said, it was not expressed with sufficient clearness, and that they had hurried it to a division without allowing any one to speak against it except Maury. M. Verchère rose in a passion,

* Hutton, Life.

and said, with great naïveté, "I demand that, for the first time, M. Cazales respect the general will!" The president said that the discussion was closed, and that Cazales could not be heard. Cazales rejoined, that it seemed incredible that they should close the debate without hearing what he and others had to say; but his mouth was stopped by the president and the secretaries, who quoted the rules of the Assembly. A bishop, who had the courage to attend in his place as a deputy, said it was impossible for him to take any part in these deliberations; and, rising, he was followed out of the hall by several ecclesiastics. The greater part of the côté droit neither voted nor spoke on the occasion.* The decree thus passed was very stringent and severe. It consisted of eight articles.—1. The bishops, the ci-devant archbishops (all the archbishoprics had been abolished), the curés preserved in their places—*conservés en fonctions*—were bound to take the oaths prescribed, to swear to do their duty in their dioceses and in their parishes, to be faithful to the nation, law, and king, and to maintain with all their power the constitution decreed by the Assembly. Those who were actually in their dioceses, or parishes, were to swear within a week; those who were absent, but in France, within a month; and those who were in foreign countries, within two months. 2. All vicars or bishops, all superiors and directors of seminaries, all professors of colleges and seminaries, and all other ecclesiastics exercising any public functions whatever, were to take the *serment civique*. 3. The serment or oath was to be taken on a Sunday immediately after mass, in the open church, in presence of the municipal authorities. 4. With respect to such bishops, curés, and other ecclesiastics exercising public functions, as might happen to be members of the National Assembly, they were to take the oath in the Assembly, and to send notice of it to their respective municipalities. 5. All bishops, curés, &c., that did not take the oath within the time prescribed were to be considered as having resigned whatever sees, parishes, posts, or employments they might possess; and the mayors and municipalities, and the attorneys-general of departments, were to be held responsible for making their disobedience known, and for carrying into execution the present decree. 6. Any bishops, curés, &c., that after taking the oath should break it, either by refusing to obey the decrees of the National Assembly, or by forming or exciting any opposition to the execution of them, were to be prosecuted in the tribunals of their respective districts as rebels to the law, punished by the stoppage of their allowances, and declared to have forfeited their rights as active citizens, and to be incapable of exercising any public functions or employments whatsoever: their places were to be filled up immediately, and they were to be sentenced to severer punishments wherever their case required it. 7. Any priests or monks, or members of any body or order that had been suppressed by the Assembly, that should presume to attempt to exercise their functions, were to be prosecuted and punished as disturbers of the public peace. 8. In the same manner were to be prosecuted as disturbers of public order, and to be punished with the rigour of the law, all persons whatsoever, whether churchmen or laymen, who should combine to get up a refusal to obey the decrees of the National Assembly, or excite any opposition to the execution of those decrees.—A few days after passing this decree, which was a sentence of proscription to all conscientious Catholic priests, who could not comply with some parts of it without breaking other vows, the Assembly devoted a good deal more time to the settlement of the theatres, or in regulating what houses or companies should play legitimate tragedy and comedy, and what companies vaudevilles and farces; and whether soldiers should be stationed in the pit, or only outside in the lobbies, for the maintaining of order and decorum.* We even doubt whether more attention was not paid to the community of wig-makers and hair-dressers than was paid to the Gallican church. Certainly there was less precipitation in the one case than in the other. A deputation of these maîtres-perruquiers of Paris were honourably admitted to the bar of the Assembly, and were, apparently, listened to with respectful attention, while their orator explained the great mischiefs which had befallen them in consequence of the decrees which had abolished all corporations, companies, chartered bodies and rights, and thrown their art and mystery, like all others, open to general competition. They had laughed at Maury and his priests, with their scruples of conscience and their hopes of immortality; but we are not told that they so much as chuckled at the Demosthenes of the wig-makers and hair-dressers, who said—"The company of perruquiers of Paris have deputed us to the National Assembly to supplicate you in their name, and we might say in the name of the perruquiers of all France, to bestow your attention upon our sad situation. A dismal (*funeste*) competition has broken out between our journeymen and us. Our trade can be compared to none other, because our journeymen hold in their hands our work and our fortune. This was the reason why, in all ages, a strict police was established in our corporate company; but now our regulations are despised. Our journeymen are taking away from us all the customers that we confided to them. We are on the eve of seeing our misfortunes greatly aggravated by the approach of New Year's Day, if the Assembly does not take our fate into consideration. On one side we are called upon to pay the tax for our monopoly, which is going to be entirely suppressed, and on

* Hist. Parlement.

* These discussions, however, gave rise to a decree which secured to dramatic writers a better property in their works than they had enjoyed before. A deputation of hommes de lettres and dramatic *authors* had presented a petition, *and had been admitted to the bar* of the Assembly several months before; and their petition, after having been most favourably received, had been submitted to—*the constitution committee!*

the other our journeymen are combining together to deprive us of all means of paying. Four hundred perruquier shops have been opened, to the detriment of nine hundred and seventy-two fathers of families, who, though they are losing their trade, still preserve the purest patriotism for the defence of the new constitution. We have paid for our exclusive rights.. We pay annually to the state 270,000 livres. Our conscience imperiously calls upon us to declare that too many precautions cannot be taken as to the persons destined to exercise our profession. But, in spite of all our misfortunes, God forbid that we should solicit the preservation of our monopoly, if it does not accord with the Rights of Man, for which we have sworn to die, if necessary. Whatever may be your decision, we, the community of perruquiers, will ever remain the most faithful friends of the constitution." The petition was received, and submitted to the committees of finance *and constitution*.*

It was soon seen that the courage of the majority of the clergy had not been overrated by Maury, and that the forcible exacting of the *serment civique* would lead to a civil war, at least in a part of France. Before matters had come to this extremity with the clergy, Louis XVI., as a really scrupulous Catholic, had written to Rome for the opinion and advice of Pius VI. The pope's opinion was opposed to the plans and determinations of the Assembly, and therefore the liberal Archbishop of Vienne, minister for ecclesiastical affairs, and the equally liberal Archbishop of Bordeaux, keeper of the seals, into whose hands it fell, had kept it for a long time from the knowledge of the king.† But neither the strong opinion of the pontiff of the catholic world, nor the sentiments of the French hierarchy, among whom were many individuals that he revered, could be kept for good from the knowledge of Louis; and his own strong conviction gave him courage to withhold for some time the royal assent to the civil constitution of the clergy, and to the forced *serment civique*, which was a part of it. At one time he is even said to have declared that he would die rather than be a party to the destruction of the established church; and, as he studied very attentively the history of our Charles I., he may have thought of acting with the church of France as that prince had done in his last days by the Anglican church. But Louis had none of the boldness of Charles I.; and even on this point, where his feelings and principles were perhaps stronger than upon any other, he was incapable of any steadiness of purpose. He was not born to be a voluntary martyr; and no people but the French could have made him a martyr. Day after day the majority of the Assembly were thrown into transports of rage by the reception of protests against the civil constitution of the clergy, and by the positive refusal of some prelates, curés, and other priests to take the *serment civique*. This hardihood of the shavelings was attributed to the obstinacy of the king. The president was ordered to wait upon his majesty, and demand why he did not sanction the decrees of the Assembly. Louis, in a written answer, spoke of his respect for religion, and of his earnest desire to avoid measures of violence and persecution; but he added that his mind was constantly occupied with the subject, and that the Assembly might have confidence in him. Camus, the Jansenist, and the Cato of the House, took the lead in the hot debate which followed. Forgetting that, though he was a Jansenist, the bishops were, or were bound to be, orthodox Roman Catholics, he insulted them for waiting for the sanction of the pope before they swore, and told them that they ought to look to nobody but our Lord Jesus Christ. M. Toulongeon thought that, as the week originally fixed for the taking of the oaths had already passed, and as the sovereign had not given his sanction, there would be no great harm in a little delay, or in allowing the priests a short respite before forcing the oaths upon them. Some deputies vociferated that there ought not to be a moment's delay, and that the decrees ought to be ordered, with or without the king's assent, to be carried into execution against the rebellious priests before the House adjourned. Abbé Maury rushed to the tribune, and demanded to be heard. Lanjuinais told him it was impossible; and there ensued a tumult and fracas. But the Abbé boldly kept his post, being determined to speak when some order should be restored. Camus asked the president whether the king's answer which he had brought them was signed? The president pettishly replied that they had not ordered him to bring back an answer *signed;* that if the king's answer were not a legal one, it was no fault of his; that the king had read his answer to him, and had given it to him in writing; and that, if he had not done so, he would have brought them the answer by memory. M. Chassey represented the indispensable necessity of having the king's answer in a legal form. They could not, he said, deliberate upon the matter without that formality. The king, according to the constitutional forms now established, ought to say, whenever he hesitated about giving his assent, "*I will take it into consideration;*" and he ought to say this in an authenticated manner; that is to say, he ought to write it, and his signature, and that of his minister, ought to be put under the declaration. "I demand, therefore," said Chassey, in conclusion, "that the president go back to the king, and demand from him an answer properly signed and countersigned." "Yes," cried many voices, "and let him bring us that answer before we adjourn." Here Maury made himself heard from the tribune. "Whatever you mean to do," said he, "do it at once. No sort of delay can suit *us*." Here Abbé Colaud, commonly called la Salcette, interrupted him by asking what he meant by that word *us*. Maury, a wit, and a perfect master of repartee, instantly replied, "Although I am not obliged to give an account to any man of what I mean, I am glad to say that, when I say *us*, I do not mean to

* Hist. Parlement. † Abbé Georgel, Mémoires.

include M. l'Abbé Salcette." "There you are right," said the Jacobin priest. "What is the use of interrupting me?" said Maury, who then went on to deliver one of the very boldest of his orations, unchecked by murmurs, hissings, and hootings, and calls to order. After dwelling on what he denounced as the unmannerly violence proposed to be exercised against the king, he observed that the sovereign had in fact accepted the civil constitution of the clergy, and was only waiting for the sanction of the pope, which was considered necessary by every good Catholic in matters purely spiritual. "With respect to the authority of the holy see," said he, "we are Frenchmen; we are free citizens; we acknowledge the unity of the temporal power that resides in the nation; but, when religion was received in the state, it had its laws, its rights, its chief; and, while it is still called dominant in France, this religion will never be your slave. It depends on God alone; it has no authority in temporal matters, but neither will it acknowledge in spirituals the power of man." Here the president called him back to the question. The imperturbable Maury said that the question was nothing but whether the president had brought them a proper authentic answer from the king. He, for his part, considered every answer brought them by the president as perfectly authentic; and therefore he wished that the Assembly would not regard his majesty's answer as an obstacle to deliberation, but proceed and discuss thoroughly the question of the civil constitution of the clergy. Maury was answered by Barnave, who maintained that it was monstrous to talk of the sanction of the Vatican; that the Assembly, and the Assembly alone, had the right of dealing with the French church and with the French clergy, who were salaried by the state; and that the king had nothing to do but to assent to their decrees. As the end of all, a resolution was passed that their president should go back to the king on the morrow, and beg him to give an answer signed by himself and countersigned by a secretary of state. As the morrow was a Saturday, and as the Assembly imitated the English parliament in doing no business on that day of the week, the king's answer was not reported till the Monday following, the 26th of December, 1790. The answer was *pure et simple* enough, and it was signed and countersigned, even as the Assembly had demanded. For, in the mean time, the Paris patriots had made an *émeute* and a terrible *charivari* under the windows of the apartment of the poor weak prisoner of the Tuileries.* As if he could hope to disarm their animosity and quiet their violent suspicions by any such means, Louis, in his written reply, had recourse to a miserable duplicity and cajolery. He assured the Assembly, "openly and frankly, as became his character," that it was his invariable wish to agree in all their measures, and support with all his power the constitution they had made (*it was not finished even now*); that, if he had delayed his acceptance of the present decree, it was only because his heart was anxious to avoid measures of severity against the clergy, and because, in allowing time for men's minds to become calm, he had believed that the law might be passed with the assent of all parties. "I hoped," said the paper, "that these motives of prudence would be generally felt; but since doubts have arisen as to my intentions, which the known uprightness of my character ought to have prevented, my confidence in the National Assembly engages me *to accept*. I repeat it once more, there are no means surer or more proper to calm agitation, to conquer all resistance, than the reciprocity of this sentiment between the Assembly and me: it is necessary; I deserve it; I count upon it." The whole côté gauche raised shouts of applause, which were continued for several minutes. Then the Assembly ordered that the letter should be printed, and sent immediately to all the municipalities of the kingdom. On the next day, Abbé Grégoire, who was poor and most obscure before the revolution began, but who was now on the high road to the best places and honours the revolutionised church contained, who united, or pretended to unite, an enthusiastic zeal for the Roman Catholic religion with a thorough-going Jacobinism, rose in his place as a deputy, and said that he and a good many more priests were ready to take the *serment civique*. "It cannot be concealed," said this unctuous orator, "that a great many pastors, very estimable no doubt, and whose patriotism is not equivocal, feel much anxiety on this account, as they fear that the French constitution is incompatible with the principles of catholicism. For ourselves we are as inviolably attached to the laws of our religion as to the laws of our country. Invested with the sacerdotal office, we will continue to honour it by our virtues. Submissive to that divine religion, we will constantly be its missionaries, and, if needful, its martyrs; but, after the ripest and most serious examination, we declare that we can see nothing in the constitution that can hurt the holy truths that we are bound to believe and teach. It would be to injure and calumniate this National Assembly to suppose for a moment that it means to lay its hand upon the censer (that is, to meddle with things spiritual). In the face of all France and of the universe, the Assembly has solemnly manifested its respect for the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion; never has it wished to deprive believers of their means of salvation; never has it wished to make the least attempt upon the dogmas, the hierarchy, or the spiritual authority of the head of the church; it acknowledges that such objects are out of its domain. No consideration, therefore, ought to suspend the emission of our

* According to Madame Campan, Mirabeau passed a whole night in the house of the curé of St. Eustache, the confessor of the king and queen, to induce him to agree to take the *serment civique*. The fact became known to the king, who immediately chose another confessor, believing, as all good Catholics did, that no priest could lawfully take that oath. In order to be saved from Mirabeau's nocturnal visits, and from other persecutions or temptations, the new confessor remained in strict incognito.

oaths, which will cement the union that ought to exist between pastors and their congregations. I take the oath in the form properly prescribed. I swear to watch with care over the flock confided to my direction; I swear to be faithful to the nation, law, and king; I swear to maintain with all my power the French constitution, and especially the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy." Grégoire, who well knew that the far greater number of the superior clergy would not take the oath, and must have been quite sure, at this moment, of a bishopric, was cheered and applauded to the skies by the galleries and the côté gauche. As soon as the tumult subsided, a troop of priests presented themselves to take the oath. They were most of them country curés; but there were some ex-monks and ex-canons among them who now got their living by teaching in colleges and seminaries, and who would lose their appointments if they did not swear. One or two of them were rather intimately connected with the Assembly itself. Latyt, an ex-priest of the Oratory, was, for example, one of its secretaries. The entire number, counting curés, ex-canons, monks, and all, was about sixty. Abbé Salcette, whom Maury had excluded from his *us*, said that, though he had not the honour to be a public functionary, or to hold a place of any kind, he must beg to be permitted to swear, as he had once been a canon of a cathedral, and was receiving an allowance from the state on that account. And he declared it to be his conviction that no French citizen ought to live at the expense of the state, if he did not make a public profession of his submission to the law. The noted Dom Gérles, the ex-Carthusian monk, who had at first come to the States-General in the dress and hood of his order, begged also to state that he was perfectly disinterested. "I have no public place," said he, "but I am a French citizen, and under that title I swear!" The galleries applauded Dom Gérles as much as they had done the Abbé Grégoire. Tridon, a curé and deputy, requested permission to express some scruples. "As a French citizen," said he, "I can swear to be true to the nation, law, and king, and to maintain with all my power the constitution which the king has accepted; as a pastor of the church I can swear to watch carefully over my flock; but as a Christian, firmly attached to the Catholic faith, I declare that, in what concerns the spiritual regimen of the church, I acknowledge no competent authority except that of the holy see and the bishops!" Here he was stopped by loud murmurs from the côté gauche and the galleries. Abbé Dillon, a French priest, but with Irish blood in him, told Tridon that he was not called upon to swear as a Christian, but as a public functionary; and the president told him that he could receive the oath in no other form than in that laid down by the Assembly. Abbé Royer, curé of Chavannes and deputy, said it was very consoling for a pastor of the church, like himself, who had exercised his holy functions for thirty years, to take the *serment civique* in the face of the nation. "More culpable than Ananias and his daughter, if I made the least mental reservation, I should believe that I was drawing down upon my head the thunderbolts of Heaven. It is therefore *frankly*, to use the expression of our good king, that I this day tender my oath; and I demand an authentic act, that I may send it to my parishioners, together with a letter of instruction which I mean to join to it." Royer, like Grégoire, became a constitutional bishop; but before his promotion he had to complain from the tribune of the Assembly that a priest had refused to confess him because he had taken the *serment civique*. Sixty was a small number in the countless multitude of French ecclesiastics; but it seemed long ere any more priests came to swear. On the 2nd of January (1791), in consequence of some expressions of impatience which sounded very like threats, the bishop of Clermont spoke at some length in the Assembly. He said that he and his brethren had never ceased to pay their homage to the civil power; but that in spiritualities they could not submit to that power: that they were obliged, as ministers of religion, to defend and teach their *doctrine;* and that they had always felt convinced that their spiritual functions were strictly limited to the territory for which they had received their mission. The National Assembly, who had done away with the old provinces, and divided France into départemens, by rule and line, like a chess-board, had also re-fashioned the old dioceses, making some that were too large smaller, and some that were too small larger, and squaring or rounding them off with mathematical nicety; for these bold innovators made up for their eccentricities in other respects by a rigid and pedantic adherence to certain fixed rules. The bishops maintained that their dioceses could not thus be cut up and remodelled without the consent of the court of Rome. The bishop of Clermont was presently interrupted, and told that the House could not hear such nonsense; that he was only talking in the tribune to get his speech published, in order to increase the discontents and troubles by which the country was afflicted; that the Assembly had decreed the oath pure and simple, and that a pure and simple oath it would have, or dismiss from their functions all who refused it. The bishop said mildly he did not pretend to force the Assembly to hear him; he only thought he might remind them of their own principles. They had never prohibited members from expressing their opinions, above all when religion was concerned. Here he was again interrupted by loud murmurs. "At least," continued he, "you have solemnly admitted that you have no empire over men's consciences. . . . . ." Here he was interrupted by still louder murmurs. "If," exclaimed a liberal deputy, "we are to lose a day about every priest's *serment civique*, we have invented a precious method of retarding our labours. Let the Bishop of Clermont swear at once, or let us pass to the order of the day!" The proposition was greatly applauded,

and was repeated by several deputies. M. Foucault asked whether they would hear the bishop? A great many voices cried No! No! "No!" exclaimed Foucault; "well, then, there is no longer a national assembly—it is nothing but a faction!" and, in spite of threatening murmurs, he went on. "Read the rule that permits these gentlemen to interrupt the bishop! You are making yourselves answerable for all the calamities that afflict the provinces and . . . . . ." Here he was completely stopped by a deputy with stronger lungs than his own. The Bishop of Clermont again mildly asked whether the Assembly would not listen to an explanation of his motives. He was told that they could only hear his oath; and the president, by order of the House, called upon him to declare whether he would swear purely and simply or not. "I declare, then," said the bishop, "that I believe in conscience I cannot." The Assembly then passed to the order of the day, but, before they separated, they decreed that the priests must all swear within two days, or by the 4th of January. On the 4th Abbé Grégoire mounted the tribune. He said, it ought to be clearly understood that the Assembly did not intend to touch things spiritual; that it was quite certain that all things purely spiritual were beyond the competence of the Assembly; that the Assembly had formally avowed this principle, and had always applauded those who professed it; that this was a grand consideration to calm all inquietudes in the minds of the clergy; *that the Assembly did not judge their consciences, and did not even exact their inward consent to the oath.* Here there were some murmurs from the côté droit. After Grégoire had attempted somewhat to qualify this declaration, Mirabeau ascended to the speaking-place to explain that the Assembly did not mean to force the *serment civique* on the clergy, but *only* to deprive all those who refused it of their posts in the church, of any other places, or of the pensions or allowances they received from the state. "The Assembly," said he, "could never think that it had the right of imposing the oath by force; it only thought that it had the right of declaring a refusal to swear incompatible with the exercise of any public functions. In fact, the instant a priest refuses to swear, he ceases to be a public functionary. I should not have ascended the tribune to give this unnecessary explanation if it had not been for an unconstitutional, iniquitous placard which is stuck up in all the streets, and which denounces as disturbers of public tranquillity all priests that refuse to take the oath which you have decreed. Surely the Assembly has never permitted or authorised that placard! The priest that, after taking the oath, shall not obey the law, will be a disturber of the public peace. He that persists in refusing the oath, and preserving the exercise of his functions, will be equally criminal; but he who resigns himself to his fate, and says, I cannot take the oath, and I give in my resignation, will certainly not be culpable. Those placards are then erroneous and detestable, and the public police ought instantly to remove them." Bailly, who, as Mayor of Paris, was the great bill-sticker, protested that it was no fault of his that the placards, which aimed at little less than exciting the mob to massacre the clergy, were pasted on the walls; and he, with proper official solemnity, assured the Assembly that he had caused other placards, which properly expressed their law and intentions, to be pasted over them. Malouet, who yet remained at his post, though warned by his friends that it was more dangerous than the front line of a forlorn hope, accused the worshipful Bailly of prevarication. Barnave thought that they ought not to lose time in talking about bill-stickers, but proceed at once to demand from such bishops and priests as were deputies and present in the Assembly whether they would swear, in conformity with the decree and law of the state. His motion to this effect was carried by acclamation on the instant. Then the president called upon the ecclesiastics that were public functionaries of that Assembly to answer to their names, and take the oath. After some minutes spent in silence a deputy rose to say something in favour of the priests; but he was stopped by loud calls for the execution of the decree. "Do you hear," said Cazales, "the cries that are raised round this Assembly?" It appears that the mob, excited by the placards, were crying out *lanterne* and death to the obstinate and traitorous priests. The secretary began to call the names of the priest-deputies, beginning with that of the Bishop of Agen. This prelate demanded permission to speak. The côté gauche cried out, "*Point de parole*—no words! Will you swear? Say yes, or no!" The Bishop of Agen said, "With a heart broken with grief, I . . . . ." Here the noise outside the Assembly became so terrible that the prelate turned pale and stopped short. Several members of the côté droit cried out all together, "You hear that noise, M. le Président!" And then a deputy on the same side of the House said, "Let M. Bailly, the mayor, go out and put an end to that disorder." Several voices replied, "He is gone to do it; he has left the House." For some time the horrible hurly-burly continued: the mob seemed to be on the point of bursting into the Assembly, and the côté droit betrayed lively agitations—*vives agitations*—which, being translated into plain English, means that they were in a sad fright. After some minutes the president said that he had given his orders for re-establishing the tranquillity which became the dignity of the Assembly and their serious deliberations. M. Dufraisse exclaimed, "You still hear the scoundrels, who, after destroying the monarchy by infamous means, want to annihilate religion! I declare that the Assembly is not free! I protest that . . . . . ." Here a hundred hoarse voices shouted "Silence! Let the list of priests be read! Let the decrees of the Assembly be executed!" The Bishop of Agen, who was again called upon, said, "You have made the

law. You have declared that all ecclesiastics who will not swear must forfeit their offices. I have no regret for my place, no regret for my fortune; but I grieve in being obliged, by my conscience, to differ with you, and to tell you that I cannot take the oath." They next called upon M. Fournès, curé of Puymiclant, who replied, "I will speak with the simplicity of the first Christians. I count it a glory and honour to follow my bishop. I will not swear." The next to be interrogated was Leclerc, another country curé. Leclerc began to respond by saying, "I am a child of the Catholic church . . . ." He was interrupted by Rœderer, who told him that he must not make a speech, but merely swear, or say he would not. Another of the country curés said with some naïveté, which was better than a logical argument, "When you received the oath of Abbé Grégoire, you permitted him to give a long explanation." The president now said that, to conform with the decree, every priest called upon must say simply, "I swear," or "I refuse." Here M. Foucault exclaimed indignantly, "This is tyranny! The Roman emperors, who persecuted the early martyrs, permitted them to pronounce the name of God, and to proffer the testimony of their steadiness to their religion." M. Bonnay, who had so recently been president himself, and who had been so much abused in that capacity by Marat and the other Jacobin journalists, on account of his behaviour at the Federation festival, here begged to remark that this way of summoning the priests by list and by name had never been decreed by the Assembly; and that it was, in fact, a method suddenly chosen by the president for making the priests take the oath expeditiously. "You know," he continued, "that a great mistake has been committed in proclaiming the law to the people in those placards! That grave error has excited in the minds of the evil-intentioned a terrible animosity against ecclesiastics, and created a real danger for all public functionaries that refuse to take the oath." He proposed that, instead of proceeding to call upon the priests by name, which would designate them to the popular fury, such as chose might be permitted to ascend the tribune and express their adhesion: the names of such as took the oath might be registered, and all those whose names should not be found on the list might be deprived of their functions without holding them up conspicuously and severally as objects for assassination. This proposition was put to the vote, and carried. The president then called upon all ecclesiastics, being public functionaries and members of the Assembly, and who had not yet taken the oath, to come up to the tribune and conform to the decree. He repeated the form of the oath, and told those who were willing to take it that they had nothing to do but to say *Je le jure*. Forthwith one nameless curé, ascending to the talking-place, said he swore in conformity with the decree; and was loudly applauded. Then another said he would take the oath, but only with the restrictions proposed by the Bishop of Clermont; and was hooted down. Then another mounted the tribune and said, he would swear, but with certain reservations; and, after being called upon by many angry voices to take the oath "pure and simple," *he too* was hooted down. Then another unnamed curé-deputy, but bolder than the others, mounted and said, "It is very astonishing that a certain number of the members of this Assembly should arrogate to themselves the sole right of speaking, and oblige us to remain as mute as statues. It is very astonishing, I say, that our mouths should be closed, while others speak as much as they please! For my part, adopting the sentiment of the Assembly, which says it has no intention of touching spiritual concerns, I profess to conform." The president assured him that the Assembly *had not understood that they were touching spiritual matters*. Cazales demanded that this should be positively declared not merely by the mouth of the president, but by the Assembly itself; and he made a motion to that effect. The president, evidently disconcerted, asked whether no more ecclesiastics were coming to take the oath. A quarter of an hour elapsed, and not one priest approached the tribune. Cazales repeated his motion, demanding, as a thing of vital consequence, that the Assembly should expressly declare that it had no intention of touching or interfering with the spiritual concerns of the clergy. The Bishop of Poitiers then rose and said, "I am seventy years old; I have passed thirty-five years in the episcopacy, doing all the good in my power. Oppressed with years and cares I will not dishonour my old age; I will never take this oath!" Here there were groans, and murmurs, and menaces. "No matter," added the aged prelate, "I will meet my fate in the spirit of penitence." The côté droit applauded, and then Cazales again pressed his motion, saying that, if the Assembly would only make the declaration he called for, the difficulty would be removed even on the part of the most scrupulous of the clergy; that there was nothing improper or inconvenient in adopting the restriction to the oath proposed by the Bishop of Clermont, who would take the oath if spiritualities were not to be touched. Here Mirabeau rose and went to the tribune. He said Cazales ought to know that the Assembly had declared that it had not touched spiritualities; and that, therefore, it ought not to declare that it did not intend to touch them. "I say," cried he with his sonorous voice, "that the Assembly has not touched spiritual matters." Several members of the côté droit cried out that it had touched them. Resuming his speech, Mirabeau said, that possibly the priests might call spiritual what the Assembly called temporal; that if there was not a secret intention to disturb the public peace, the ecclesiastics would swear what the Assembly had decreed. "If," exclaimed he, with a voice that echoed through the galleries and every

other part of the House, "if it be true we all wish to concur in preserving peace, if it be true that this resistance is not a means but too well known in our annals to give influence and force to the ultra-montane authority, the priests ought to be satisfied with the thousand times repeated declaration of the Assembly, and ask no more." Here there was some loud murmuring from the côté droit. "I beg those who interrupt me," added the French Demosthenes, "to observe that *I* am not aiming at a bishopric. It is evident that the fatal hour is come, that the operation we have begun in exacting the oaths is quite legal. In order that it may be completely consummated, I demand that, after one more call upon the ecclesiastics, the second motion of M. Barnave be instantly adopted." Cazales again recommended as a sure means of avoiding a civil war, that the restriction of the Bishop of Clermont should be adopted. Abbé Maury ascended the tribune, but he was hissed and hooted, and it was put to the vote and decided that he should not be heard again. The president then said in a loud voice, "I call, for the last time, upon the ecclesiastics to come forward and take the oath the Assembly has decreed." Some minutes passed, and nobody came. The second motion of M. Barnave, which Mirabeau had demanded, was then read. It implied that the president should go to the king, acquaint him with the non-conformity of the clergy, and beg him to give his orders for the prompt and entire execution of the decree upon all the members of the Assembly and ecclesiastic functionaries who had not taken the oath. Maury, speaking from his place, said, "I propose an amendment which has two objects: the first, to preserve peace; the second, to preserve from calumny the men who, instead of being the authors of the troubles which must follow, would be the victims. To accomplish this double object, I demand that the Assembly decree that this decree is not to be executed till sixty years hence." But the motion, as proposed by Barnave, and so warmly recommended by Mirabeau, was put to the vote and carried, a good many of the côté droit crying out that they protested against it, and had nothing to do with the iniquitous vote. The king, knowing that the consequences of a refusal would be another émeute, promised the president to do all that the Assembly required. A few days after, when Talleyrand, as Bishop of Autun, and one more prelate, who was only a bishop *in partibus*, had taken the oath, without having been able to carry one of their brethren with them, there was another hurricane of a debate in the Assembly, where the majority seemed determined to exterminate the non-conformists without loss of time. The secretaries read with great emphasis various letters which had been received from curés in the different provinces, who had consented to swear in presence of their mayors and municipalities; and this was followed by the reading a great number of terrible denunciations from the departments against the high clergy, and the intrigues they were carrying on to bring about insurrection and civil war. These accusations, which came principally from provincial Jacobin clubs and revolutionary municipalities, charged the Bishop of Clermont, the Bishop of Poitiers—the excellent old St. Aulaire—and other prelates, members of the Assembly and residing in Paris, with writing, publishing, and circulating throughout the kingdom books and pamphlets, about the church, of the most incendiary and dangerous description. Some of them recommended the Assembly to adopt the severest measures against the printers and publishers, while others announced that they had themselves instituted a research or inquisition, and hoped soon to discover and bring to punishment the authors themselves. Such was the liberty of the press! Some of the municipalities acquainted the Assembly that they had already turned out all the priests that would not swear, and had put into their parishes, &c., good patriots, who had not only sworn, but who had also declared that the admirable legislation of the Assembly would restore religion to its primitive purity and simplicity. When the secretaries had finished reading all this correspondence, Chassey informed the House that a committee of research, touching the recusant priests, which had been sitting, would present its report on the morrow. M. Foucault, not without good reason, denounced this committee as inquisitorial, precipitate, and remorseless. The president called him to order, bade him hold his tongue, and kept ringing that handbell with which French presidents are furnished, and which still plays so principal a part in most French parliamentary debates and tumults. "You may keep ringing your bell till to-morrow," cried Foucault, who was as petulant as the rest of them; "I will speak, I will be heard!" And, moving from one part of the hall to another, and gesticulating, as only Frenchmen can gesticulate, he uttered violent sentences which no one could distinctly hear, because some scores of the côté gauche were talking all together, and each of them making as much noise as himself. So fitted were these people for a representative government and a deliberative and legislative assembly! Abbé Maury rose and ran through the ranks of the côte droit, apparently recommending to them a cessation of this useless struggle; the president kept ringing his handbell as if the house were on fire; and at last something like order was restored. Then Chassey thundered against the tribunal of the city of Amiens for having permitted the unsworn priests —*les prêtres insermentés*—to continue the exercise of their functions. And then, as if there had not been denunciations enough—as if men enough had not been marked out for destruction at the hands of the mob—Barnave, whom some writers still consider as a very amiable enthusiast, mounted the tribune to denounce the *club des monarchiens*, which consisted only of some fourscore inept and powerless loyalists. "While we are regretting the irreligious abuses that are committed in the name

of religion," cried Barnave, "another sect is rising among us, invoking a monarchic constitution, and poisoning the minds of the people." Malouet and several other members of the unlucky club attempted to make themselves heard; but their voices were drowned by the angry shouts of the côté gauche and the galleries. "But this is not the time," continued Barnave, "to enter into the particulars of that insidious, factious, and perfidious association." Here Malouet rushed towards the tribune, calling Barnave a scoundrel, and threatening him with maniac gestures. "Reduce that man to order who is playing the bravo at the foot of the tribune!" cried Charles Lameth. Barnave continued, "The moment is not yet arrived for entering into details about that dangerous club. Without doubt the magistrates charged to watch over the public tranquillity will, by this time, have taken their measures: the subject is not before the House."—"Get you gone to your Jacobin Club," cried many voices on the côté droit. But Barnave was not to be stopped or put to the blush by any reference to the Great Mother, and the absolute tyranny she exercised: he went on to expose the great danger that might result to liberty and the constitution if this knot of royalists and their damask sofas were left undisturbed; he accused them of distributing bread at half price to the people of Paris, in order to win them back to despotism and make them take up arms against the Assembly; and he averred that all this was indisputable fact. He then, *per altum*, got back to the unsworn priests, and proposed that every one of them, beginning with the bishops, should instantly be deprived, and put under strict surveillance. "The people," said he, "*are crying out* for new prelates and pastors; let *us* name them. It is evident that the new prelates that shall be appointed can easily give ordination to other priests; and when the old priests and curés are once separated from their present perfidious prelates, the greater part of them will walk quietly in the paths of the revolution." He descended from the tribune in the midst of tremendous applause. M. Murinais, a member of the Club des *Monarchiens*, then attempted to complain of Barnave's unmanly denunciation; but a roar of voices interrupted him, and the president rang his bell and proclaimed that the discussion was closed. Then rose the hot Malouet. "Since," exclaimed he, "the discussion is closed, I may be allowed to speak to a private matter. You have heard a denunciation against individuals....." The côté gauche cried out, "Do you mean to move an amendment?" "I demand as an amendment," rejoined Malouet, "that, in the bosom of the revolution, in the midst of the city which has been the cradle of the constitution, and which has done so much for liberty..... I demand, I say, that liberty, that public security and individual security, be not outraged with impunity from this tribune. I demand that Barnave's denunciation be put upon record. I demand for myself and my friends a tribunal to try us. I demand that Barnave leave his denunciation of our club upon your table." Apparently most of the côté gauche and the galleries had, by this time, gone home to their dinners, for Murinais was allowed to follow Malouet, and even to be heard, although he spoke sacrilege against the great Nursing Mother. "I demand," said he, "the prosecution of the member who has called down the knives of assassins on the heads of honourable men. I demand that he be pursued by the laws. I denounce the Jacobin Club!" "Yes," rejoined Malouet, "they have called down the fury of the people on our heads... And how can we re-establish peace in the kingdom, how can we put an end to the disorders and miseries under which the good citizens are groaning, so long as there reigns in France a club that domineers over all and everything? I denounce the Jacobin Club!" And verily there was more reason than ever for a denunciation of that accursed fraternity. On the 24th of January, only two days before this present storm in the Assembly, the Jacobins of Paris had bound themselves by an oath to defend with their fortunes and their blood every citizen who should have the courage to devote himself to the denunciation of traitors to the country, by which they understood all men that entertained different opinions from their own. The decree to this effect—for the Jacobins made decrees like the Assembly—was unanimously adopted, as was also the resolution that copies of it should be sent to the affiliated societies in all parts of France, in order that they might bind themselves by the same oath—an oath which would have suited the original Assassins of the Old Man of the Mountain. The president, on the night when all this was decreed in the Rue St. Honoré, was Victor Broglie, ex-count, and father of the present Duke de Broglie; and one of the secretaries was Alexandre Beauharnais, ex-viscount, the first husband of Napoleon Buonaparte's first wife, by fate of revolutions and wars, Josephine, Empress of the French.* The immediate effect produced by the infernal vow and covenant was a red-hot persecution agains all unsworn priests. Mirabeau had proclaimed in the Assembly that those priests that would not take the oath, and that gave up their livings, places, and appointments, were not to be treated or considered as *culpable;* but the Jacobins and the unbelieving mobs, and the dastardly majority of the Assembly itself, determined to consider them as *suspect.* [This terrible word was already in use, and equivalent to a sentence of proscription; but the champions of the Rights of Man, and the zealots of liberty and equality, went on improving until *soupçonné d'être suspect*—suspected of being suspected—had the same force, and was the common term.] At this time also another democratic club started into existence, in aid of the Jacobins, to which it was to serve as a sort of seminary or preparatory school. This club of the people, called

* Hist. Parlement.

"Société Fraternelle," held its meetings in the section of Enfans Rouges, or Red Boys, and had for its first president M. Tallien, a leading member of the Jacobins, lately a compositor in a printing-office, but now the editor of a journal, and destined to be, for a time, a sort of dictator in France, and one of the first patrons of young Napoleon Buonaparte. This Société Fraternelle especially undertook to explain, in an easy and familiar manner, to the populace of Paris, the decrees and other proceedings of the National Assembly; and they admitted to their discussions, free of expense, all citizens and citizenesses, with all their children that had attained the age of *twelve years*. "Such establishments," says an approving journalist, "which cannot be too much encouraged, are the best arms to oppose to the fanaticism of the priests and the insidious practices of pretended devotees."* To avert the storm, many of the unsworn bishops and priests published an address signed with their names, in which they solemnly declared that they quietly resigned themselves to deprivation and poverty, and had not the least intention or wish to oppose the Assembly or the constitution, or to meddle in any way with temporal matters, trusting that through the justice of the government established, and through the liberty which had been declared the birthright of all Frenchmen, they might enjoy tranquillity and freedom of conscience. Two other bishops, one of whom was the too famous Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, formerly prime minister of France, followed the example of Talleyrand and the bishop in partibus; but all the rest of the French prelates, one hundred and thirty-two in number, continued to refuse the oath, and were expelled. About eighty thousand curés and other ecclesiastics, including professors in colleges, teachers in schools and academies, and other functionaries, were equally firm, and were thrust out upon the world, many of them at a very advanced period of life, to starve or beg, unless they had relations or friends able and willing to support them, or unless their lot had fallen among a believing and devout people. It is affirmed by a zealous priest, and one of the sufferers, who says he made his calculation upon authentic returns, that not above one priest in every ten proved false to his church and took the serment civique.† The Assembly, who had been told by Barnave how easy it would be to make new bishops and curés, tried their hands at a little of that work, and then, after setting an example as to the kind of men proper to be preferred, they left the rest of it to be executed by the departmental assemblies, the municipalities, and the districts, who were to elect their bishops and pastors, as they had already elected the judges, by vote by ballot. Among the first that were named were Abbé Gregoire, who became bishop of Blois; Abbé Lindet, who became bishop of Evreux, and who subsequently voted for the death of Louis XVI., took to himself a wife, and declared himself an atheist; Abbé Gouttes, one of the fiercest democrats in the Assembly, who soon succeeded Talleyrand as bishop of Autun; and Abbé Lamourette, who was now in close league with Mirabeau, and who became bishop of Lyons. We have perhaps better authority for Lamourette's irreligion than the reports of his enemies, the unsworn and excluded clergy. Dumont, who got acquainted with him through Mirabeau, tells the following anecdote of the abbé, a short time before he became a constitutional bishop. "I was at a dinner at Mirabeau's," says he, "where there were present Garat, Volney, Cabanis, Palissot, Lamourette, and several other persons. Lamourette was the author of the discourses which Mirabeau had delivered in the Assembly about the civil constitution of the clergy, and in private Mirabeau seemed to me not to hold the same opinions which he had sustained in public, for he appeared to wish for the establishment of a Catholic clergy, although he was averse to a dominant or exclusive clergy. Palissot spoke of the Abbé Gregoire, who was showing himself very zealous for his religion in the Assembly, and, with the ordinary intolerance of those gentlemen (the philosophes), Palissot accused the abbé of being nothing but a charlatan and an hypocritical rogue. 'No,' said Lamourette, 'I have been his professor in theology, and I can assure you that Gregoire *believes in God a hundred times more than is necessary!*' 'Take care what you say,' said Mirabeau, 'for here is a Genevese (Dumont himself) that you will offend, for he believes in God with all his heart.' .... 'And I also,' said Lamourette quickly, 'and I should be very sorry if he misunderstood me.' ..... After dinner I opened a book that lay upon a table; the title attracted my attention; it was—'Meditations of the Soul with its God, by the Abbé Lamourette, Professor in Theology, &c.'"* But thus went the tragic farce and blasphemous mockery: men that believed not in God, and ridiculed that belief in others, were made bishops of this Jacobinised Gallican church, and the imposition of their hands was to be deemed sufficient to make and consecrate priests, deacons, and other ministers. It would have been far more decent to have set up the goddess of Reason at once! None of these new, or, as they were called, constitutional bishops, were allowed or were of themselves disposed to apply to the pope for his bull of recognition, which had hitherto been deemed indispensable; but, at the recommendation of Camus, the Assembly consented that they should announce their elevation in a simple letter of form to the holy see, demanding its communion, and recognising it as the centre of the Catholic unity; and this they thought ought to be sufficient to make the people believe that the intrusive bishops were not uncanonical or schismatic, or separated from the Roman communion.† As it had been usual that every bishop should be

* Journal de la Révolution de Paris.
† Abbé Georgel, Mémoires.

* Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.
† Abbé Georgel, Mémoires.

consecrated by a metropolitan or archbishop, and as the only metropolitan that had taken the serment civique was Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Sens and cardinal, who is supposed to have believed in a God as much as Lamourette did, there arose some little difficulty to the National Assembly and the provincial assemblies in their processes of bishop-making; for Loménie de Brienne, who was an able hand at driving a bargain, who had clutched so much from the ruined monarchy before retiring from his premiership, which had materially contributed to that frightful ruin, now demanded as a price for his metropolitan services that he should be made primate of this new Gallican church. The National Assembly, who were averse to any such elevated dignity, refused to gratify his ambition and avarice; and, as there was no other metropolitan to whom they could apply, the matter was for some time at a stand-still. At last they decreed that the intervention of a metropolitan was not at all necessary; and that any bishop who had taken the serment civique might consecrate the new bishops. After this settlement of the matter, Mirabeau pronounced from the tribune a long discourse which had been written for him by Lamourette, and which proposed an equally efficacious means of getting rid of the doubts and difficulties which had arisen about the new demarcations of dioceses. The project was to declare that the new consecration gave the right to the new jurisdiction; and that a constitutional bishop was not bound to attend to the old limits of his see, which had been fixed in barbarous times by popes and kings, when there was no constitution. Mirabeau delivered Lamourette's discourse as if it were his own, and was, as usual, greatly applauded. But Abbé Maury got up to answer him, and, if we may believe the Abbé Georgel, he answered him with so much effect, that the great orator, who was profoundly ignorant of the whole subject, and who had no written reply in his pocket to read to the abbé's impromptu speech, was driven into a dilemma, and then into a dead silence. Turning to Camus, he said, "Why did you get me into this labyrinth, without giving me the clue?" "You are silent," cried Maury; "you are refuted: you are beaten! Go, show your spite to the theologian that has misled you!" But in spite of Maury's triumph the Assembly decreed what Lamourette had suggested and Mirabeau read.* Out of the four old bishops who had taken the *serment civique*, the Assembly selected the Bishop of Autun—the unbelieving and scoffing Talleyrand, who seems to have consented to remain in the church he despised a few weeks longer, only to perform this solemn mockery—and the Bishop of Lydia, who had taken the oath with him, and who, like himself, was a member of the Assembly: but afterwards, to assist Talleyrand and his right reverend brother in their apostolical labours, the Assembly gave them an adjunct in the person of another bishop in partibus, an ex-Bernardine monk, who had been travelling in the Levant, and who had got himself named Bishop of Bagdad or Babylon. As Talleyrand had no taste for travelling over rough roads to all the four corners of France in search of the new bishops elected by the departmental assemblies, those constitutional right reverends were all obliged to come up to Paris for their consecration, with tri-color sashes over their garments. We are not correctly informed how many bishops the expeditive hand of Talleyrand could make in a day; but as the whole time employed was very short, the daily number of consecrations must have been considerable. Returning to their sees, these constitutional bishops ordained constitutional curés. The bishops took possession of their cathedrals and episcopal palaces, and the curés of their parish churches and parsonages, under cover of detachments of the patriotic national guards; and in many places their intrusion would have been resisted by the people, but for this armed force. Once installed, they issued pastoral letters and preached sermons in laudation of the revolution, the Rights of Man, and the National Assembly, which last was declared by more than one grateful scoundrel to be directly animated and inspired in all it did by the Holy Spirit. The French historians most in vogue at the present day can see nothing to condemn in these methods of constitutionalising the church, and very little to regret in the atrocities that ensued in consequence. Thiers, indeed, can find nothing to blame except "the violence" of Abbé Maury, and that, too, "with the ordinary intolerance of these gentlemen," he hints, was all feigned, or a noisy pretence to excite the people against the Assembly and liberty. His account of the transactions is glaringly unfair—unfair in omission and unfair in commission:—either he has not read the reports of the debates, and the decrees themselves, or he has intentionally falsified their meaning and import. Thiers starts with the principle that he will not be excited in narrating what took place, and that he will be angry with no man or men, or parties; and he so far adheres to the latter part of his principle as not to lose his temper at any atrocity or rascality whatsoever, provided only it be committed by or for the revolution. He hands his Jacobin scoundrels across the stage one after the other with all the politesse of a courtier or master of the ceremonies of the *ancien régime*, and he dismisses nearly every one of them with the assurance that he has done his best according to the light of his own reason and conscience, and that, if he have in some respects done amiss, his evil doings have, in the end and the great result, been productive of good. In these matters he is an optimist, a very Pangloss, for in revolutionism all is for the best. But when a priest is struggling for his church, a noble for his order, a king for his crown, Thiers's suavity is by no means so perfect; and here his affected moderation, his under-toned, half-whispered malice and spite, his inuendoes and cavils

* Abbé Georgel, Mémoires.

are, by several degrees, more revolting than the openly blurted, loud-thundering malice of others.

The majority of bishops and clergy had never, certainly, any intention of quietly submitting to their ejection; and, no doubt, some of them may have wished for the present crisis, having overrated enormously the quantum of religion and attachment that was in the people, and their own consequent influence over the people. If the Assembly had admitted the restriction proposed by the Bishop of Clermont, all or the vast majority of the clergy would have taken the oath; or, then, the Assembly could decently have urged that their quarrel was not about spiritualities, but about temporalities, or that their opposition did not proceed from religious scruples, but from worldly, political motives and manœuvres. But the Assembly had not only refused that restriction, but, long before that tumultuous debate, they had, in fact, interfered with the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops by appointing a council of prelates, where all were to be equal, and where every decision was to be come to by a simple majority of votes. It was not possible that such a sweeping change, such an entire revolution in their affairs and system, should be quietly submitted to by Roman Catholic bishops, who were bound to hold the dogma that episcopal jurisdiction in his diocese belongs, by right divine, to the bishop alone, who has received the powers and the mission to govern exclusively the church confided to his care. The proposition had been opposed by Abbé Maury and others, who declared it to be a sacrilegious attack on the dogmas and the faith of the church of Rome; but their voices had been drowned by the vociferations of the galleries and the coté gauche, the decree had not been carried, and, if the council had not been established, it was only because the bishops would not constitute it.* The Assembly, in interdicting appeals to Rome, took care to declare that all briefs, bulls, or rescripts coming from Rome were null and void, or incapable of being executed without the consent and authorisation of the civil power, which meant the Assembly itself. Notwithstanding this decree, the extruded clergy applied to the pope, and the pope, in a "doctrinal answer," declared to them that the *serment civique* was *impious*, and that the whole of the civil constitution for the clergy was destructive of the ancient discipline of the church, while portions of it were absolutely heretical. His holiness, moreover, stigmatised as sacrilegious, heterodox, and schismatic the ordinations which the Bishop of Autun had dared to make; and pronounced the nullity of all jurisdiction and powers emanating from such ordinations, or from the civil constitution of the clergy and the decrees of the National Assembly. The bishops now printed this doctrinal answer, and sent it to their dioceses. The Assembly instantly ordered the suppression of this paper, threatening with its vengeance all such persons as dared to circulate it. The intruded clergy, or their present friends the journalists, endeavoured to make the people believe that Pius VI., who had been obliged to submit to many church changes at the hands of the late Emperor Joseph, who, indisputably, had done a good deal to discredit the tiara, had expressed no such opinions, and that, in short, the paper which the unsworn were circulating was a downright forgery. Nevertheless, a good many country curés who had conformed and taken the oath no sooner read the doctrinal answer than they retracted, declaring that they had been misled. These repentants were seized by the municipalities or other branches of the civil power, and thrown into prison. Their martyrdom or, their sufferings have probably been exaggerated; but there is little reason to doubt that, wherever the Jacobins were in force, and religious feeling very low—and this was the case in the far greater part of France—these poor priests were treated with great barbarity. As Mirabeau had proclaimed that every priest that took the oath, and then abjured it, would be highly criminal, the Assembly presently issued its decree against all such retractations, ordering that all such priests should be immediately deprived of their appointments, arrested, and punished as rebels to the law and traitors to the nation. This terrible decree gave a fresh impulse to emigration; shoals of priests crossed the Alps, the Rhine, or the ocean, and there was soon not a country in Europe but had its quota of French bishops, abbés, and curés, all pennyless, and all desperate. England had her full share, or more than her share; and, be it remembered to her honour, that, in spite of the difference in faith, and the still lingering dread of popery, she gave a kinder and a more generous reception to these expatriated priests than they met with in any other countries, including the most Catholic of all. But in La Vendée, which was now getting into a blaze from end to end, in some parts of the south, and in several remote cantons in other quarters of the kingdom, where the people still believed what their fathers and their priests had taught them, and retained a strong attachment to the pastors who had been born among them and had lived among them all the days of their lives, it was not so easy to carry the decrees of the Assembly into execution: here many of the extruded clergy remained undisturbed for a long time, and in preaching about the persecution of the church they revived or gave fresh strength to the people's old attachment to their kings. Nor did they fail to represent the new constitutional clergy, who never said mass without wearing the tri-color sash over their albs, as heretical intruders, who would be damned in the next world for their brief triumph in this. On the other tide, the *sermentés* treated the *insermentés* as rebels and traitors that ought to be hanged. Both parties, like every other faction or power, or would-be power, in France, appealed to the people, to the masses, who were, indeed, courted on every side, as the sovereigns of the day. The unsworn clergy tried to make fana-

* Abbé Georgel.

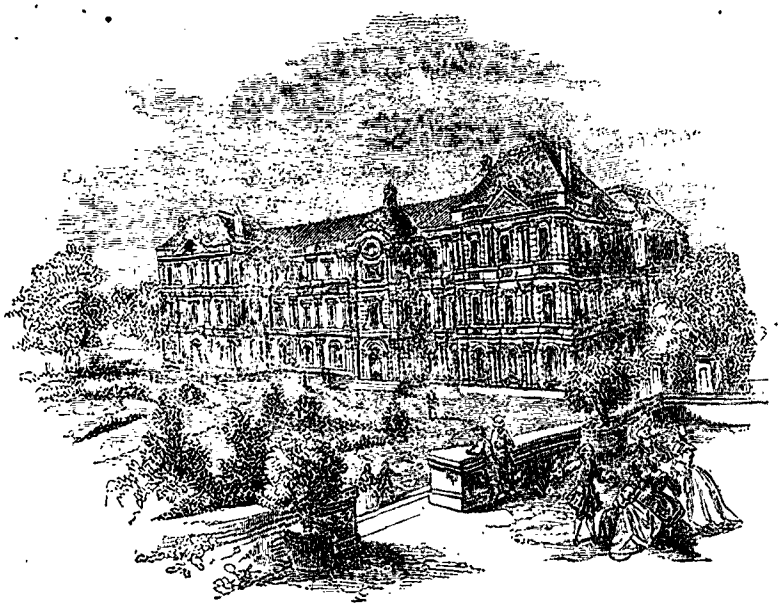
tics of them, and the revolutionists to make atheists of them, which the philosophes had in good part done before the revolution began. As the latter party monopolised all the powers of the state, and all the liberty of the press, as they had a wonderfully complete machinery in their clubs, as they had disciples and propagandists quite as fanatic for the Rights of Man as any priest could be for the dogmas of his church, as newspapers, novels, tales, obscene anecdotes, and smutty songs, which contained the cream—nay, the sum and substance—of the philosophy, moral and political, they wished to inculcate, were lighter reading, and pleasanter to the national taste, than sermons or pastoral letters, bishops' mandamuses and parish priests' appeals—which, moreover, could not be printed or circulated without great difficulty and danger—it could scarcely be doubtful which side would make the most progress. The papers which the extruded clergy addressed to the faithful were chiefly printed abroad, smuggled across the frontiers, and distributed in secret by a few zealots and a few unsworn priests, who remained disguised and concealed near their old homes, to say mass and perform the other offices of religion to such portions of their flock as were too scrupulous to attend the intruding priests in the parish churches. In the capital the scrupulous and devout hired the church of the Theatin monks, who had been suppressed like all the other monastic orders, and they engaged priests who had not taken the oath to officiate for them in a manner satisfactory to their consciences. They claimed that liberty of conscience which had been promised even to Jews and Mahommedans, and, as their priests were free from any engagement, and exercised no public functions paid by the state, the laws or decrees of the Assembly had no hold on them. The Assembly assented to the reasonableness of these propositions, and granted the Theatin church a guard from the city militia to protect those within in their hours of worship; but the Assembly's master, the Paris mob, would not brook this monstrous toleration; they broke into the church in spite of the guard, or—which is just as probable—with the consent and encouragement of the guard; they insulted and threatened with the lanterne the devout old ladies and gentlemen that more regularly attended that place of worship, and they made it as dangerous to go to the Theatins as it had been to go to the Monarchic Club. That club, by the way, in consequence of Barnave's denunciation in the Assembly, was forcibly suppressed a month or two later by Mayor Bailly and his municipals, who said that it was a nuisance, and the cause of exciting the people to daily riots. Even so went this Gallic liberty, and thus far and much farther had it gone when Priestley and others were worshipping it in England.

Louis XVI. had two aunts, inoffensive, and, apparently, amiable women both, and both declining in the vale of years. They were very devout Catholics, and, upon religious grounds alone, were very anxious to quit France, which they had never left before, but which they now considered as excommunicate and accursed. Other reasons of course they had for wishing to be gone out of France: the roar of the great lion, seeking whom it might devour, had been heard in their quiet retreat at Belle-Vue; many of their dearest friends had been driven into exile, and those who remained were living in fear and trembling. The king, too, who seems by this time to have made up his mind to fly at the first opportunity, wished them safe beyond the frontiers, as, if they stayed, they might either embarrass his flight or meet with cruel treatment from the powers that were. The old ladies proposed taking with them Madame Elizabeth, their niece, and the king's much-loved sister; but, though charmed at the notion of a residence in Rome, under the immediate protection of the head of the church, though alarmed and distracted by the agitations of her own country, and loth to quit her aunts, whom she tenderly loved, her love and devotedness to her brother determined her to stay—to stay to go through a long martyrdom, ending with the guillotine. Fully aware of his own inability to protect them, the king applied to Mayor Bailly and the municipality for passports, stating that his two aunts were going to make a journey in Italy for the benefit of their health. The mayor and the municipality, together with the police of Paris, refused the passports; and, "as the order and interest of public security demanded, in such delicate circumstances," that nothing should be neglected, they voted and resolved that Bailly and two others should go to the king and explain to him the great uneasiness of the citizens, touching this unexpected journey of Mesdames. And it was quite true that all the patriots of Paris were convulsed at the idea of the journey of these two old ladies, seeing in it nothing but horrible plots and conspiracies. To increase their agitation it was again reported that the king himself was on the point of flying to de Bouillé's army. According to a Jacobin newspaper, eight or nine hundred members of the Société Mère had heard with their own ears, several days before this, the report of two commissaries who had been sent by the society to pay a visit to the Jacobin club at Versailles, and to examine the coach-houses and stables of the palace and of its numerous dependencies, as Trianon, Belle-Vue, &c.; and this report of the two commissaries had stated that they had found in the king's stables, and in the stables of the ci-divant gardes du corps, seven hundred and more horses saddled and bridled, and ready to start at the least signal; that they had also seen with their own eyes several of the royal carriages, with portmanteaus and imperials well stuffed, as if for a journey, and with the royal arms on the panels almost rubbed out; and, farther, that they had heard that more than two hundred horsemen, known royalists all, had been seen lurking about Versailles as if to give escort. This Jacobin journalist also asserted that

messengers had recently arrived from the Count d'Artois and the other expatriated princes at Turin; that the queen's brother, the Emperor Leopold, and other potentates of Germany, were willing and ready to furnish troops against the French nation, but that not one of them wished to attack in his own name—they wanted the King of the French to be with them, and to march at the head of their armies against Frenchmen. "This," said he, "is *le grand mot de l'énigme;* this is why the fugitive aristocrats are recruiting upon our frontiers."* The 'Moniteur,' which was already an official or ministerial paper, contradicted all these reports, but Jacobins only believed in Jacobin newspapers, and, as every secret in the Tuileries was betrayed by somebody, the chiefs at least of that party must have known that, if the heart of Louis did not again fail him, he would fly as soon as he should be able. Besides the evidence of Madame Campan, who was constantly with the queen, and in her entire confidence, there is abundance of proof to show that this was the intention of the court in the month of January, before the king applied for passports for his aunts. Notwithstanding Bailly's visit and remonstrance, Louis ordered the minister of the interior, M. Delessart, to write to the authorities on the road by which the two princesses intended to travel, charging them in his majesty's name to take proper measures to facilitate the journey, &c. This letter, written on the 9th of February, said that the departure of Mesdames would take place between the 15th and 25th of the month. On the 13th, a deputation from the Paris sections went to the Hôtel de Ville to demand that the municipality should interfere. The municipality promised to send a deputation to the Assembly the very next day, to demand, in the name of public tranquillity, a decree or law touching the residence of the royal family. On the 14th, Marat treated the subject in his peculiar manner in his own newspaper. "These aunts of the king," said he, "are playing the devil to get away. It would be excessively imprudent to let them. In spite of all that has been said about it by imbecile journalists, these women are not free. We are at war with the enemies of the revolution; we must keep these old nuns as hostages, and triple our guard over the rest of the family. It is of the greatest importance that a circular letter be immediately written to all the municipalities to stop them. . . . . Citizens, remember that these king's aunts are going to leave behind them debts to the amount of *three millions* of livres, and to carry away with them *twelve millions* in gold. Observe also that they are going to steal away the Dauphin, and that there will be hoisted up in the Tuileries a little boy of the same age and appearance, who has been in training these eighteen months for the express purpose of deceiving the public."† Such circumstantial lying in a journal so accredited as Marat's could not fail of producing the impression proposed. All the patriotesses and a good many of the patriots of Versailles, Meudon, Sèvres, and all that neighbourhood, put themselves on the alert, and watched the residence of the poor old princesses by day and by night. Patriotesses also went out from Paris: Palais Royal was in fermentation, and the Jacobin clubs sent out their signals to their light troops all along the road from Paris to Lyons, and from Lyons to the frontier. The cross dipped in blood never flew faster from mountain to mountain, and from glen to glen, in the old Highlands, than these Jacobin signals were communicated from one end of France to the other. Fortunately the municipalities of Sèvres and Meudon were disposed to see the king's wish executed, a portion of the national guards of Versailles were determined to prevent any outrage upon the two princesses, and the management of the departure was intrusted to a brave and adroit officer, to no less a personage than Alexandre Berthier, then a young colonel, and commandant of the Versailles national guard, but who became subsequently a famed general, a marshal, a prince. At midnight, on the 19th of February, Berthier marched to Belle-Vue with a good detachment of his militia. A great crowd, consisting chiefly of women, had been at that château to prevent the departure, but they had been dispersed by an assurance that the princesses were already gone. Yet by the time the carriages were ready, and the princesses and their attendants in them, another legion of she-devils had gathered outside the gates of the château, swearing with the most horrible imprecations that they should not go. Berthier advanced to dissipate the mob. A number of armed men and a portion of his own national guards gave him to understand that they were of the same mind as the patriotesses, and even threatened his life. He turned to some artillery he had brought with him, with the determination, if necessary, of giving the mob a little grape-shot; but his cannoneers, instead of standing to their guns, match in hand, had joined the patriotesses, and were cutting the traces from the carriages. At last, however, by giving proof of extraordinary courage, firmness, and presence of mind, and running more risks than he was probably ever exposed to in his greatest battles, Berthier got the princesses and their retinue away from Belle-Vue and saw them safely on their road. But his own peril was not over; part of the troops and the mob threatened to massacre him, and for nearly a whole month his life was in jeopardy.* The Jacobins of Versailles cashiered him, and for many months a cloud rested on the fortunes of the aspiring soldier. On the morning of the 20th of February a note from the king acquainted the Assembly with the departure of his aunts. On the very next day Barnave presented a project of law for fixing the residence, the duties, and obligations of all members of the royal family. In his ha-

* Annales Patriotiques.
† L'Ami du Peuple, as cited in Hist. Parlement.

† Montigny, Mémoires des Mesdames.



THE LUXEMBOURG. From a View by Jeffard.

rangue he confirmed the suspicions instilled by Marat and so many others; so that, on the day following, there was an émeute of women in Paris. These patriotesses had taken it into their heads that Monsieur the king's brother was going to fly the kingdom that night with Madame his wife. They marched to the Luxembourg palace, where that prince (afterwards Louis XVIII.) resided: they forced their way into it, and then forced Monsieur and Madame to go, under their gentle escort, to the Tuileries. It was quite true that Monsieur, who had long been terrified at a monster he had helped to make, though but in a trifling degree, was preparing to leave France; but in his present terror he was obliged to protest to the people that he would never quit the king his brother. The day after this small affair the Assembly received a letter from the municipality of Moret, stating that Mesdames, escorted by thirty-three dragoons, had made a rush and had galloped through their town, while the proper authorities were examining their passports. Mirabeau fulminated against this frightful audacity of the two flying, panic-stricken old women, and moved and carried a decree against the authors of this act of violence. On the next day, as if hoping to quiet this new storm, the minister-at-war declared to the Assembly that he had given no orders to the dragoons to act in so unjustifiable and unpatriotic a manner. His message was scarcely delivered when there came down a letter from the minister of the interior to inform the House that Mesdames the king's aunts had been arrested, and were detained prisoners at Arnay-le-Duc, in Burgundy; that the king considered this as an attack upon the liberty of citizens; and that his majesty, being bound to protect equally the liberty of all, begged the Assembly to remove the doubts upon which the said commune had acted. The letter of the minister of the interior enclosed a letter from the princesses themselves to the President of the Assembly. The ladies said briefly that they had set out from Belle-Vue with a passport from the king and with a paper from the municipality of Paris, which established the right of every citizen to traverse the kingdom; that they had been arrested at Arnay-le-Duc, in spite of the district authorities and the municipality of the place; and that they had taken no passport from the National Assembly, because the Assembly had declared, by a decree, that it would give passports only to its own members. The poor, trembling descendants of many kings concluded their letter to the president in this fashion:—"We wish to be, and we are in the eyes of the law, nothing but citizenesses. We are, with respect, Monsieur le Président, your very humble and very obedient servants." At the same moment the president received a letter from the authorities at Arnay-le-Duc, declaring that the inhabitants had arrested the princesses in spite of them, and that they had managed to put a good guard over them to save them from the popular fury until the determination of the Assembly should be known. A very animated discussion ensued; but in the end Mirabeau succeeded in carrying a resolution, that, by the existing laws of the kingdom, the king's aunts were free to go wherever they chose to go, and that the whole affair ought to be left to the executive power. Another émeute was the immediate consequence of this vote: thousands of female *energuménes*, with he-patriots at their back, marched against the Tuileries; but the national guards doing duty there closed all the iron gates against them, and they saw black muz-

zles of guns behind the gold-tipped iron railings; and so patriotesses and patriots went away to look at the illuminations—for Paris was that night illuminated. The motion made by Barnave about the residence of royalty led directly to the proposing a stringent law against emigration and emigrants. On the 28th of February Chapelier presented a report from the constitution committee, declaring, in so doing, that it was difficult to make any law against the emigrants without departing from the principles of liberty and wounding the constitution; that the committee had successively prepared many projects of law, and had found serious objections to all of them; and that, in short, the more they laboured upon the matter, the more difficult it seemed to them. "But," added Chapelier, "as you insist upon having a project of a decree, we have drawn one up for you; but we tell you beforehand that it is contrary to all principles of liberty, and that it will go to establish a tyrannical dictatorship." Robespierre, whose voice had not been heard for some time, rose with an air of great candour and moderation to say that he did not like this emigration law at all; but that he thought the subject ought to be submitted to a solemn discussion. And then followed one of his tricks of fence. "You must not," said he, "let the people think that you are actuated by other motives than those of reason and the public interest." Merlin, another decided Jacobin, thought that the project of law ought to be read and discussed immediately. "Jean Jacques Rousseau," said he, "who in politics is as good as any one, has, in his Contrat Social, these words: '*In moments of trouble emigrations may be prohibited.*' I will not insist upon this possibility, demonstrated by the assertion of Jean Jacques; I only conclude from it that it is not impossible to make a good law against emigrants. I demand that the project of the committee be read, printed, and taken into consideration this day week; and then, if the Assembly should find Rousseau's possibility chimerical, it may declare that it will not deliberate on the subject of an emigration law." Here Mirabeau rushed to the tribune, shook his long locks, and read a really admirable passage from one of his own books, which, in all probability, had been written for him by somebody else.* It demonstrated the cruelty, the impolicy, the impracticability of any extensive law against emigrants; and Mirabeau concluded by moving that the Assembly would have nothing to do with any such law, but would content itself with the laws already made against all persons, having pensions or appointments paid by the nation, that had quitted their country. He was answered by Rewbell, another determined Jacobin, and one whose jacobinism was to carry him to the highest promotion. "You say," cried Rewbell, "that a law against emigrants is contrary to the constitution; I say that, without such a law, we shall have no constitution! If you do not pass such a law the emigrants will triumph, and we shall be visited everywhere by fire and sword. Were not the Athenians a free people? Go, read in their laws, and there you will see that every citizen that did not take part in an *émeute* was proclaimed infamous." We believe it would be as difficult to discover in any Athenian laws, or in any Greek author, words bearing this interpretation, as it would be to find in the pages of Milton the well-known quotation of Squire Western's learned sister;* but, if Rewbell could have verified his citation, and proved the correctness of his version, the Parisians might have said that this was one proof more of their being the Athenians of modern Europe. M. Prieur, another furious Jacobin, and the friend and ally of Robespierre, said that, in moments like these, when the factious were conspiring against their country, rigorous laws were indispensable; and he was loudly applauded by the côté gauche. Muguet, a deputy of the same colour, said that if they did not pass the law now they would be obliged to pass it hereafter, and that, too, very soon; that liberty wanted to be preserved, and would not be at all alarmed at such a law. Cazales, in rising to support the motion of Mirabeau, was rudely interrupted by the côté gauche. "I demand," said he, "that these factious men permit me to speak." But his demand was useless, and he could only say a few words. Mirepoix demanded that the project of law, as sent up by the committee, should be read immediately, and that the question should be decided before they adjourned. The majority agreed to the reading. Mirabeau then spoke again, and with great force; and the majority then decided that that project should be rejected at once. There then ensued an angry discussion as to whether M. Vernier, who proposed an adjournment, or Mirabeau, who proposed passing to the order of the day, should have his motion put first. Mirabeau haughtily insisted that he had the precedence as a matter of right. Goupil, one of the côté gauche, asked by what title Mirabeau was making himself a dictator in that Assembly? Mirabeau replied in a manner that threw the whole côté gauche into convulsions of rage. Goupil called upon the president, who said that Mirabeau was out of order; that it was not his turn to speak; but that, since he had got into the tribune, there he must stay, unless the Assembly ordered otherwise. Mirabeau raised his sonorous voice and continued:—"I beg those gentlemen who have interrupted me to remember that all my life has been a combat against despotism, and to be persuaded that I will continue that com-

* The production he quoted from was a Letter or Memorial, which was said to have been written at Berlin on the death of Frederick the Great, and presented to his successor, Frederick William II., on the day of his accession. Mirabeau had published it in the same volume with his 'Secret History of the Court of Berlin,' a book which had been burned by the haugman by order of the Parlement of Paris just before the beginning of the revolution. Like nearly everything he did or published, this said book was full of contradictions and discrepancies. In one part of it he described the Prussian monarchy as a pear that was rotten before it was ripe, as the most oppressive of military despotisms, as a country where no man would live if he could live anywhere else or escape from his chains: in another part (in the Letter or Memorial he was now quoting) he spoke of the condition of the Prussian people as a very happy one, and only requiring a few political reforms which his majesty would be sure to make.

* "Brother, you tire my patience, as Milton says."—*Tom Jones*

bat through the remainder of my days. I also beg M. Goupil to remember that he was formerly mistaken about a certain Catiline, whose dictatorship he is now repelling." Here he was interrupted again by the côté gauche, or by the extreme part of it, where sat the leading Jacobins. "Silence to those thirty voices!" roared Mirabeau; and for a few minutes the Jacobins were silent. He then went on to say why he considered it better to pass the order of the day than to agree to Vernier's motion for adjourning the question, hinting, in the plainest terms, that if they agreed to an adjournment there would be émeutes to control the Assembly and dictate to them, before they resumed their debates on the emigrant law. "If," cried he, "M. Vernier's motion is to be adopted, I propose this amendment—let it be decreed that, from this moment till the expiration of the adjournment, there shall be no mobbing!" The orator, however, was completely beaten, for Vernier's motion for adjournment was carried without any amendment or conditions. Before the question came on again there was mobbing and rioting enough; but the émeutes did not begin with the emigrant law for their watch-word. Marat, with a better morality than usual, denounced the licensed gambling-houses of the capital. He proclaimed that there were ten thousand gamblers and blacklegs, and keepers of fraudulent gaming-tables, in Paris; that in the Palais-Royal alone there were twenty-seven hells; and that honest citizens were plundered from morning till night, and from night till morning, unpatriotised, demoralised, driven to infamy and despair, by this gigantic, infernal system. But, not satisfied with holding the chiefs of these establishments up to popular odium as cheats and plunderers, he made the blow against them the more sure by declaring that they were intimately associated with the department of police, with the municipality of Paris, with the king's ministers, in a scheme to plunder the citizens, and reduce the entire capital to mendicity; and that the greater part of them were mouchards or spies to Mayor Bailly. "There is," said he, "one Marmé, formerly a lacquey and under spy, but now spy in chief, and privileged robber to the divine Bailly, and this fellow is worth 400,000 livres which he has robbed. There is Chavigny, a few years ago a postillion, but now chief spy and privileged robber of the divine Bailly; he is worth more than 800,000 livres which he has robbed, lives like a prince, keeps a carriage for himself, a carriage for Margot his wife, and a carriage for Javotte his w—. There is Delsanne, formerly an apothecary's boy, husband of the daughter of master Lesprit, renowned for hair-cutting: and now he is chief spy and privileged robber of the divine Bailly, has more than 250,000 livres which he has robbed, and lives in his own great house in the Rue St. Apolline." And in this manner Marat went on to designate by name, and to describe as spies and privileged thieves of the Mayor of Paris, all the great hell-keepers and conspicuous gamblers of the capital. He then gave "A method to get rich in a very short time." "The shortest way to fortune," said this terrible cynic, "is to buy the protection of the divine Bailly, hire the apartment of a woman of the town in the Palais-Royal, set up a gambling-table, and keep a good shuffler of the cards: with this one may dispense with Condorcet's Treatise 'On the Chances of Games of Hazard,' that precious work for an absolute government founded upon vice, and which procured its worthy author a pension of a thousand crowns!" But he did not stop here, for there were other men he hated as cordially as he hated Bailly. He said, after exposing public hells, he would tear down the curtain which concealed private houses, where soi-disant patriots and revolutionists gambled with money not their own, and conspired against liberty and the people. "What would you think," said he, "of seeing there those virtuous conscript fathers, Chapelier, Emmery, Target, Thouret, Tronchet, Desmeuniers, Regnier, Daudré, Riquetti (Mirabeau), Voidel, Broglie, Desclaibes, Malouet, Montlosier, Cazales, Bailly, Mottié (Lafayette), all fresh from a conciliabulum of machinations, all sitting down together, covering a gaming-table with assignats, putting upon a single card the fortune of twenty families, and wasting, while they sing, the property of the church, the patrimony of the poor?" * Presently the Faubourg St. Antoine and half of the sections were up in arms, making as loud a hubbub as any that had been heard since the taking of the Bastille. All the poorer portions of the national guards joined in the hunt after gambling-houses, and, though in an irregular manner, those infamous dens were all closed. The municipality, without heeding the lying accusations against Mayor Bailly, which nobody believed but the lowest rabble (and that they believed, and gave credit to, his bold denunciations of individuals, was quite enough for Marat), sent a deputation to the National Assembly to demand a severe law against gaming-houses, and also the suppression of the national lottery. The president made a very proper reply, and assured the municipality that the Assembly would soon do all that they desired, and adopt other measures for improving the morals of the capital. Lafayette, who was not addicted to play, and whose life was decorous in the extreme, took no notice of the terrible accusations; but Talleyrand, who *was* addicted to play, defended himself in a letter to one of the newspapers.† As for émeutes

* L'Ami du Peuple.

† The letter was very characteristic. He had been publicly accused, among other things, of having gained six or seven thousand francs in the public gambling-houses (*dans les maisons de jeu*). "I have gained," said he, "in the space of two months, not in public gambling-houses, but in society and at the chess-club, which has always been regarded as a private house, about *thirty thousand* francs. I state the exact truth, without having any intention to justify the fact. The taste for play has spread itself in society in an uncomfortable manner. I never loved it, and I so much the more reproach myself for not having sufficiently resisted the seduction. I blame myself as a private man, and still more as a legislator who believes that the virtues of liberty are as severe as her principles, that a regenerated people ought to re-acquire the austerity of morals, and that the National Assembly ought to fall upon these excesses, noxious to society as they contribute to that inequality of fortune which

in the provinces, every day brought forth a new one. The Jacobin journalists attributed all these to the excluded priests and their fanatic followers, and charged the clergy with all the blood that was spilt. At the end of February the Paris mob took it into their heads that they ought to attack and demolish the tower of Vincennes, as it had served as a state prison like the Bastille, and as workmen were actually employed in repairing its old walls. This tower had been a prison-house, par lettre de cachet, to Mirabeau, and before his time to one who had contributed far more than he to the revolution—the great apostle Denis Diderot, who had first kept up the cry of *écraser l'infame*, meaning thereby the infamous abomination of Christianity. Rousseau had many times walked the short league from Paris to visit Diderot in this captivity, and has left upon record, in the most extraordinary of all his books, the effect which this donjon produced upon his excitable imagination.* Like the Bastille, the donjon of Vincennes had contained various personages, who, instead of imprisonment by lettres de cachet, merited the gallows by law, and would assuredly have been hanged in any country where the laws were properly and impartially administered. One of the latest of its tenants was the notorious Marquis de Sades, who is said to have written within its walls his atrocious romance.† This debauched scoundrel was a member of the same noble family of Avignon to which the Abbé de Sades, the amiable and fanciful biographer of Petrarca and Laura, belonged—a family that traced their descent as well as their name from Laura de Sades, the object of Petrarca's love or sonnets. He had been a colonel of cavalry, but had made himself so notorious by his filthy conversation and his filthier deeds, that he had been driven away from his regiment by the disgust and indignation of his brother officers. As, neither just before the revolution, nor at any other time, French officers had been very prudish, or strict in their morals, the profundity of de Sades' immorality may be guessed from this one circumstance. Even in Paris, where nearly every vice was tolerated, and had its regions in which it could disport itself, his conduct was so depraved as to provoke notice, and, for certain obscene orgies and certain acts which seemed atrocious even in the eyes of the most abandoned libertines, he was seized by lettre de cachet, and shut up in Vincennes. But for his rank and family he might have been publicly tried, branded, and sent to the galleys for life. And, for a good many years before the revolution, the chief unfairness of lettres de cachet, and confinement in state prisons, lay in this, that they rescued the high-born from the operation of laws to which the common people were liable, and established an inequality of punishment among the different classes of society. Prisoners for political matters had been very few; and the common people had never been subject to lettres de cachet or confinement in Bastilles. Indeed they might have had reason to complain that their offences, like those of their betters, were not occasionally let off easily in this manner. The Marquis de Sades did not linger long in the donjon of Vincennes, for he was committed on the very eve of the great outbreak, and was released, together with a considerable number of other scoundrels, in the summer of 1789, when the National Assembly abolished for ever the use of lettres de cachet, and liberated all prisoners that were confined by the order of the king or of a minister. De Sades, in gratitude, became an ardent friend of the revolution, and rendered some services to it by his pen. The impurities of his life did not prevent his being considered as a good patriot. He lived at large through all the storms of the revolution;* but in 1804, when Napoleon Buonaparte was ruling these ultra-free Frenchmen with a rod of iron, and was endeavouring to restore some respect for morals or for decency, he was arrested by a process quite as summary as that of the old lettre de cachet, was thrown into the prison of La Force, in Paris, and thence transferred to the mad-house at Charenton, where he died. It was, assuredly, the iniquitous, revolting book of this man, and the school of imitators to which it gave rise, that infected the young Frenchmen of the day with some of their worst vices. It was this kind of literature, it was these obscene romans and nouvelettes, it was the cynical tales of Diderot, his Jacques le Fataliste, his Les Bijoux Indiscrets, and other popular productions of this kind, that were in the hands of almost all France, that formed the real gospel of the people. It is unfair to Rousseau to call him their gospel. His Contrat Social was quoted as a text-book in assemblies and conventions; but none of his writings were very familiar to the vulgar; and, mixed with error and dogmatical extravagance, there was, in every one of his books, much that was high, generous, and ennobling; and, in the volumes which had last appeared, there were some withering criticisms on the philosophes and the tendency of their atheism.† It was not in Rousseau they learned that sensual pleasures were the only true happiness, that nothing ought to

the laws ought to endeavour to prevent by all kinds of means that do not injure the eternal foundation of social justice—respect to property. I condemn myself then, and think it my duty to avow it: for, since the reign of Truth has arrived, in renouncing the impossible honour of having no faults, the honestest means of repairing one's errors is to have the courage to confess them." (Signed Talleyrand, *Bishop of Autun.*) '*La Chronique*,' as cited in *Hist. Parlement.*

It was pretty clear that this adroit man would not be a martyr to the rabid Marat or to any other madman.

* Confessions.

† Justine.

* In turns, he denied and boasted of being the author of the execrable book which, as we have said, recommends and teaches the union of cruelty with lust. In 1799 he, in a public newspaper, and in an article in the same revolting style as the book, claimed the merit of the authorship of Justine. He then also published a new edition of it, and offered a copy, printed upon vellum paper, to each of the directors of the republic!

† Les Confessions.—The first parts of this remarkable work were published, through a breach of confidence in Rousseau's executors, in the year 1781, three years after his death; but the second part, containing all the account of his Life from the year 1741, was not published till the summer or autumn of 1789. See Letters on the subject between Dumont and Romilly, and Note of the editors, in *Life of Sir S. Romilly, edited by his Sons.* There is, therefore, a double incorrectness in saying, as is done by some writers, that the Confessions were published in 1788.

stand in the way of the gratification of the passions and appetites, that nothing was sacred upon earth, and that to believe in a heaven or an immortal God was the height of human absurdity! No! theirs was not the gospel according to Jean Jacques, but the gospel according to de Sades and his obscene disciples.

On the 28th of February, a day or two after Marat had given some dark hints respecting the repairs begun at Vincennes, a report was suddenly spread in the Faubourg St. Antoine that the court—the miserable court who were prisoners themselves—were going to shut up the Duke of Orleans and all his family, together with all the true patriots of the Assembly, in the donjon. Forthwith all that faubourg, whose glory it was to have been the demolishers of the Bastille, poured forth on the road to Vincennes to demolish the donjon likewise. They had been in insurrection a day or two before, for the purpose of burning the gates and barriers of Paris, where the octroi, or duty on provisions, was exacted, so that they had their pikes and clubs all ready for action. A part of the national guards of the district, under that burly small-beer brewer Santerre, marched after them, but it was to assist, not to hinder them in their work of demolition. The municipality of Vincennes and a few officers on the spot represented that the reason why the fortress was undergoing a slight repair was, that it might serve to relieve of some of their inmates the prisons of Paris, which were so crammed as to give serious apprehensions that pestilential disorders might break out among them and spread through the city. They also added that the repairs had been ordered by the National Assembly itself, in a decree sanctioned by the king. But all was of no use: the St. Antoine men drove away the masons and other workmen, seized their sledge-hammers, crow-bars, and other implements, broke into the fortress, and threw out of the windows, or broke to pieces, everything they found therein. They then proceeded to demolish the building itself, beginning with a parapet, for the walls of the tower, though old, were discouragingly strong. The terrible noise that these faubourg men had made in taking their departure from Paris had been heard all over that city, and had created an universal alarm, for very few knew the object they had in view. Lafayette was summoned to the Hôtel de Ville, and instructed by the municipality to march after the insurgents as fast as he could, with the more respectable part of his national guard. The hero of two worlds was presently on his white charger, and before long in front of the donjon of Vincennes, with several thousands of his militia, both horse and foot, and not without some light artillery, capable of grape-shot, at his back. Close by the old tower he found Santerre, with his faubourg militiamen, looking complacently on the havoc the mob were making. He rode up to him and ordered him to fire upon those rascals. "Mr. General," said the broad-faced brewer, "those are the men that took the Bastille!" Lafayette then applied to the magistrates of Vincennes to issue some necessary orders, and to assist him in arresting some of the rioters; but these worshipful personages refused to co-operate in any way whatsoever. The general, therefore, took the whole duty upon himself; and, after some hard blows given and received, but, miraculously, without any recourse to fire-arms, the respectabilities of the national guard succeeded in clearing the donjon, and in taking about sixty of the demolishers prisoners. Retracing his steps to Paris with these captives in his train, he found the gates of the Faubourg St. Antoine shut and barred in his face. He threatened to blow them open with cannon-ball and gunpowder; and thus obtained an entrance. Several shots were fired at him and the officers of his staff; and as he rode through the faubourg a very deadly attempt was made upon the legs of his white charger, in the view of bringing horse and rider to the ground together. In the morning, as Lafayette was starting eastward for Vincennes, a good many devoted royalists went westward to the Tuileries to offer their very useless services to the king, believing, as they said, and as appears really to have been the case, that the insurrection was to become general, and that the life of the sovereign was to be attempted. These royalists, gentlemen all, and apparently all crazed, began to arrive at the palace about noon, or shortly after; but, if we guess rightly in a confusion and jabber of contradictory accounts, it was not till towards evening that their numbers excited any notice or suspicion. It is said that they had been admitted into the interior of the palace by different doors, having tickets of admission from the Duke de Villequier and other gentlemen of the household; but many of them must have had what were called in court language *les petites entrées*, which would render unnecessary any such tickets or smuggling in. The national guards doing duty that day at the Tuileries were the salaried centre grenadiers, the terrible ex-Gardes Françaises. It is said that reports reached these desperate fellows that Lafayette had not only been fired at but had been killed on his return from Vincennes, and that they were just going to rush into the palace to bring the king to account for this foul deed, when one of their corps seized a gentleman as he was going into the palace, and found that he had a long dagger in his coat pocket.* This quickened their suspicions and their movements; a rush was made up the great staircase; and in the ante-chambers, galleries, and saloons were found collected from four to five hundred very suspicious aristocrat-looking persons, with powdered heads and black coats. A search much ruder than that of the rudest douaniers or custom-

* According to Lafayette's account it was not a dagger but a pocket-pistol that led to the discovery. "The first alarm," he says, "was given by a hot-headed royalist, the Chevalier de St. Elme, who, setting ajar the doors of the apartment, exhibited a pistol to the national guards. This discovery produced a great sensation. The king was frightened, and begged the chivalrous company to disband and lay down their arms."—*Narrative of Events from the Federation to the Departure and Arrest of the King, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts, published by his Family.*

house officers was immediately commenced by these ex-Gardes Françaises; and then it was found that many of these gentlemen carried small sword-canes, or had daggers in their pockets or under their waistcoats—nay, that two or three of them had pocket-pistols. As these things were brought to light the guardsmen hurled or kicked them down the stone stairs, at first singly, then by twos and threes, and at last by dozens and by scores at a time, until the terrace and the upper part of the garden of the Tuileries were littered with powdered heads and black coats. Ex-dukes, ex-marquises, ex-counts, ex-chevaliers of the order of St. Louis, ex-parlementers, and among them the hottest of all parlementers, and once the chief of all patriots, d'Espréménil, were direfully constrained to make this sort of exit. Well had it been for these unlucky zealots if their punishment had ended here. When the Gardes Françaises had done with them they fell into the hands of the mob that had collected in the garden and outside the iron railing, and they were hustled and tossed, beaten and bruised, and sent running home at last all tattered and torn. Marat, who took the earliest opportunity of describing this opprobrium of gentility and chivalry, was elated and rhapsodized in his grandest style in thinking of the kicks behind, the twitches by the nose, the spittle in the face, that the aristocrats received from the plebeians. Lafayette arrived safe and sound at the Tuileries soon after the Gardes Françaises had cleared the apartments of these royalists. We have his own account for what followed: "He treated several of the courtiers very sharply, and read a particular lecture to the Duke de Villequier, first gentleman of the chamber, of whom he thought he had the most reason to complain. He saw the king, who expressed his regret at this piece of folly, which, it seemed, had been begun without his privity. The king told him that the false zeal and wild extravagance of the people who called themselves his friends would end in ruining him. On his return to the great hall the general-in-chief learned from public rumour that a whole pile of arms had been secreted in the closets of the apartments, a thing not to be endured by those who were charged with the protection and safety of the king: consequently the general requested that an order should be given for the surrender of these arms. They were brought out in a hand-basket, and it was visible to everybody present that there were daggers amongst them. They were given up to the national guards, and were broken to pieces in the court of the Tuileries, with an exhibition of gaiety little respectful perhaps for the palace of the sovereign, but especially offensive to the chevaliers, who from this time bore the name of the chevaliers of the poignard. Some were not less shocked the next day, by an order of the day, in which the general-in-chief spoke in severe terms of the chiefs of the domesticity, meaning the courtiers and the gentlemen of the household." * But the very strongest part of this unseemly, ridiculous business, and that which throws most light on the temper of the times and the state of the factions, is the variety of ways in which the plot was accounted for; though, as we verily believe, there had been no plot at all, but a rash, hot-headed impulse, such as all classes of Frenchmen were liable to, especially in these maddening times. Lafayette himself was quite sure that the whole thing was preconcerted by the fanatic royalists and the courtiers; but he does not say for what object, nor attempt to explain how four or five hundred gentlemen, many of them far gone in years and in infirm health, with their sword-sticks, daggers, and pocket-pistols, were to effect a counter-revolution in the midst of a hundred thousand armed men, and in a great capital where the population were quite as frantic for their new liberty as these *preux chevaliers* were for their old royalty; nor does he, indeed, so much as hint that the object was to carry off the king, an object impossible to be executed in this open manner. He says—and his authority is certainly worth no more than that of those who deny the facts—that many of the crowd of royalists found in the Tuileries had been expressly invited from the provinces; and that from daybreak an attempt had been made to ply the national guards on duty at the palace with drink, under pretence of treating them with breakfast; that the aristocrats got up the insurrection in the faubourg in order to decoy him out of the capital to Vincennes, and to get him murdered there; and that but for the bayonet of one of his national guards he would have been murdered on his return. On the other hand Marat, in a terrible article headed "New Conspiracy discovered by M. Lafayette," swore that Lafayette himself, aided by Bailly, the police, and the more opulent of the citizens, had not only incited the Faubourg St. Antoine to march upon Vincennes, but was also in league with the royalists who meant to carry off the king. He dwelt upon the subject many days, in order to show what a narrow escape the common people, the only patriots, had had on the day of the poignards. He pretended to describe with the utmost minuteness and accuracy the labours and machinations of "the hero of two worlds and his head valet Bailly," declaring, among numerous other particulars, that they had brought furtively into Paris gangs of brigands and assassins; that they had corrupted the staff of the citizen army of the capital, composed of scoundrels that were wallowing in luxury, and that ought never to have been trusted; that they had bought with money a part of the soldiers, and had enchained another part by cajoleries and promises, or by threats; and that they had intro-

* Narrative of Events from the Federation to the Departure and Arrest of the King, written by himself, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of Lafayette, published by his Family.—Lafayette, rather from a desire to make up a good case for his national guards, than from any anxiety about the humiliation of the order to which, by birth, he belonged, or from any regard to the feelings of gentlemen that were royalists, says that there was not much beating or kicking—that "the chevaliers escaped with *a few* insults and blows as they went out."

duced arbitrary laws of discipline which made slaves of the free national guards, making them turn deaf ears to every voice save that of their traitorous commandant; that on the eve of the 28th the perfidious Mottié (Lafayette) had sent his emissaries into the Faubourg St. Antoine to excite the émeute, and engage the people by a thousand insinuations to march to Vincennes to demolish the donjon; that on the morning when all the men of the faubourg had marched, and when all Paris was in alarm, the general concerted with his accomplices the means of executing the rest of the fatal project. "All the conspirators," continued Marat, "were to introduce themselves armed, and as quietly as possible, into the king's apartment; and their allies were to assemble in the dusk of the evening outside the Tuileries, and then the great blow was to be struck." After stating how the royalists got admitted into the palace, and how many of the deputies of the côté droit of the Assembly,—"those enemies of the revolution"—joined them there, and armed with them, he went on to say that then, and, not before four o'clock in the afternoon, Lafayette, who ought to have been there in the morning, marched to Vincennes with a great part of the citizen army, and attempted to make them fire upon citizens better than themselves, believing that, in the interval, everything would be prepared in the Tuileries for the grand coup. But when Lafayette got back to Paris, late in the evening, he found that the whole plot had been blown, through the imbecility of the old marquis, who had let his dagger be seen in his coat pocket, and through the imprudent and gossiping habits of Frenchmen. "It had been agreed," continued this blood-drawer, "that the conspirators should keep quiet till dead of night, when they were to make the guard drunk, poignard the sentinels, and carry off the royal family. Englishmen, Italians, or Spaniards would have maintained a profound silence, and kept still, in the corners of the palace; but for Frenchmen to remain in a place and not gossip is a thing quite impossible. Behold them then, in a very short time, all babbling aloud, and going and coming without any restraint. The sight of so many persons assembled together, without any one knowing whence they came or how they got in, gave some uneasiness to the sentinels. They remarked the oddness of their accoutrements—many wore riding-coats or mantles, a great number were in leather breeches, and a great many in boots—and this doubled the uneasiness of the sentinels. They also perceived some gardes-du-corps, wearing their uniforms under their mantles; and they recognised several others of that corps in plain clothes. Then the patriotic sentinels called up the whole guard, and began to search the conspirators. Oh, Frenchmen! it would have been all over with you, if, instead of the centre grenadiers, your volunteers of the national guards had been doing duty at the Tuileries that day! These villains, without virtue, without civisme, without courage, would have given ear to the perfidious voice of their chiefs, calling them to a blind obedience, and to a respect to fatal decrees, and so the conspirators would have been permitted to consummate their horrible projects. But Heaven, sensible to our sufferings, had placed there our brave salaried grenadiers. The love of their country, which burns at the bottom of their hearts, renders them deaf to dangerous maxims. Seeing their country in danger, they listened to her voice only, and their virtuous courage saved in an instant the country on the point of perishing. Oh, blind citizens! return thanks to these brave warriors for having been quicker-sighted than yourselves! There was an end to liberty, if they had not trampled under their feet the decrees of your Assembly."* Some little circumstances contributed to give, with the multitude, additional weight and effect to this article. A few days before the day of poignards, Marat had announced to the people that five thousand poignards, to butcher patriots, were a-making in Paris; an extra-judicial search had been made by the people, who had found in a certain shop *thirty-six* poignards. It was true that this number was very small, and that the armourer gave proof that they were made to the order of some persons engaged in the African slave-trade, who found such implements very useful; but to a popular credulity like the French, the circumstance was quite enough to confirm their own suspicions, and Marat's reputation for vigilance and veracity. On the other hand, the royalists maintained that the émeute in the faubourg, and the march upon Vincennes, had been planned by the ultra-revolutionists and the *Duke of Orleans*, and that the assembling of the gentlemen in the palace was wholly unpremeditated, and arose out of the impression of the moment, that violence was intended to the royal family.† Other parties, again, who were less

* L'Ami du Peuple, in Hist. Parlement.

† Some of the royalist writers, however, give a different account of this gathering in the Tuileries, and take pride in asserting that there was a plot among the preux chevaliers. The very hot Abbé Georgel says that a number of the nobility and officers of the old army, sincerely attached to the king and the monarchy, and revolted by the daily attacks made upon the throne, felt the old chivalrous courage revive within them. "The sentiments of their souls were manifested in their physiognomies; they understood one another without speaking. Soon a league was formed among them, and the vigorous resolution was adopted to snatch the king from the disgraceful captivity in which he was held by the satellites of Lafayette: they agreed on a mark by which they should know one another in every place, and on a signal for acting in concert. On the day agreed upon (it was the 28th of February) they repaired, to the number of more than six hundred, to the palace of the Tuileries; their arms, hidden under their dresses, did not reveal their generous confederacy; they were to make themselves masters of the interior gates, and drive out the national guards; they were to form an impenetrable rampart round the king, while the Swiss guards and battalions of well-intentioned citizens in arms, in intelligence with them, were to seize the outer gates, and operate a counter-revolution, which they flattered themselves, would be seconded by all the good people in the capital. I have never heard the names of the chiefs of this plot, and I have not been able to learn whether they took all the precautions necessary to its success; but it appears beyond all doubt that the king was advised of it, and did not disapprove of it. Whether it was through some imprudence or want of caution, or through some treachery, I know not, but M. de Lafayette was informed of the intended legitimate insurrection, which would have annihilated his surveillance and his authority. The courts, ante-chambers, and halls of the palace were filled with these monarchists when M. de Lafayette arrived. He had the courage to traverse the crowd with a serene countenance, which betrayed no fear or suspicion. He went straight to the king's cabinet, where the queen was with his majesty, and he threw them both into consternation by describing the inevitable massacres which would take place. He exaggerated the danger which all the royal family

anxious to fix the émeute upon any particular persons, thought that the riot had arisen, like so many others, out of a determination to control the National Assembly, and terrify them into the passing of the law against emigrants, which was under discussion on this very day; and to these parties it appeared not very unlikely that a number of enthusiastic royalists should gather in the Tuileries to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the royal family. If there was a previous plot, one surely might have expected some better preparation. There is not perhaps a more striking specimen of the bathos than Lafayette's *pile of arms*, brought forth in a *hand-basket*, in which it was visibly beheld by all present that there were *some daggers*. As to the daggers, sword-canes, and pocket-pistols carried by the royalists, there was nothing in them to establish a proof of any preconcerted plan or bloody design whatever; for, as one of them said, when examined by Mayor Bailly and his municipals, these were days when nearly every gentleman constantly carried arms about his person for his own protection from the rabble. It was long before this that Abbé Maury had taken to wearing pistols; and Mirabeau himself had adopted the practice long before Maury—never going down to the Assembly, or anywhere else, without putting his pistols in his pocket, and looking well to their priming. We admit, however, that there is no possibility of calculating the extent of French rashness and folly under such exciting circumstances, and that the fanaticism of some of these ultra aristocrats and royalists was capable of almost any madness, and of almost any sanguinary excess, if they had succeeded in making, at any time, a successful counter-revolution. The national vices were not confined to the mere rabble, as so many French books would give us to believe; they pervaded all classes, and were counterbalanced by moderation in none, although in every class there were honourable exceptions, *only*, for a very long time, too weak in numbers to influence public transactions.

A few days after these riots the National Assembly decreed that the repairs at Vincennes should be suspended, and that the donjon should be sold. On the 22nd of March, Mirabeau called the attention of the Assembly to the imperious necessity of attending to the fortifications on the frontiers, as it was evident to him and to all men that France would be attacked by a league of tyrants and despots, who could not bear to see the happiness she was going to enjoy, or tolerate the example she was setting to other nations. "I demand," said he, "that the Assembly name a committee of four, to inquire of the minister-at-war if it is true that our northern frontier is not garrisoned; if it is true that there are but 7000 troops in the department of the Lower Rhine, and 2000 in the department of the Upper Rhine; to demand from him why your decrees are not executed, and why he leaves the frontiers in such a scandalous state of nakedness. I demand that this committee be named this instant, and that they bring us back, before we adjourn, a positive answer from the minister. I am far from believing that all the alarms now circulating are well founded. I laugh, both with indignation and with pity, at the efforts of pigmies and at their projects: but in every case it is well to be prepared; and what we have decreed ought to be executed." His motion, seconded by Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, was carried, the committee was instantly named, and Mirabeau himself was chosen one of the four. But Mirabeau had rolled his last thunder in that House, and his last hour was at hand. He had utterly ruined his robust constitution by his excesses, and a mortal disease had him in its grip. He made one more apparition in the hall of the Jacobins, to do away, by force of declamation, some evil reports which had been raised against him for his behaviour on the emigrant-law question, and to declare that he would remain among the Jacobins even to the time of ostracism;—and then he returned home to suffer agonies and die. He was at the Jacobins on the night of the 28th of March, and on the 29th he took to his bed, suffering excruciating agony. Some of his greatest admirers among the people instantly set up the cry that he had been poisoned by the court; and the respectables of the national guards had hard work to prevent another émeute. Those who better knew the man and his debauched habits could easily account for his malady in a simpler manner; and it was no secret to them that his health had long been declining. Three months before this, he said to Dumont, "If I believed in slow poisons, I should not doubt but that I have been poisoned: I feel myself wasting away; I feel as if I were consuming by a slow fire!" Dumont observed to him that the kind of life he led must have killed any man, less robust than he, long ago. "At this time," adds Dumont, "the heated state of his blood manifested itself in frequent ophthalmic attacks. I have seen him when he was president of the Assembly apply leeches in the interval between the morning session and the afternoon session, and go down to the Assembly with his neck enveloped in linen bandages to stop the bleeding." His political labours were as immoderate as his pleasures: day after day, from seven o'clock in the morning till ten or eleven at night, he was engaged in perpetual conversation,

would run if this assemblage were not instantly dispersed, telling them that nothing but the *disarming* of the conspirators could calm the national guards, and prevent the terrible effects of their vengeance. 'I answer for everything,' said he, 'if his majesty will only show himself, and order these gentlemen to lay down their arms and go out of the palace.' What a part to be played by a king who knew the noble motive which had armed so many men in his favour! . . . . . But, from the dread of seeing the blood of his most faithful servants shed under his eyes, or from that fatality which pursued him even unto the scaffold, he yielded to the instances of M. de Lafayette: he himself commanded that noblesse, as brave as it was devoted, to retire and deliver up its arms to the national guards. This horrible and ill-merited affront had, happily, no disastrous consequences: their honour and their love for the king had armed these generous Frenchmen; prudence and obedience rendered them docile to the voice of the monarch; they would not let themselves be disarmed, but as they retired they threw their arms to the ground and broke them themselves. They pitied the king, who, by an excess of goodness or of fear, thus permitted himself to be kept in chains."—*Abbé Georgel, Mémoires.* As the latter part of the Abbé's story is incorrect, we may reasonably doubt the whole of it.

vehement debates, with agitation of the mind and of all the passions, disputing, haranguing, dictating, or driving some half-dozen men of letters or others to make addresses, reports, and orations for him; and the later hours of the night, that were not passed in the burning atmosphere of the Jacobin-hall, or at some other exciting meeting, were spent with the actresses of the opera, who disputed among themselves the glory of captivating this Hercules, and the pleasure of spending the money he was receiving from the court to stop the immoralities of the revolution and save the monarchy. "In short," adds Dumont, "he had given himself up to all the pleasures, like a young man that suddenly finds himself in possession of a large fortune, and that no longer knows any check." The vice of hard drinking, we have said, he had left to his younger brother, the Vicomte, who thereby acquired the nickname of Tonneau-Mirabeau, or Butt or Barrel-Mirabeau; but in the other pleasures of the table he knew no moderation. The proximate cause of his death was an inflammation of the bowels, caused by excesses. It has been supposed that, with better medical treatment, he might have rallied this time; but the fact is doubtful, and there is something touching and generous in his choice of a physician, and in the manner in which he clung to his advice. This physician was none other than the celebrated Cabanis, then very young in practice, but amiable, attaching, and full of attachment for his patient. There were several ties of sympathy between the two. Cabanis had had a father as capricious and despotic as that old pedant the Friend of Men, and he had been as impatient of that tyranny as Mirabeau had been; and, abandoned by father and family before he was fifteen years old, Cabanis had completed his own education at Paris in a very strange manner, and had fought his way upwards in the world by mere force of his own abilities and persevering spirit. There was, too, another little circumstance that made him interesting in the eyes of Mirabeau, and in those of most other men that followed and worshipped the new philosophy: Cabanis, in earlier times, while residing for the benefit of his health in the suburban village of Auteuil, the chosen residence of Benjamin Franklin, became very intimately acquainted with the very rich widow of Helvetius, that driest of the philosophes and most monotonous of the poets of France, who had been a fermier-général as well as philosophe and poet. In the house of this lady, an accomplished and once a beautiful woman—she was daughter of the Comte de Ligneville, and niece of Madame de Graffigny, who had brought her up—he had been intimate with Turgot, d'Holbach, Condillac, Diderot, and d'Alembert, and had occasionally seen the patriarch Voltaire; and in the same house and village he had enjoyed the society of Franklin and Jefferson, and others of the new American school. Mirabeau sent for him at the beginning of his attack, and confided his case to his care, out of friendship to the man, and in the hope that his cure would contribute to that medical reputation which he wanted. Although he soon felt that the malady was more serious than he had at first suspected, he would not consent to call in another physician, saying to Cabanis, who himself proposed consulting M. Petit, "My friend, it is on your account that I do not wish to see Petit: if I recover, you will have had all the merit, and he will have all the glory." On the second or third day, however, Petit, the most famed physician of the day, was called in, but only to find that the case was hopeless, and that, if Cabanis had done nothing that was wrong, he had done nothing that was right. The news of the malady and danger of the count made a great sensation, and revived for a moment his somewhat faded popularity. His house was surrounded from morning till night by an immense multitude, who anxiously awaited bulletins of his health that were issued from hour to hour. Some philosophical absurdities had been recently written upon the very old notion that an infusion of new and healthful blood might re-invigorate the body that was decaying, and restore it to health and longevity; and a young man, filled with all the enthusiasm of the day, is said to have offered his life's blood to be put into the veins of the great orator. Mirabeau, hearing some sounds outside the house, asked what they meant; and, upon being told that they proceeded from the people, who were incessantly coming to inquire after him, he said, in words meant to be repeated, "It was sweet for me to live for the people, and it will be glorious to die in the midst of them." Even the Jacobin club thought proper to send a deputation to wait upon the illustrious sufferer. It was headed by Barnave; but several of the most conspicuous of the Jacobins refused to attend. On learning this last circumstance, Mirabeau said, with a contemptuous smile, "I knew very well that they were scoundrels and cowards, but I did not think they were such fools!" He deplored the sad state in which he must leave the country, a prey to all kinds of factions and intrigues. "I carry with me," said he, "the mourning of the monarchy; the factions will divide among them its rags!" The same consciousness of his own superiority in energy, the same exalted notion of his own ability, which had animated him when in health, were proclaimed, in various ways, in agony and in death. In one of his cruelest spasms he cried out to Teutch, a fitting valet for such a master, "Raise my head: you will never have another such head to raise!" After one of those terrible attacks of pain which had made him roar, he called for some papers, and, choosing one of them which contained a discourse meant to be pronounced in the Assembly on the important subject of wills and testamentary bequests, he put it into the hands of Talleyrand, saying, "Here are the last thoughts the world will receive from me. I make you the depositary of this paper: you will read it when I shall be no more: it is my legacy to the Assembly!"* "This

* According to the newspapers of the day, he gave to different

discourse," says Dumont, "was, to my certain knowledge, the work of M. Reybaz; and it is remarkable that Mirabeau, even on his death-bed, should have preserved this greediness for borrowed glory, when he had acquired so much personal glory, and when his reputation no longer needed the spoils of other men." Talleyrand, who was very constantly with him during these last four days of his life, said of him afterwards, in one of the happiest of his many happy sayings, "*He dramatised his death*;"—and, from all that is told of him, he must have died acting—like an actor on a stage, conscious that the eyes of the world were upon him, and that everything he did or said would be repeated. On the last day of all, he ordered the windows of his bed-chamber to be thrown wide open as soon as the sun had risen, and said—or is said to have said, by Cabanis himself—"My friend, I shall die to-day. When a man has arrived at this point, there is but one thing for him to do,—to cover himself with perfumes, crown his head with flowers, and surround himself with soft music, and so enter pleasantly into that sleep from which there is no awaking!" Whether he said the words or not, the doctrine was entirely to the taste of the day; and within two short years the National Convention wrote over all the cemeteries of France, "Death is an eternal sleep." His speech failed him, and his agonies became still more excruciating. He wrote on a slip of paper, "Do you believe that the act of dying is so painful as this?" He wanted some expediting drug to shorten his torments; and he complained, with his pencil, of the barbarity of Cabanis in not putting an end to his horrible tortures—in leaving his friend to expire upon the wheel. As the physician was still silent, the dying man clutched back the sheet of paper, and wrote upon it the word *dormir*—to sleep. The firing of some artillery was heard booming from no great distance. Recovering his voice, he exclaimed, "Are we already at the funeral of Achilles?" He described to Cabanis his incredible sufferings. "They are insupportable," said he; "I have still within me a hundred years of strength, and I have not a moment's courage!" He then spoke for about ten minutes, in a more composed tone, to his weeping friends. "This was," said one of them, "the song of the swan;—a convulsion interrupted his discourse; it was followed by a cry of anguish, and he expired." It was about half-past eight of the morning of Monday, the 2nd of April, when Doctor Petit, standing at the foot of the bed, pronounced professionally, "*Il ne souffre plus.*" Mirabeau was only forty-two or forty-three years old.*

As soon as the event was known there was a loud weeping and wailing in the streets of Paris, with exclamations that not only the greatest, but the best, had perished. The shops were shut up, the theatres were closed, and even private dancing-parties were broken in upon by the people, and severely interdicted. Street orators, mounted on posts or curbstones, preached his funeral oration at every corner; and men who drove in coaches or cabriolets were obliged to drive slowly and reverentially. Even the day before he died, the Jacobins passed four decrees:—1. That they would attend his funeral; 2. That they would wear mourning for eight days; 3. That in all years to come they would wear mourning on the anniversary of his death; 4. That they would cause to be executed in marble a bust of the celebrated man, under which should be engraved the memorable words he had pronounced at Versailles on the day of the Séance Royale. When the Assembly met on Monday the 2nd, the president rose to say he had a very painful duty to perform. From every part of the hall were heard the words, many times repeated, "Ah, he is dead!" "Yes," said the president, "he died at eight o'clock this morning!" Barrère ascended the tribune. "Yes," said he, "Mirabeau is dead. The great services which he has rendered to his country and to humanity are known. The public grief is bursting forth on all sides; and shall not the National Assembly express its own in a solemn manner? I demand that the Assembly put upon their journals on this day of woe the testimony of their regrets for the loss of that great man, and that there be made, in the name of the country, an invitation to all the members of the Assembly to attend his funeral." Barrère shed tears, and many of the deputies wept. There was then a cry of "We will all go to the funeral! All! All!"—and a resolution was passed to that effect. A priest deputy, sitting on the côté droit, demanded that Mirabeau's discourse upon wills should be printed; and then M. Baumetz proclaimed how the last thoughts of the dying patriot had been for his country. "Yesterday," said Baumetz, "in the midst of his sufferings, he sent for the Bishop of Autun, and, in delivering to him this work, requested, as a last proof of his friendship, that he would read it to the Assembly. I doubt not that the Bishop of Autun will hasten to perform that sacred duty; and I cannot believe that anybody here will refuse to permit him to exercise the functions of testamentary executor of the great man whose loss we all weep." The Assembly agreed that Talleyrand should read the paper, and that it should then be printed. On the next day there were speeches and deliberations as to the proper place where they should bury the great man. One of the Paris Sections sent a deputation to represent that the proper place of his interment was the Champ de Mars, or scene of the Federation festival. The orator of the deputation, who spoke in the name not merely of his own, but also on that of the rest of the Sections, said:—"It is time to prove that the honours hitherto rendered

deputies three other written discourses; one upon national academies, one upon *divorce*, and one upon the *marriage of priests*; for so far were the reformers from respecting the spiritualities and canonical laws of the catholic clergy, that they were already entertaining some idea of doing away with their celibacy.

* Different newspapers of the day in Hist. Parlement.—Madame de Staël, Considerations.—Dumont, Souvenirs.—Journal of the Malady and Death of Mirabeau, by Cabanis.

We have not cited here or anywhere else the 'Fils Adoptif,' because we do not believe the work to be genuine.

only to kings appertain also to men who make the happiness and glory of their country;" and he was enthusiastically applauded. The president told the deputation that the deputies of the Assembly were fully sensible of the loss they had sustained in Mirabeau, whose civisme was equal to his talents; that it was not to those who had been his fellow-labourers in establishing liberty that it was necessary to recall his services; and finally, that the Assembly was going to deliberate. The deputation retired. Then M. Goupil de Prefelne rose to make a curious oration, in which he said, with some ignorance about Westminster Abbey and English usages,—"The English deposited the body of their great Newton in the tomb of their kings; four members of the Upper House, as in that country they have an upper house, attended his funeral. Here are great examples which we ought to imitate!" Then the president informed the House that the administration of the Department of Paris were coming to present a petition which might influence their deliberations. The Assembly forthwith resolved that their deliberations should be suspended, and that this new deputation should be admitted to the bar. The orator of the deputation, Pastoret, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, Historiographer of France, President of the Department of Paris, Procureur-General, Syndic of that department, Deputy of the Assembly, &c., read a very long paper, the gist of which was that the National Assembly ought to convert the church of St. Genévière into a Pantheon for all the illustrious dead who, in their lives, had served the cause of liberty. Pastoret said that the National Assembly itself would be the only proper judge as to those who ought to be interred in this Pantheon, but that no doubt could be entertained that Honoré Riquetti Mirabeau was entitled to that honour. He thought that that national mausoleum ought to be reserved for the great men who had died since the æra of Liberty; but that some exceptions might be made in favour of a few great men who had died before the revolution, as Descartes, Voltaire, and Rousseau. He recommended that the said church of St. Genévière should immediately be put in a state suitable to its new destination, and that there should be inscribed over the portal, AUX GRANDS HOMMES, LA PATRIE RECONNAISSANTE. [It was a bon-mot of the day, that the priests, at his death, had refused to bury Voltaire; and that now Voltaire had buried the priests. There was truth in it: Voltaire and Diderot and their disciples, with De Sades and his disciples, were not merely burying the priests, but were sinking into an abyss—deeper than ever plummet sounded—all faith, all reverence, all respect, all the old notions of right and wrong, and with them all the higher aspirations, imaginative qualities, and tender feelings that distinguish men from beasts.] The discourse was excessively applauded. The president told the deputation that the Assembly had listened with much sensibility, and would deliberate upon their propositions. When the deliberations commenced, Fermont, one of the Jacobins, ventured to doubt whether the Assembly, as a legislative body, could properly decide as to who were entitled to these interments in the Pantheon; and recommended that the question should be referred to that solver of all enigmas, *the constitution committee*. He was followed by Robespierre, who thought that no doubt could be entertained as to the right of the illustrious Mirabeau to lie in that place. "I support that proposition," said he, "with all my power, or rather, *with all my sensibility*; but, as to the rest, I think it linked to the interests of liberty and the country, and demand its being submitted to the constitution committee." Then Barnave rose to say that the means of expressing the national gratitude to other great men who had died long ago, or who might die hereafter, had better be reserved for another debate, and be submitted immediately to the constitution committee, with a request that they would report upon it without loss of time; and that, for the present, a decree should be rendered in these terms:—"The National Assembly declares that Honoré Riquetti Mirabeau has merited the honours which will be awarded by the nation to the great men who have served it well." This decree was passed without any opposition, except from d'Espréménil, the parlementer, who had been so kicked and bruised on the day of poignards, and from two other deputies of the Royalist party. When the Assembly met on the morning of the 4th, the president announced that he had received a letter from Mirabeau's executors, stating that the funeral procession would be ready to start at four o'clock that afternoon, and that the orders of the National Assembly were expected. The deputies again declared that they would all go. Then Chapelier, that active committee-man, informed the House that the constitution committee had considered the whole subject over-night, and that he had the report ready in his hand. He said there was one little difficulty: Mirabeau, in his will, had desired to be buried in the garden of his country-house at Argenteuil; but, when he made that request, he did not foresee the honours which his country would award him; and the committee thought that the remains of a great man properly belonged to the country, and proposed that the Assembly should decree: 1. That the new edifice of St. Genévière should be destined to receive the ashes of great men, dating from the epoch of French liberty. 2. That the legislative body *alone* should decide what men were entitled to these honours. 3. That Honoré Riquetti Mirabeau was judged worthy of these honours. 4. That for the future the legislature should not award these honours to one of its own members just dead, but leave the matter to be settled by the next Assembly or legislature. 5. That, with respect to the exceptions in favour of some great men that had died before the revolution, they must be left to the decision of the legislative body alone. 6. That the Directory of

the Department of Paris should be charged with the duty of speedily converting the edifice of St. Genévière into a Pantheon; and that there should be engraved over the portal, *Aux Grands Hommes, &c.* 7. That, until the new church of St. Genévière should be got ready, the body of Mirabeau should be deposited by the side of the ashes of Descartes, in the vault of the old church of St. Géneviève. Having passed a decree to this effect, the deputies quitted their Hall to prepare themselves for the funeral. This was a spectacle as grand as any that Paris had seen, and its solemnity or lugubriousness had the attraction of novelty.* "We have nothing more to learn," wrote a Parisian lady, "from the Greek and Roman republics, with respect to the honours to be awarded to great men. It is only a great pity that *some virtues* are not to be found among the things for which this illustrious man is regretted; and that, on the contrary, talent should be found obscured by *all that is most disgusting in human nature.*"† "This funeral," says a thoughtful old American, "attended by more than 100,000 persons, in solemn silence, is an imposing spectacle. It is a vast tribute paid to superior talents, but no great incitement to virtuous deeds. Vices, both degrading and detestable, marked this extraordinary being."‡ Besides the Assembly, the Jacobin Club and other clubs, all the king's ministers attended, with all the municipals, and all other kinds of notabilities. The streets were lined with double hedges of national guards extending a good two miles in length. It was five in the evening ere the procession began to move from that house in the Chaussée d'Antin which Mirabeau had decorated like the boudoir of a petite maitresse. The march was opened by a detachment of the cavalry of the Paris national guards; then came sappers and miners and cannoneers, flanked by invalids of the most crippled kind—*composés de soldats les plus estropiés*;—then the état major, or staff of that civic militia, having at their head M. Lafayette, whom the deceased had so often sworn to ruin; then the Cent Suisses and prevôtal guards: bands of military music were spread along the line, playing solemnly; and the people observed a solemn silence. A group of constitutionalized clergy immediately preceded the body. The coffin was to be carried in a car; but the battalion of national guards, who had so recently elected Mirabeau to be their commandant, insisted upon carrying "that glorious weight," and they carried it alternately, in companies of sixteen. The coffin was covered with the flag of the battalion, and a civic crown lay upon it, instead of coats of arms, "those attributes of feudality." Immediately after the coffin marched the National Assembly, escorted by a battalion of veterans, and by a battalion of little boys from the military school; the electors of Paris, the deputies of the forty-eight Sections, the municipality, the judges, the municipalities of divers neighbouring towns, the Jacobin Club, the king's ministers (oddly placed!), the Fraternal Society, and all the patriotic clubs of Paris followed after the National Assembly; and the procession was closed by detachments of the national guards, horse and foot. One of the mob cried out, "Ah, if Mirabeau could only see all that is being done for him, how grateful he would be!" Another roared, "Down with Louis XVI.!" and another was heard to say, "Well! Louis XVI. may die when he pleases, but he will never have a funeral like this!" In all, one hundred thousand persons followed the body of Mirabeau to the old church. As that ancient temple of a faith already despised, and about to be proscribed by a majority of votes, was fallen to decay, they halted hard by, at the church of St. Eustache, to perform the last services there. The interior of this church was all hung with black calico, and there was a catafalc upon which to rest the coffin raised in the midst of the choir. Cerutti, littérateur, ex-Jesuit, not long ago the outrageous panegyrist of Necker, and now ready to panegyrize any party that could promote his interest, waited until some priest-prayers were hastily muttered, and then delivered the funeral oration; in which, lauding at once the living and the dead, he spoke of the glorious revolution, and of all that had been done for it by the Assembly, and especially by Mirabeau, whose civic virtues would never be surpassed. After this long oration there was a firing of musketry, and then the body was taken up again and carried by the national guards to the dark vault under the old church of St. Genévière. The clocks were striking midnight when all that remained of Mirabeau was left in the vault by the side of the less that remained of Descartes. National guards, National Assembly, Jacobin Club, king's ministers, and all that multitudinous assemblage, then wended irregularly to their several homes. The Bishop of Autun's assistant consecrator, Gobel, late bishop in partibus, but now, as he expressed it himself, "by the effect of the constitution, the grace of the electors, and the sentence of a tribunal," constitutional Bishop of Paris, published a Mandement, or episcopal letter, on the death of Mirabeau. The pages of the revolution scarcely offer a document stranger than this. It began:—"To all the citizens of our diocese, health and benediction, in the name of the law, the nation, and the king. While we were occupying ourselves, dearly beloved brethren, with the pastoral instructions we thought of addressing to you, a horrible event came to trouble our meditations, and entirely change the order of our work. To the songs of triumph and joy that we were preparing to make you hear, have succeeded, all of a sudden, the plaintive accents of grief; and the national canticle, *Ca Ira, Ca Ira,* which it would have been so sweet to us to have sung with you, is

* When the witty old Prince de Ligne was dying at Vienna, in the year 1814, during the great Congress, he said to a foreign diplomatist, "You have had all kinds of amusements, balls, and spectacles, and now I am going to treat you with the grand funeral of a field marshal of the empire, which will be a variety, and a pleasing novelty."

† Letter from Madame G—— to Romilly, in Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, edited by his Sons.

‡ Governeur Morris, Diary; in Life, by Jared Sparks.

replaced by the funeral-cry, *He is no more, he is no more!* Alas! Death has struck, without pity, that ardent chief of the most beautiful of revolutions, and the powerful and strong man, the firmest support of the constitution, falls and crumbles like a dried reed! What a loss for you and for us, dearest brethren! For us, above all, whom he honoured with his particular protection, so proper to support our new ministry!" With an effusion of gratitude this Bishop Gobel, who, not without cause, got the name of Goose Gobel, went on to say that it was entirely owing to Mirabeau that he had been enabled *canonically* to exercise on the flowery banks of the Seine, and in the midst of the greatest and the happiest people in the universe, those Christian functions which, otherwise, he might have been left to exercise, mournfully and without glory, among the rocks and the eternal snows of Switzerland. "Yes, beloved brethren," continued Gobel in this scarcely credible cackle, "it was Mirabeau, that *virtuous* man, to whom *religion* and honour were so dear, that constituted us your legitimate bishop; it was his *pure hand* that placed us in the episcopal chair of the capital, and never, no never, shall our principles or our practice give the lie to so holy an origin! Oh! how hidden and incomprehensible are the ways of Providence!" Well mightest thou say it, O Gobel, that wast in thine own person and fortunes so astounding an exemplification of the fact! It may be doubted, however, whether there was anything incomprehensible or hidden in the motives of those who appointed such prelates as Goose Gobel. Their end was to discredit the clergy entirely, and to destroy by contempt and ridicule the little religion that remained in France. Yet it is true that the range of their choice was but limited: all of the clergy that had any character had refused the *serment civique*, and hardly any except the very refuse of their body were left in the church. But the blatant Bishop of Paris did not stop here. He went on extolling the defunct orator as the best and most perfect of men, as the proper purifier of the doctrine and discipline of the Christian church, paying no heed to the notoriety of stubborn facts, which had made men shudder at the name of Mirabeau, even in Paris. "How often," said this rampant blockhead, "did he teach us patriot priests those great truths which had no object but our common benefit, and which seemed made for the times, places, and circumstances! In commencing his operations upon the clergy, he said to us, what does it signify to you if the property of the church be at the disposition of the nation? The nation whom you serve, and who knows your merits, will never dispose of that property except in your favour; and what does it signify to you, added he some time after, whether the clergy be declared the real proprietors or not, provided the individuals possess the property? You are the individuals, and you will possess it. And on a more recent occasion he said, leave us to decree the *serment civique*, which is only for your good, and which will bind you to nothing. We must have civic priests, civic curés, civic bishops, a religion entirely civic; and you, whose civism is known, will be placed, without any effort, in the sees abandoned by those who will not take the oath. What touching grace, what sweet persuasion accompanied those unctuous words! And how brilliant and rapid has been the effect. Paris, Blois, Autun, Soissons, episcopal *cities* that have recognised us for your pontiffs, lift up your proud heads and rejoice in possessing in your bosom prelates created by Mirabeau, zealous followers of his doctrine, faithful imitators of his virtues!"

Among the journalists, who had more influence on public opinion than bishops *sermentés* or *insermentés*, who were in fact omnipotent in France, the obsequies of the great orator were celebrated in a very different manner. Not one of them spoke with any great warmth of affection or admiration; a proof that he had no party, no aid to hope for, if he had lived, from those arbitrary disposers of events. The kindest mention made of him was made by one or two royalist journals, that still struggled on in a fitful, uncertain state of existence; and these declared that, when his death was announced in the Assembly, there were tears among the royalists, and joy and exultation among the Jacobins and the whole côté gauche. Brissot, that dogmatical, conceited republican, who thought himself the only great man in France, had scarcely a word to bestow on the deceased. He sneered at the public mourning, and at the notion of styling Mirabeau, as the Assembly had done, "that *virtuous* citizen." Some of them thought that there was a curious contrast between the hatred which the people bore him in his latter days, and the sudden grief they testified at his death; that in spite of all his ability he had never been able to obtain the confidence of true patriots; and that, no doubt, it was well both for him and the people that he had died just when he did.* Fréron, in his 'Orator of the People,' said, that the latter part of Mirabeau's political career had completely effaced the éclat of his beginning. "Why did he not unite with the talents of Cicero the incorruptible probity of the Roman consul?" asked this littérateur, who would have picked a pocket: "Why did the vile love of gold dry up in him the pure spring of patriotism! Then his tomb might have been watered by the tears of ages! They boast of his eloquence, and forget the perfidious use he made of it, in favour of the king's veto, of the martial law, &c. They boast of his eloquence! but Milton's Devil is also very eloquent." Camille Desmoulins was not more charitable. "Although," said he, "Mirabeau had the vanity to call himself an

* Some, at least, of the constitutional monarchists or moderate liberals seem to have entertained the opinion that he was lucky in the moment of his decease. One of Sir Samuel Romilly's correspondents, Madame G—, says in a letter written three days after the funeral:—"Mirabeau's career could not have come to an end at a moment more propitious for his own fame; six months earlier his death would have been considered as a happy event for the public good; and only two months ago it would have been looked upon with general indifference."—*Life of Sir S. Romilly, edited by his Sons.*

Achilles, I believe that everything good that has been done in the Assembly would have been done without him; that nearly everything that is bad would not have been done if he had never been there; and that the country had more to fear than to hope from him." "And I too," said Marat, "will pronounce the Oraison Funèbre of this Riquetti!" And never was his vitriolic style more biting. "People!" he began, "render thanks to the gods! Your greatest enemy is dead. Riquetti is no more! He has died the victim of his numerous treasons, victim to his too tardy remorse, victim of the barbarous foresight of his atrocious accomplices, who were terrified at seeing him go about with all their frightful secrets in his breast." He thought it madness to doubt that he had been poisoned by the court; and still greater madness to weep for such a scoundrel. "The life of Riquetti," said he, "was stained with a thousand crimes: let a black veil cover it. But take heed, O people! not to prostitute your incense; keep your tears for your honest defenders; bear in mind that he was one of the born valets of despotism; that he quarrelled with the court only to captivate your suffrages, and that, as soon as he was elected your deputy to defend your interests, he basely sold your most sacred rights." He called the public funeral, the mourning, the turning the old church into a Pantheon, pantomime tricks, vile *pantalonades* of the conscript fathers. He much applauded Robespierre for opposing those absurd pomps and vanities. As for their proposed Pantheon, he thought, after such a rogue, swindler, traitor, and conspirator as Riquetti had been deposited in it, it would only be fit to receive such rogues as Chapelier, Malouet, de Bouillé, and Lafayette;—"and," added the gentle-hearted journalist, "may heaven, propitious to my prayers, send them all there at the soonest (*au plus tôt.*)"*

Although these terrible journalists indoctrinated and controlled at this moment the sovereign multitude, and were destined by the inevitable course of events to a still greater controlling and dictating power, they will not readily be received as proper critics and judges of the life and conduct of Mirabeau. Since his time writers more sensible to the energy and abilities of the man, and to the few good qualities that inhabited his heart at times, without, as we think, ever taking up a fixed residence in it, have presented Mirabeau to the world, if not in the most attractive, in the most striking and dazzling colours. There was, indisputably, much that was striking in his character and brilliant in his genius and eloquence, which by a dash, a word, could give life and animation, and beauty to the truisms and commonplaces of his discourse-writers and project-makers; there were broad bold contrasts of light and shade in his life and actions; and his career, and in an especial manner the termination of it, was excitingly dramatic. He was a theme sure to seize upon the minds of imaginative men, and it appears to us that they have overdone it. If he dramatised his death, they have dramatised his life, exaggerating the good, and perhaps even the evil, so as to make a fine chiaroscuro. Madame de Staël, partly out of magnanimity, as he had been the bitter enemy of her father, and partly from her habitual half-romantic and half-metaphysical manner of seeing things, began this pictureque process; and she has been followed by others of abilities equal, and, in one instance, superior to her own. She saw in Mirabeau's death the failure of the only hope of saving France from a frightful anarchy, and her fanciful vision has been continued, being precisely of that kind that may last for ever; for, as he died, there was no possibility of proof as to what he might have done if he had lived. We have ventured to express our own opinion that it would have been beyond his power or that of any other merely mortal man to have stopped the headlong course of this revolution, after the fusion of the three orders and the other monstrous errors committed in the beginning; but what is more than this, we doubt whether Mirabeau ever honestly or steadfastly set to work to make the attempt. Certainly, from the time he took the pay of the court, and particularly between the period when he saw the queen in the garden of St. Cloud and the period of his death, the revolution had been allowed to run its course without one important check or impediment, the Jacobins had been allowed to gain strength daily, he himself had considered it expedient or absolutely necessary to put himself at the head of some of their movements and advocate some of their extreme measures; and whenever, *en tatonnant*, he had tried their temper in the way of opposition, he had done it in a timid, undetermined, ambiguous manner, and had, in nearly every one instance, drawn in his hand as soon as they set up their porcupine quills. The triumph over Robespierre and the extremity of the côté gauche, in the debate upon the terrible emigrant law, which is generally described as his last triumph, was, in sober truth, no triumph at all, but, as we have shown, in the report of the debate itself, a partial defeat on his side. The project of law presented by Chapelier was not rejected on account of any eloquence or argument used by Mirabeau: it was determined to reject it before he opened his lips: Chapelier in presenting it had proclaimed its inadmissibility; and the Jacobins, who wanted a severer and surer law, were as little in favour of it as the côté droit. The combat which Mirabeau had to maintain was, whether the discussion of any law of the sort should be declared unnecessary, and any such law incompatible with liberty and the constitution; and here he was out-voted and beaten, the motion of the Jacobin Vernier being carried in his teeth, and the Assembly resolving that the great question should be merely adjourned. The sovereign people, excited by their journalists and their own suspicions and fears, had taken this emigrant law to their heart's core, and it was sure to be carried,

* L'Ami du Peuple, and the other newspapers of the day, as cited in Hist. Parlement.

as soon as the storm thickened a little, whether Mirabeau were dead or living. And because he had ventured to harangue against the tyrannous nature of such a decree, he found himself obliged the very same night to go over to the Jacobin Club and harangue against everything that opposed Jacobinism, declaring that he would remain with them to the last. "And what," said Camille Desmoulins, "could he be without us? It is only in the midst of our society that he is of any consequence; outside our walls he has no strength that is of any avail. I wish he did not belong to us, for, except as being one of us, he is no more dangerous than Cazales or Abbé Maury, and would soon sink to their level." Long since suspected in that Assembly, and visibly afraid of it, was there the shadow of a hope that Mirabeau could ever make the snake change its skin or wriggle to his music? The club by this time could see the wild-boar head and hear its roar without trepidation: it appears that on this his last appearance, notwithstanding his vehement harangue and protestation of fidelity and attachment to the great mother, he was slighted, if not insulted. The moment this spell should be completely broken, his power—that is, all that he had *in se*—would be gone. He had orator courage, but it seems very questionable whether he had any other kind of courage: the class of minds to which his belonged or most resembled have seldom had much. We confess, with all due respect to the opinions of those from whom we differ, that to us the story and the character of the man seem to have been over-dramatised, and his genius and importance exceedingly exaggerated. Nor should we feel disposed, even were his genius higher than it has been estimated, to overlook his cherished vices, which were accompanied to the last by so much that was mean and base, and which were indulged in to an extent proportionate with his increase of pecuniary means, in the midst of circumstances and events which might have sobered a young profligate—if he had a heart. To our minds there is a revolting vulgarity in the use he made of the ill-spared money of the distracted court, in his splendid house and luxurious table, in his costly dresses, in his rings and bijouterie, and in the display he made on his own table after dinner of his diamond and jewel box: all this reminds us of the adage of the beggar on horseback, rather than of the gentleman, or the far-descended aristocrat that traced his origin to the days when the divine Dante trod the earth. If, as the late Sir Samuel Romilly said of him, he was not wholly destitute of private virtues, and was capable of very warm friendship, it will be difficult to find any sacrifice ever made to those virtues, or any great steadiness in that friendship. On the whole, we cannot, in our consciences, disagree with the plain matter-of-fact American, who, after comparing him to Catiline in the propensity of being greedy of other men's money, and prodigal of his own, says—"He was venal, shameless, and yet greatly virtuous, when pushed by a prevailing impulse, but never truly virtuous, because never under the steady control of reason, nor the firm authority of principle. I have seen this man, in the short space of two years, hissed, honoured, hated, mourned. Enthusiasm has just now presented him as gigantic. Time and reflection will shrink that stature." *

As he spent all the money of the court as fast as he got it, Mirabeau died insolvent. It was quite characteristic of the man that he should make a will, leaving a great number of legacies, without leaving anything to pay them. His friend and one of his executors, M. de la Marck, with a noble generosity, promised to make good what might be wanting to carry his last wishes into effect; but unfortunately this generous executor himself owed a great deal more than he was worth.† His chief legatees were his chief mistress, Madame le Jay, his publisher's wife, who is represented as a slattern and a vixen, vulgar and not over-honest, Madame le Jay's children, a natural son of his own, one of his sisters, and his sister's children. The munificence of the Assembly stopped short at the funeral and the Pantheon: they never voted any money either to discharge his debts or to pay any one of these legacies. His younger brother the Vicomte, or Barrel-Mirabeau, had already gone across the frontiers, and was losing his flesh and what little patience he had in drilling a most insubordinate regiment of emigrants; for these emigrants, being nearly all high-born gentlemen, every man of them considered himself as good as any other, and thus noblesse and the aristocratic spirit made as great a confusion and destruction of discipline in these royalist armies as Jacobinism, the Rights of Man, and liberty and equality, produced in the republican army. But the sour barrel was soon tapped and drained: the Vicomte got into a furious quarrel with one of his subalterns, drew and rushed to run him through, but in so doing he fell with his swollen unwieldy body upon the point of the said subaltern's sword—and so an end to the last of the Mirabeaus, except an aged uncle, a knight of the order of Malta. The royalists buried him where he fell, at Fribourg in Brisgau; and, to save appearances, gave out that he had died of apoplexy brought on by his hard drinking.‡

A few days after the apotheosis of the elder

* Gouverneur Morris, Diary.

† Letter from Madame G— to Romilly.

‡ It appears that the Vicomte, who was at least a ready and loud talker in the Assembly, was also an author both in prose and verse. The French attribute to him a satire which made a deal of noise at the commencement of the revolution, entitled '*La Lanterne Magique*,' and a collection of stories in rhyme, entitled '*Contes Posthumes*,' which are said to abound with wit and gaiety.

He considered that his brother disgraced the name he bore by receiving so many personal insults in the Assembly and elsewhere, without once fighting or offering to fight a duel. Nobody could accuse the Vicomte of being backward in this gentlemanly exercise. Once that he was lying wounded from the effect of a meeting of the kind, the orator went to pay him a brotherly visit. "I thank you," said the Vicomte, as the orator was retiring, "and I thank you the more, as you will never give *me the opportunity of paying you a visit* on the like occasion."

In one of his drunken fits poor Barrel-Mirabeau pulled Robespierre from the tribune in the National Assembly, and, more by force than by oratory, occupied that great speaking-place for a whole hour.

Mirabeau, the journalists and the clubs began to denounce the king for harbouring within the Tuileries and in other places unsworn, unconstitutional priests. This led to a terrible riot at the church of the Theatins, and to great disorders in other parts of Paris. On the same day, Sunday the 17th of April, the Cordelier club, still directed by Danton, the true Mirabeau of the lower classes, placarded the streets of Paris with a bolder decree than any that had yet appeared. "The Society of Cordeliers," said the paper, "upon denunciation made to them that the first public functionary of the nation suffers and permits refractory priests to retire into his house, and there openly exercise, to the scandal of Frenchmen and of the law, the functions from which the law has excluded them; that he has, even this very day, taken the sacrament and heard mass from one of these refractory priests; have determined that, the truth of the fact being proved and established, they will denounce to the representatives of the nation this first public functionary, this first subject of the law, as being refractory to the constitutional laws which he has sworn to maintain; thus authorising disobedience and revolt, and preparing to set against the French nation those factions which the enemies of the Rights of Man are trying to excite against the constitution." All this might have been expected and clearly foreseen when Mirabeau was driving for the civil constitution of the clergy, and that *serment civique* which no conscientious or respectable Catholic clergyman could possibly take. The Cordeliers' denunciation, in order to produce more effect, was placarded on Sunday. The very next day the court was to go to St. Cloud, to pass the holy week and keep Easter. The return of spring made the country desirable, and the king was ill in health, and had avowedly scruples of conscience as to performing the religious duties of that solemn season with irregular priests, that were interdicted, or as good as excommunicated, by the supreme pontiff. People of another faith may despise these scruples, but they are precisely such as any devout Catholic must have felt; and nobody, as yet, has attempted to doubt the sincerity of Louis XVI.'s devotion. He had previously consulted, or asked permission of, Mayor Bailly and his chief gaoler Lafayette; and these illustrious men had given their consent; and, in order that he might be well guarded, the commandant-general had given his orders for a whole host of the national guards to march and be ready to keep watch and ward at that pleasant summer palace, and in the country all round about, as they had done the year before. A detachment of these national guards had even marched to their destination at an early hour on Monday morning. The domestics of the royal household had gone, the palace of St. Cloud was prepared, the guard that were to escort were mounted, the horses were put to the carriages, their majesties came out of the Tuileries and entered their coach, and, with Lafayette capering by the side of it on his white charger, they were just going to start, when there arose shouts and shrieks of "Down with that carriage! Down with it! No St. Cloud! The king must stay where he is!"—and a dense mass of men, women, and children, chiefly from the faubourgs, threw themselves before the horses, threatening to murder the postilions if they moved. Mayor Bailly, who was at hand, came up and harangued the mob from his gilded coach, and Lafayette harangued them from his white horse, representing how proper it was that their king should enjoy personal liberty; but it was all of no use, for the mob kept crying that the king intended to escape, to bring the aristocrats, emigrants, and the armies of the emperor upon them. The general then turned to the national guards; but instead of showing any alacrity in reducing the people to order, or in forcing a way through them, they declared that they were for the people, and that the king should not quit Paris; and while they were disputing with Lafayette, who again ran some risk of being shot or bayoneted by his civic heroes, Danton—the Herculean, the terrible Danton—arrived on the spot at the head of the battalion of his district, pretending a laudable anxiety to check the riot, but really intending, as Lafayette well knew, to join the rioters. According to Lafayette's own account, two battalions of the national guards, composed of men from more respectable districts, were steady to their duty or obedient to his command, and offered to secure the king's departure; and upon this he requested the king to remain quiet in the carriage while he went himself to open a passage. But, as it was clear that this passage was not to be opened without bloodshed and without a combat in which two battalions would have to encounter all the rest of the national guards and all the mob; as musket-balls must soon be flying about; as the king had his wife, sister, and children with him; and as he was far from being a hero, it is not surprising that he should have acted contrary to Lafayette's advice, and hastened back to the palace with his family, instead of remaining in a coach which had come to such a dead-lock. Yet, for this, the hero of two worlds bitterly condemns him, and says that all Louis and the court wanted was, to prove that they were forcibly detained in Paris. But other accounts say that Lafayette himself, seeing the hopelessness of the case, and fearing, from the horrible imprecations uttered by the mob against the queen, that murder might ensue, was the first to suggest that the king ought to abandon all thoughts of the journey, and get under cover in the Tuileries as quickly as possible. Though assailed by the most opprobrious epithets, Marie Antoinette walked nobly erect and with a firm and majestic step, so long as she was in sight of that ill-tongued, sanguinary rabble; but once in the privity of her own apartment, she shuddered and wept. Humiliated to the dust, Lafayette hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, and threw up his command of the national guards. The municipality and departmental authorities drew up an address to the king, not to condole with him upon

what had happened, not to promise him a pleasanter journey for another day, but to tell him that they saw with grief that he was favouring the refractory priests, that he was making use of the services of none but enemies to the constitution, and that it was to be feared that such preferences only showed the true feelings of his heart. On the morrow Louis went over to the Assembly to complain of the terrible insult he had sustained, and to declare that he considered it essential to his dignity and liberty to go to St. Cloud, and that he persisted in his intention of going. The president, on whose right hand the king was seated, told him that the Assembly was filled with sweet emotions on seeing him in the midst of them; that unquiet agitation was inseparable from the progress of liberty; that, in spite of the care of virtuous citizens, anxious to calm the people, other men still delighted in spreading rumours and alarms; that the circumstances of the times were menacing, and proper to excite some suspicions; that the cowardly enemies of the constitution and liberty were also the king's enemies; that a faction, but too well known, were endeavouring to place themselves between the king and the nation; and that this visit of his majesty to the Assembly ought to produce a very good effect, as it would show the friendship and confidence which existed between them. As for the king's journey, he said not a syllable about it; for, as the sovereign people had determined it should not be allowed, there was small chance of the Assembly being able to manage it, even if they had sincerely and earnestly wished the king to go. After Louis had quitted the hall, and it had been voted that his speech and the president's speech should be printed and sent to all the departments of the kingdom, M. Blacon, who had never spoken before in the House, ventured to express his astonishment that no notice should have been taken of his majesty's desire. "The king," said he, "has given you a mark of his confidence: he has told you that this journey to St. Cloud is necessary for the maintenance of law and constitution—necessary to give him the appearance of being free—*l'air d'être libre.*" . . . . Here he was interrupted by a loud uproar from the côté gauche, who demanded that he should be sent to the Abbaye prison for the words he had spoken. The côté droit applauded the member that made so unfortunate a maiden speech; but the majority carried the order of the day, and no more was said about the unlucky St. Cloud journey. Under the impression of fear, the king dictated to his minister for foreign affairs a letter to all the foreign ambassadors in Paris, denying that he shared in the sentiments or in any of the plans of the emigrants who were arming to bring about a counter-revolution, declaring that he had freely sworn to the constitution, and that he must regard as his personal enemies all those who insinuated anything to the contrary. In this miserable piece of duplicity, which could scarcely produce even a momentary effect, Louis said, or Montmorin, his minister, said for him, "The enemies of the constitution do not cease to repeat that the king is not happy, as if there could be for a king any happiness but that of his people; they say that his authority is degraded, as if an authority founded upon force were not less powerful and more uncertain than the authority of the law; in fine, they say that the king is not free—an atrocious calumny!—as if it could be supposed that his will has ever been forced." He begged each of the foreign ambassadors to set his court right in these particulars, and to give a juster notion of what the French revolution really was, &c. It is said that Louis himself told the ambassador of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold, that this letter was forced from him, and expressed the very opposite of his sentiments; but no such intimation was required, as every ambassador in Paris that had eyes to see and ears to hear must have known that the king was a wretched captive, and that his only hope now was, and had for some time been, that he might escape from Paris to the frontiers, or beyond them. The letter was written merely in the ridiculous expectation of throwing dust in the eyes of the people and of the Assembly, to whom a copy of it was instantly communicated by the minister for foreign affairs. It produced some "Vive le Roi's" from the côté gauche and the galleries; but within four-and-twenty hours the clubs proclaimed it to be a piece of royal imposture. The king with all his family went to hear mass in one of the parish churches, where the service was of course performed by constitutional priests; but this little violence to his conscience did no more good than the mystifying letter had done: for the clubs and the journalists took note that none of the royal family would take the Easter sacrament in public; and they affirmed that unsworn priests were still privately entertained in the Tuileries.

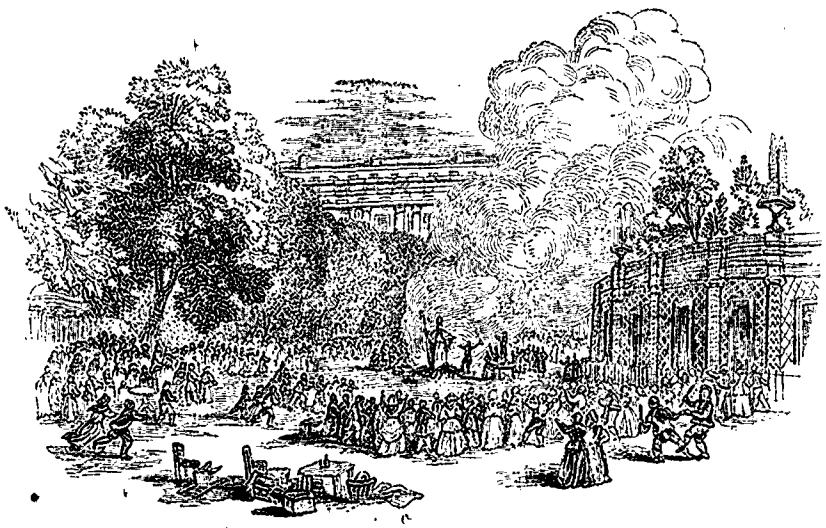
In the mean time Lafayette was flattered by the public efforts made to induce him to assume once more the command of the national guards. For three days his house was constantly crowded by deputations. Some of the liberty and equality men even fell on their knees to implore him; but this unseemly sight was "ennobled by the beautiful idea of one of them, who said, 'General, fear nothing, we are still in the attitude of free men, for it is before the image of Liberty that we kneel!'"* The whole municipality, with Mayor Bailly at the head of it, stayed one night arguing and praying till past midnight, and still the general played the inflexible. But after resisting temptation during three whole days, Lafayette yielded upon conditions. All the sixty battalions of the Paris national guard were to swear on their words and honours to be, in future, orderly and obedient to the laws; those who refused this oath were to be excluded, and some individuals that had behaved with most indecency towards the royal family were to be punished. It

* A Lafayettist pamphlet of the day, as quoted in Hist. Parlemen.

is worth while noting how these conditions were executed. In the battalions appertaining to the more popular or mobbish of the districts, many of the men stayed away at swearing time, and many of the rest laughed while they swore; the redoubtable Centre Grenadiers refused the oath, and were disbanded; but, with the exception of some fourteen, they were all instantly incorporated in other battalions; and as for punishment, there was none, and there could be none, because the mob were stronger than Lafayette and his respectabilities. A grenadier had distinguished himself by an atrocious discourse he delivered at the door of the king's carriage when the horses were stopped by the mob. That evening he gave a report of his speech in the Cordelier Club, who crowned him with a civic crown. The company to which he belonged expelled *him*; the club took him under their protection; and who was there in France that durst defy Danton and his Cordeliers? Lafayette, however, continued in his pride of place, and the laws fared much as heretofore. Marat devoted three entire papers to what he called the "Curious, True, and Remarkable History of the Life of Marie-Paul-Joseph-Roch-Yves-Gilbert-Mottié, Marquis de Lafayette; Deputy of the Noblesse, Founder of the Club of Monarchists, Institutor of Spies, President of the Austrian Committee, Generalissimo of the Counter-Revolutionists, Conspirator-in-Chief of the Kingdom of France, and General of the Parisian Army." He took for a motto, "All is not gold that glitters"—(*Tout ce qui reluit n'est pas d'or*)—and he spared not his malice and his lies, to which he had the art of giving the appearance of verisimilitude. "O, stupid Parisians," exclaimed Marat, in finishing, "and you can throw yourselves at the foot of a man like this, who will try to put you in chains again, after inundating France with blood!"

To complete the new hierarchy with the same sort of materials with which they had begun it, they now named to the bishopric of Calvados the Abbé Fauchet, of the Bastille and of the Social Circle. His appointment proceeded directly from some of the clubs, who declared him to be a sublime character, a firm and vigorous patriot, and one of the first heroes of the revolution. The working men of Paris now entered into associations, which contributed very essentially to the further progress of the revolution: they formed what we call trade-unions; but, not contented with fixing the rate of wages they were to receive from their masters or employers, they announced, in conformity with the Rights of Man, that their masters had no kind of right to be richer or to get more money than themselves. These artisans had all been studying in the Fraternal Society and the other new Schools, and the result of their studies was the gratifying conviction that there ought to be, and soon would be, a Trinculo republic. Mayor Bailly printed a manifesto, in which he employed against the workmen all the good arguments of the economists; but, like every other body or party in France, the artisans heeded no arguments except such as made for the side of the question which they embraced; and, as there was no power that could check them, these unions continued to gain ground, and all the workmen who would not join them were keenly persecuted.

About the beginning of May the Pope's bull, excommunicating Talleyrand, arrived in Paris, and was followed by other bulls, excommunicating Loménie de Brienne, Gobel, Fauchet, and all the rest of the constitutional bishops. To show how little they now cared for the Pope, or his excommunications, the Parisians determined to burn him in effigy. The ceremony was performed with preparation and solemnity. The place properly selected for the burning was the Palais Royal; and Father Adam, late Marquis St. Huruge, was there



Burning of the Pope in Effigy in the Palais Royal, 1791. Tableaux Historique de la Révolution Française.

in a white hat to harangue, and other orators equally esteemed by the people were present, perched upon joint-stools. A figure of Pope Pius VI., as large as life, with the tiara on its head and a copy of the bull in its hand, was brought to judgment. The sentence passed was that it should be burned, and that its ashes should be thrown to the winds; and this was executed, together with many other farces, and with an exceeding great noise. A horror-stricken royalist and priest asked whether the Assembly, in shutting its eyes to this horrible crime, meant to verify the reports that it wished to destroy the Roman Catholic religion? The Assembly took no heed either of the popular pleasantry or of the remonstrance; and by this time, in Paris at least, there was little religion left to destroy. In the same balmy month of May Robespierre made a prodigious stride in the popular favour, broadening the foundation of his reputation for disinterestedness and incorruptibility. He not only reminded the Assembly that it ought not to continue sitting much longer, but he also told those who were deputies in it, that they ought not, in justice or fairness, to be members of the new Assembly or Convention to be elected on the dissolution of the present. They were, he said, a Constituent Assembly, met to make laws, and so it would not be proper that they should continue in the direction of laws of their own making. On the 16th of May he moved that the Assembly should immediately decree that no member of the present legislature should be capable of being elected to the next. He was seconded by Pétion, then his sworn friend; and the motion was received with general acclamations. Merlin endeavoured to show that the decree might prove dangerous to liberty, as an entirely new legislative, without the tried virtues and without any of the political experience of the present, might possibly be corrupted or duped by the king and his ministers. Merlin also feared that an Assembly of novices, out of vanity alone, might have the audacity to attempt altering the constitution they had made (it was almost finished at last). In short, he thought it scarcely within the bounds of possibility that such wise, virtuous patriots as now filled the House could ever be found to fill it again, if they were to be all of them excluded at the next elections. Robespierre replied in a very solemn and a very long speech, which delighted the Assembly so much that they unanimously ordered it to be printed. The rigid man declared that before being convinced of the utility of his motion he had been struck by great examples. "All great legislators," said he, "of whom mankind have preserved the memory, considered it their duty, when they had finished making their laws, to retire humbly to a private station, and to withdraw themselves even from the gratitude of the people. These facts are consecrated in the history of the Greeks and Romans. Those who fix the destinies of nations ought to isolate themselves from their own work. I have no need to lose myself in subtle reasonings to find the solution of the question I have submitted to you. This solution exists in the first principles of my integrity and conscience." He recommended disinterestedness, and, above all, a philosophical calmness. He thought that France, which had made so excellent an election of deputies at the outset, when she was ignorant, and when public opinion had not been formed, might make a still better selection now, when she had had the advantage of two years of experience—two years so fertile in great events and in great lessons. He would not believe that a nation of twenty-five millions of freemen could ever be at a loss to find seven hundred and twenty representatives worthy of the trust. "Those men," said he, "must know by this time the laws and the constitution we have made. I cannot believe that it is more difficult for them to understand them, than it has been for us to make them." Here he was loudly applauded. He considered the constitution not as the work of this or that orator or committee-man, but as the wish, the work, the grand desideratum of all Frenchmen. He considered it most dangerous to Liberty and Equality to admit the ascendancy of a few great orators, and to make idols of them. "The influence of public opinion," said he, "diminishes in exact proportion with the increase of the influence of orators; and when these gentlemen succeed in controlling deliberations, there is no longer an Assembly, there is nothing but a phantom of representation. Then is realised the saying of Themistocles, when, showing his infant son, he said: 'Here is what governs Greece! This baby governs its mother, its mother governs me, I govern the Athenians, and the Athenians govern all Greece.' Thus a nation of twenty-five millions of men would be governed by the Assembly, the Assembly would be governed by a few adroit orators, and by whom would these orators be sometimes governed?" Here the applauses were louder than before. With every encouragement, the man of mediocrity went on to expatiate on the dangers sure to result from men of genius or commanding abilities. "I like not," said he, "the idea that a few able men should be able to domineer over the true representatives of the people, or to perpetuate a system of coalition which is already the scourge of liberty." These few words seem to explain that there was another impulse at work in Robespierre besides mere popularity-hunting; and that his great object really was to break up all parties or unions of men accustomed to act together, so as to facilitate on some future occasion his own perfect ascendancy, with and by a set of men and principles that should be entirely to the taste of the multitude. But certainly the double motives ran well together, for the outward and visible showing of patriotic disinterestedness was sure to dazzle the French people. Still further to captivate the mob, he went on to declare that no representatives of the people ought to occupy their posts for a longer term than

two years. "I should have some confidence," said he, "in such representatives, as, not extending their views of ambition beyond two years, would be forced to limit their ambition to the glory of serving their country and humanity, of meriting the esteem and love of their fellow-citizens, among whom they are sure to return at the end of their mission. Two years of brilliant and useful labours upon such a theatre will be sufficient for their glory: if the glory of placing their names among those of the benefactors of their country is not enough for them, then are they corrupted, or, at least, dangerous; and good care must be taken not to leave them the means of gratifying another kind of ambition. I should have no confidence in men left for four years exposed to the caresses and seductions of royalty, to the seductions of their own power, to all the temptations of pride and cupidity. Those who represent me, those whose will is considered as my will, cannot be too near to me, or too much identified with me: if they are not, far from being the expression of the general will, the law will be but the expression of the caprices or private interests of a few ambitious men; the representatives of the people, leagued, against the people, with ministers and the court, will become sovereigns, and very soon tyrants and oppressors." He said there was another reason, as simple as it was decisive, why the present deputies should not think of being re-elected. They had supported for two years the most extraordinary labour, "the immensity and continuity of which seemed to exceed human strength:" a lassitude must follow—overwrought minds, and souls so long excited, must require repose and retirement. It was a law of nature, and no ambition, no zeal, however honourable and patriotic, ought to resist it. Growing figurative, he exclaimed, "Let us then retire like victorious but wearied Athletæ; let us leave the lists to fresh and vigorous successors, who will follow our footsteps under the eyes of an attentive nation! As for us, out of the Assembly, we shall serve the country better than if we remained in it; returned to our departments, spread over all the parts of this empire, we will illuminate such of our fellow-citizens as may yet need illumination; we will propagate everywhere patriotism and public spirit, the love of peace, the love of order, of laws, and of liberty!"* Here the applauses were most enthusiastic, and when one round ended another began, and then another. No speech delivered in that Salle de Manége had made a greater impression. The "agitation" continued a long time; and then there was a loud call upon the president to put the motion to the vote at once. M. Baumetz said that he had a proposition to make, an amendment to propose. "Ah! ah!" cried Custine, "it is easy to see that you want to be re-elected!" Chapelier mounted the tribune to recommend some amendment or some delay, but he could not obtain a hearing, so impatient were the deputies for the passing of the law, which was forthwith carried without a division. Messieurs the deputies then retired in the midst of their own tumultuous applauses. In the course of this debate Rewbell suggested that they ought to decide whether the deputies of succeeding legislatures were to be re-eligible or not. No time was lost in settling this matter. The debate upon it began on the 17th of May, and on the 19th the Assembly adopted the resolution presented by Barnave—"The members of one legislature may be re-elected to another; but they cannot be re-elected till after an interval of two years." Robespierre again distinguished himself by a long self-denying oration; and a few days after the decree was passed he made himself still more popular by recommending that the distinction of the Marc d'Argent should be done away, and that there should be universal suffrage. "The happy moment," he exclaimed, "is come for declaring that every Frenchman domiciliated in France has a vote, without any attention paid to money or property." His voice was drowned by the murmurs of the deputies, who put him down by voting the order of the day; but this he expected and despised: it was not from this Assembly that he expected honour and glory and power from the proposition; but he knew how it would work out of doors, where the mob and Marat, and all the thorough-paced Jacobin journalists, would take it up, and send it flying through France. On the 30th of May, in discussing the penal code, a grand discussion arose upon this principal question—"Shall the punishment of death be abolished or not?" Robespierre espoused the affirmative, and gained fresh laurels by the harangue he delivered on the subject. After some school-boy pedantry about Greece and Rome, and a prayer of the Athenians to their gods to avert so barbarous a punishment, this to-be great slayer of men exclaimed—"I come to pray, not the gods, but this legislature, who ought to be the organs and interpreters of the eternal laws which the divinity has dictated to men, to expunge from the code of the French those laws of blood which order judicial murder, and which are repulsive to the manners and morals and the new constitution of the French people! I will prove two things: first, that the punishment of death is essentially unjust; and, secondly, that it multiplies crimes rather than prevents them. . . . . The pain of death is necessary, say the partisans of the ancient and barbarous routine, as without it there is no check powerful enough for crime. Who has told you so? Have you calculated all the means and resources by which other penal laws may act upon human sensibility? Alas! before death, what pains, physical and moral, may not man endure!" [He practically illustrated upon thousands of victims the truth of this argument—but he nevertheless finished the tragedy of woe and horror by the guillotine.] Other men, who afterwards waded as deeply in blood as Robespierre, took the same side of the question, urging that the pain of death ought to be

* Hist. Parlement.

inflicted for no crime whatsoever, and that such punishments, outraged public delicacy, deadened the moral sentiment of the people, and degraded and brutalised their souls. In the end, the Assembly agreed that nobody should be put to death except an enemy to the country, a chief of a party declared a rebel *by a decree of the legislative body*. As for the royal prerogative of mercy or pardon, they would none of it. Mercy, they said, ought to reside where the power of convicting resided, that is to say, solely with the jury.

Nothing could be more reasonable, after all these proceedings, than that the printer Prudhomme should propose in his newspaper, early in the month of May, the immediate abolition of royalty. "To abolish royalty," said this friend of the Abbé Fauchet, "is to abolish the greatest curse and plague that ever desolated mankind. Yes! the illustrious citizen of Geneva was right when he said that monarchy was a government against nature! . . . . . The grand basis of every free constitution is that principle of eternal truth declared by the National Assembly itself, that men are born free and equal, and remain equal in their rights. Yes! all men are born free and equal, and remain so; and yet you decree a royal dynasty in which future generations of individuals are to come into the world with rights that other men have *not and can never have*! And you decree that they shall have these rights in hereditary succession, whatever be their ignorance, their ineptitude, their baseness, or their vices!" * The municipality, receiving their impulse from the mob, who had changed the name of the Chaussée d'Antin into that of "Street of Mirabeau the patriot," took it upon themselves to change the names of all the streets and squares of Paris, being particularly careful to paint or plaster over every royal designation. The quay which had been called Des Théatins, after that order of monks, was rechristened Quai Voltaire; and the Rue Plâtrière got the name of Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau. But Voltaire and Rousseau were destined to receive still higher honours. On the 30th of May, the anniversary of the day when the clergy of Paris had refused christian burial to the patriarch, who assuredly had never desired it, the Assembly decreed that his ashes should be removed from the church of the Abbey of Scellières at Romilly, between Nogent and Troyes, where he had been secretly interred, and placed with all honours in the Pantheon. The operation was made the more easy or necessary by the circumstance that that ancient Bernardine abbey had been sold for the good of the nation, and was going to be knocked down or turned into stabling. The subject was wonderfully enticing; and the orators of the Assembly made the most of it. They proclaimed, with entire truth, that Voltaire was the real father of their revolution; that in shaking the prejudices of men, and turning into scorn all old institutions, he had prepared the ground and laid the foundations for new ones, &c. Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely proposed that, besides the removal of the patriarch's bones and his apotheosis in the Pantheon, they should vote him a statue at the public expense. Camus, so niggardly where priests and monks were concerned, agreed that there ought to be a statue, but thought it required serious consideration whether it should be a single figure or a group, and whether it should be erected in some public square, or put into a museum. A matter-of-fact deputy reminded the House that a statue had been already voted for Rousseau, but that nothing more had been heard of it. Another deputy proposed a statue to Montesquieu, and another a statue to Mably; and, if financial considerations had not interfered, they would probably, in the enthusiasm of the moment, have voted a hundred statues.

In the course of the month of May Danton and his Cordeliers, becoming bolder every day, denounced Lafayette and Mayor Bailly for having ordered the national guards to fire upon the people when they were opposing the king's departure for St. Cloud. They also changed the name of their club into that of "Society of the Rights of Man." As the building in which they held their meetings was national property, Bailly thought he might take his revenge by putting the seals of the municipality upon the doors, and by ordering it to be immediately sold. The Cordeliers thereupon repaired to a tennis court, for Paris had its Jeux-de-Paume as well as Versailles; and there, like the Tiers Etat, they swore that they would never separate. In a day or two they hired a hall that was private property; and at the same time *the Central Committee of all the clubs and fraternal societies of Paris* hired the great ball-room of the Sieur Cirier, citizen and dancing-master. They accused the municipality of sending little boys to throw stones and break their windows, and to cry, "Down with that motion!" They said they would some day bring Mayor Bailly to account; and they kept their word. The Jacobin Club announced for the 1st of June a newspaper, which was to give a full account of their debates, and which was to be published every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The editors hoped that this newspaper would be at the very least as interesting and as valuable as any that reported the debates of the National Assembly. From the moment that this journal was set on foot Robespierre seems to have attended more frequently, and to have taken more pains about the discourses he delivered in the Mother Society. The Journal des Débats des Jacobins soon became exceedingly popular, as, besides publishing all the violent harangues that were delivered in the Hall, it published, in occasional supplementary numbers, other speeches which had been written, but which had not been delivered for want of time or opportunity.* This

* Journal des Revolutions de Paris, in Hist. Parlement.

* Just at this time Robespierre inserted a curious advertisement in all the newspapers:—

"*Manuscript lost.* M. Robespierre left in a hackney-coach, which he took at half-past nine o'clock of the evening of the 12th of May,

greatest of clubs now appointed its committees like the Assembly, and discussed every great question *before* the Assembly meddled with it. Ever since de Bouillé's affair at Nancy hints had been given that all that remained of the regular army should be reduced. On the 8th of June the Jacobins had a grand debate on this subject. Rœderer presented a report from a committee on the best means of *dis-aristocratizing* the army; and declared that no time was to be lost, as, at a moment when foreign invasion and internal insurrection were expected, the regular army was notoriously disaffected to liberty and the constitution. Dumouriez, who continued his attendance, thought that an oath to be individually taken by officers and men might remove the doubt and difficulty; but Rœderer held that nothing was to be done but to cashier all the officers who were gentlemen, and supply their places with plebeians. Robespierre, speaking after Rœderer, said he had come down to the club, not to make a studied speech, but to open his heart and give vent to his feelings. He was grieved, distracted, to see the state of the army of de Bouillé, and to think of the horrible manner in which they had massacred their fellow-citizens at Nancy. He declared, as of his own knowledge, that the plots and intrigues of the officers, who were all aristocrats, were the sole causes of those horrors. Speaking precisely as if he were in the National Assembly, he said, "You doubt whether this discharge be absolutely necessary; but have you forgotten that these officers have mounted the white cockade? Do they not make an open profession of their contempt for the people, and do they not show the most profound respect for the court? And yet you think that it may be possible to keep them in the service! . . . . . You say you wish to adopt proper measures for securing liberty and the constitution; but is it a proper measure to confide the command of your troops to aristocrats and enemies of the constitution? I say with frankness, and perhaps with rudeness, that every man that does not wish and advise the dismissal of all these officers is a traitor!" Here one of the charmed Jacobins swore that Robespierre's last words ought to be written in big capitals on the four corners of the hall. The rest of Robespierre's speech turned upon the doubts, suspicions, and misgivings which all patriots ought to entertain. At such a crisis he thought that suspicion and patriotism were synonymous, or interchangeable terms. He bade the Jacobins fear those serpents that were always insinuating themselves among them for the purpose of influencing their decisions—were perpetually trying to make them renounce their principles, out of their simple love of peace and order. He bade them fear all those men that only cared for the revolution as a means of advancing their own fortunes—all those that preached moderation.* Two days after these doings in the Jacobin Club, the National Assembly debated the same subject; and Robespierre was principal speaker in favour of the motion for disbanding all the old officers that remained in the regular army. Some, he said, had recommended that pensions or half-pay should be allowed to these officers on dismissal; but this he considered as a monstrous kind of liberality, as the public money so spent would only feed aristocrats, and traitors to the public. Cazales, the bold dragoon, replied to the little advocate from Arras. He called Robespierre a cowardly calumniator, a man intent on filling the minds of the people with dark falsehoods and blacker suspicions. The côté gauche roared out that Cazales ought to be sent to the Abbaye. The debate lasted two whole days, and ended in the resolution that all the officers of the regular army should be called upon to take another oath. On the second day of the debate, Fréteau drew a startling picture of the military condition of the kingdom. The regular army was so disorganised, that in case of a war no reliance could be had on it. Everything, he thought, announced a speedy war. The frontiers towards the Rhine were swarming with emigrants, Spain was drawing an impenetrable cordon on the Pyrenees, and the king of Sardinia was gathering an army on the declivities of the Alps. Both Austria and Prussia possessed immense and well-disciplined armies, and there was every appearance of their employing them against France: there was every appearance of a coalition of tyrants—of a league more formidable than any that modern Europe had seen; and what had the French to oppose to it but an undisciplined militia? One of the consequences of this oration was a summons from the Assembly to the Prince of Condé to return immediately into the kingdom, and declare that he would undertake nothing against the security of the state, under pain of being treated as a rebel, he and his adherents. The journalists and the clubs proposed that a price should be put upon the head of Condé, of the king's brother d'Artois, and all the other chief emigrants; and that all the property they had left behind them in France should be confiscated. They also proclaimed, with more and more confidence, that the king was making his preparations to fly. All was not invention; and, though the particulars they pretended to give of those interviews were false or exaggerated, it was quite true that the Count d'Artois, assisted by that volatile ex-minister Calonne, had had more than one interview at Mantua with the emperor Leopold. The 'Moniteur' itself inserted a letter from a correspondent in Germany, who stated that he had seen letters written from the Tuileries to one of the German courts, explaining the intention of the letter to the foreign ambassadors, and the real object of the journey to St. Cloud. That journey, according to these letters from the Tuileries, or

on the Quai des Augustins, a manuscript on the *Indefinite Liberty of the Press and Popular Societies*. He begs all good citizens who may have heard anything of it to help him to recover it. He will give a recompense to such as may have taken any trouble about it. Address letters to his residence in Rue Saintonge au Marais, No. 8, or to the care of M. F. Lanthenas, Rue Guénégaud, Hôtel Britannique, Faubourg St. Germain."

* Journal des Débats des Jacobins.

the 'Moniteur's' correspondent, was not meant to end at the distance of two leagues from Paris. If the royal family had been allowed to get to St. Cloud, the following night they would have been carried off to Compiègne, and the next day to Brussels, where, safe under the protection of an imperial army, the king would have issued a manifesto to all Europe, explaining that he had escaped from a long and painful captivity, and that all he had done for many months was null and void. Montmorin wrote a letter to the president of the Assembly to contradict these dangerous lies in the 'Moniteur.' He attested, upon his responsibility as a minister, upon his head, upon his honour, that no such insensate project had ever existed. Montmorin may really have believed what he said so solemnly, for he was very imperfectly admitted into the confidence of the court: indeed, doubts were entertained as to his political principles, and he was kept, as much as was possible, in the dark; but in a postscript to his letter to the president, he said he had placed this letter under the eyes of the king, who had not only permitted, but ordered him to send it. Perhaps it would have been at once more wise and more honourable if Louis had ordered him to take no notice of the matter. The contradiction convinced no one: it only kept up discussion, and provoked more suspicion; and this suspicion probably led to greater watchfulness. Fréron, in his 'Orateur du Peuple,' exclaimed, "Oh, Parisians, open your eyes! See the preparations that are making by your enemies! The only hostage you have is in the royal family, and they are going to escape from you. It will not be by open force, for they have tried that and failed, but it will be by means of a disguise which is unknown to you. They will be beyond the frontiers before you know that they have quitted their nest." This was published at the end of the month of May; and for several successive days Fréron and other Jacobin journalists continued their warnings. They told the people that the reason why there was so little coin left in Paris was, that it was all packed up, and sent secretly across the frontiers for the use of foreign armies. The want of specie was very manifest. The Assembly made a fresh issue of assignats, and passed a decree ordering all the bells of the suppressed churches to be melted, and coined into money. Petitions now began to be presented from all parts of the kingdom calling for universal suffrage. The Jacobin Club and the journalists occupied themselves with this subject, as also with the elections for the next Assembly, or Legislature, showing what men were proper to be returned. Of course they only recommended to the people of France ultra-Jacobins. Brissot, in his journal, 'Le Patriote Français,' took a very active part in these discussions or prescriptions; and he had for his co-laborateur F. Lanthenas, doctor in medicine, and the friend and referee of Robespierre. Brissot took for his motto *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*. The qualification which he especially recommended was, that every candidate should be in himself a man of the people, and not merely a friend of the people: *homme du peuple, et non pas ami du peuple*. And he laboured to show how much better things would go for the people when every deputy of the legislative body, and when every functionary or employé of the executive, should be a man of the people, a burgher, a plebeian, without any aristocratic name, connexions, or tastes. Carra, who will soon make more noise in the world, drew up in his journal, 'Les Annales Patriotiques,' a long list of the men most fit to be chosen. They were Jacobins to a man, and among them were some of the greatest monsters that afterwards figured in the National Convention; but the list also included a great many of the Girondins, or Girondists, who afterwards laid claim to so much virtue, public and private—to so much moderation, and dislike of blood-shedding, though we cannot perceive that they were much less disposed than the Jacobins of the Montagne to shed blood, so long as their own system was to be worked out, or so long as they had enemies to fear, and hopes to flatter them that they should remain in the supreme direction of affairs. Carra's list ran all over France. Nobody could accuse him of acting contrary to Brissot's doctrine. All the individuals he recommended were essentially men of the people. A good many of them were poor lawyers, a good many were journalists or pamphlet-writers, some were doctors or apothecaries, and there was a disproportionate number of printers. Some had no other qualification than that of being presidents of provincial Jacobin clubs, or leading members in their municipalities, or in the national guards of their districts. Very few of them had ever been before heard of in the world. Among the future Girondins he named was M. Roland, municipal of Lyons, who had the fortune to possess a wife that has given some imperishability to the name. Among the future members of the Montagne that Carra had taken to heart was Billaud Varennes, designated as procureur-général de Doubs. He also particularly recommended Claude Fauchet, of the Social Circle, and now bishop of Calvados! Marat, in his journal, chose rather to give a list of such "villains and rogues" as were ambitious of being named Paris electors, that were afterwards to elect the deputies; and never since elections began was the black brush laid on so unsparingly. This list is doubly curious, for every candidate mentioned in it is a man of the people, and most of them are poor tradesmen or artisans. Many touches of Marat's brush are too coarse and horrible to be exhibited, but we may select a few gentler touches as specimens:—*e. g.*, "Le Roux, formerly a publisher of advertisements; he is a scoundrel devoted to those conspirators Bailly and Lafayette. . . . . Bressilon, a grocer, living in Rue St. Christophé; he is a rotten aristocrat. Chaudel, keeper of an eating-house, and sapper and miner of his battalion; he is one of the sworn spies of Lafayette. . . . Lacour, an apothecary; Buisson, an apothecary; Briban, a shoemaker, always cursing the revolution; Papin,

reduced to all kinds of shifts to get a living; Challie, a jeweller; Martel, who passes his life in the coffee-houses; Clement, a watchmaker; Forteaux, a spy with a most sinister countenance; Renaud, a stationer and bankrupt; Lambert, a seller of lemonade, who receives in his house all the scoundrels of the quarter; Atenot and Apriman, a couple of crapulous libertines, living with the women of the town: these are some of the worthy candidates of the section of Nôtre Dame; and here are the rotten members of the next section. . . . ." And so Marat goes through all the sections of Paris. In the Jacobin Club Danton gave his powerful hand and commanding voice to Robespierre, who was especially charged to draw up the report of a committee appointed by the club upon the elections, or upon the sort of men fit to be elected. Robespierre again took occasion to warn the French people against the danger of being captivated by men of genius and eloquence; and he also bade them look with a scrutinising eye into the past history and connexions of every candidate: for if a man had lived among aristocrats, he must have caught their vices and their habits of thinking, and no man could change of a sudden his confirmed habits and vices. "In the choice that you will make," said this Aristides, this Incorruptible of the revolution, "you will consider that virtue and talents are necessary; but that, of the two, virtue is the more necessary. Virtue without talent may be very useful, but talent without virtue will be a scourge; and, in effect, virtue itself will give all the talents necessary to make a good representative of the people." This report was enthusiastically applauded; and the club decreed that three thousand copies of it should be printed, to be distributed among the forty-eight sections of Paris, and among the affiliated Jacobin clubs in the departments. In this same session, in the hall of the Jacobins (it was on the 19th of June, the day before the king's flight), Abbé Sieyes fell into great trouble. He had long been declaring that the constitution now a-making, and all but made, was not worth a rush, and that he had in his portfolio the plan of a perfect one, which the nation, sooner or later, must adopt. "*Il faut qu'ils viennent à moi*"—they must come to me, said the confident abbé. Sieyes, moreover, had never recovered from the shock produced by the rude way in which the Assembly had turned all the holders of church property and clerical emoluments into mere pensionaries of the state; and the poor allowance doled out to him by the rigid and economical Camus by no means made up for what he had lost in being deprived of his profitable posts of vicar-general to the bishop of Chartres, and chancellor of that bishopric; and, besides this, (what was more to the abbé's honour,) Sieyes had, at a very early period of the revolution, taken a hearty disgust at the popular political clubs. Even before the Assembly removed from Versailles, and before the Breton Club, instituted by or through Lafayette, changed its name into that of the Jacobin Club, he had exclaimed to Dumont, who chanced to meet him just as he came out from one of their conciliabula—"I will return no more among those men! Their politics are the politics of a cavern; they propose crimes as political expedients!" For some time past he had rarely attended the Jacobins, and had not very often been in the Assembly, or, if he had been at that great manufactory of decrees, it had been only as a silent member. But self-preservation, with, perhaps, some idle hopes of guiding the movements of the great prolific mother, had prevented him and others from absolutely separating from the Jacobins; and this night of the 19th of June he was present in the hall, when Salles, a very inflammatory Jacobin, and lately a man-midwife, rose to denounce him, for having, for several days past, endeavoured to get signatures to a certain paper, containing three capital articles—1. Liberty for all; 2. The acceptation of two houses or chambers, if the National Assembly should decree them; 3. An absolut submission to the laws.—The mere mention of two houses of parliament or legislature, as in England, made the great heart of the mother society thrill with horror. Sieyes, however, defended himself in masterly style; and the practised dialectician reduced the man-midwife to a dead silence. But, on the following night, when Sieyes was not there to speak for himself, the cowards renewed their attacks. Somebody ventured to speak of the Abbé as a great man, and as one that had rendered good services to the cause of liberty at the beginning of the revolution. This gentle Jacobin was silenced by the sonorous Danton, who exclaimed—"I beg to observe that, among a people become truly great, there ought to be none of these considerations for your pretended great men!" Buzot, Barrère, Voidel, and several other deputies of the Assembly, including the rising Pétion, excused themselves in the best manner they could for having signed Sieyes's paper, solemnly assuring the club that, in so doing, their *bonne foi* had been imposed upon. Several of these signers of the paper really wished for an upper house, or at least for a separate chamber of some kind; but their dread of the omnipotent club reduced them to the saving processes of prevarication and lying. Apparently only two of the number justified their signature, and the principle upon which they had given it. M. Gorguereau said he prided himself in what he had done, and would explain his views. The Jacobins would not hear him. M. Billecoque boldly said, "I owe it to my conscience to declare that I signed the paper because I entertain the opinions it expresses. Last night I fully approved of the defence M. Sieyes made in this place. If it is a crime, I confess I am guilty." "Yes, yes, he is guilty enough, down with him!" roared the hall and the populous galleries; and then the terrible Danton mounted the Jacobin tribune, and thundered anathema maranatha on the head of poor Sieyes. "For this long time," exclaimed Danton, "my life belongs to the poignards of the enemies of liberty, under whatever mask

they may present themselves! I fear them no more than I formerly feared the arms of the Châtelet court. The priest Sieyes, who defended tithes; the priest Sieyes, who did not want the property of the church to be declared national property; the priest Sieyes, who made a law in the Assembly to moderate the liberty of the press, is not the only author of that paper, of that declaration which is now known to you. It is a year ago that a worse man, M. de Lafayette, opened conferences with those whom he regarded as the most enthusiastic of the popular party. I was admitted into his councils, and then M. de Lafayette developed precisely the same opinions as those now spread in the paper of Sieyes. He made me observe that I, who had employed all my ardour for the cause of liberty, was banished from all profitable places, while M. Bailly had been re-elected Mayor of Paris. He told me that he should soon break with the Jacobins. I told him that the people, by a single movement, would sweep away all their enemies whenever they chose. Yes, it is this same man, a deserter from this society, that is the author of this project! He, and others like him, hope to remain as nobles, in spite of the horror which nobility inspires in all France. It is for this they want their Upper House, their two Chambers. But to us there will ever remain the three dramatic unities—unity of time, unity of place, unity of action. But, although your enemy be already half beaten, since his plot is discovered, do not, O Jacobins, fall to sleep in a false security: remember that you have to deal with the priest Sieyes!"* Marat, that frightful screech-owl, made a still louder noise by means of his pen: he called not for an émeute in the faubourgs, or a general riot in Paris, but for a universal insurrection throughout the kingdom; he called for the death of the incorrigible traitors, for the extermination of all the busy enemies of liberty and equality.

For a whole week preceding the king's flight, the inquisitorial committee of research, the municipality, and the chief gaoler, Lafayette, were constantly receiving warnings that the court were preparing to escape. The fact was true, and sufficiently maddening, for there was no doubt that the escape of the king would be immediately followed by foreign invasion and civil war; and, though the people of Paris and the French republicans in general faced these dangers bravely enough when they came, they never regarded the approach of them without consternation and panic fear. But, as if the truth were not enough, black Fréron, in his journal, pretended to have gotten possession of a monstrous letter written by the queen to the Prince of Condé. Before publishing the letter at full length he introduced a Flemish woman, who was to carry it, and from whom he pretended to have received it, to the committee of research and to Camille Desmoulins, who, in his turn, introduced her to Robespierre and Buzot. Robespierre and Buzot were for instantly attacking Lafayette and Bailly; but Pétion arrived in time to show them that the woman was an impostor, and the letter a downright forgery. Nevertheless Fréron published the letter, which produced all the effect desired in exasperating the already implacable malice against Marie Antoinette. The vulgarity of the style was very studied. "Notre ami," the elegant-minded queen was made to say, in this gross forgery, to his highness of Condé, "pay no attention to the decree launched against you by the Assembly of swine; we will learn how to stir up the toads and frogs (the Parisians). This is the manner in which our fat man, *notre gros* (the king), will set out as soon as our people mount guard at the Tuileries. We have resolved to get made a sort of public coach like a hackney-coach. The coachman, dressed like a hackney-coachman, will drive us two leagues from Paris. The king will set out with his son; I shall follow with Madame Elizabeth and my daughter. We also shall set out in a sort of hackney-coach. Monsieur and Madame will set out in another direction. Our fair-complexioned man (Lafayette) and M. Bailly, who have assisted us, will get out of Paris on horseback, as if they were going to take a short ride, and will then escape. As for ourselves, if the people discover our departure, the cavalry, under pretext of pursuing us, will escort us on our road, for the cavalry are all for us, and we rely entirely upon them. M. Bailly has been giving them, for some time past, six livres a day per man. We have also on our side the mercantile body, who are in an understanding with us: they furnish us with money in specie. In the National Assembly, our people have succeeded in decreeing that there shall be nothing but paper money employed in commerce, in order that we may be able to carry off all the gold and silver." After some other passages in the same style, intended to draw down the vengeance of the people upon the ex-parlement of Paris, upon the chiefs of the municipality, and upon all the better-conditioned artizans, the mock epistle concluded with these words: "Everything is arranged for our setting out in a day or two. We only fear the troops of the carbuncled man (the Duke of Orleans), formerly Gardes Françaises; we have not been able to gain them, or the republic of the Faubourg St. Antoine. I send you two millions of livres in specie, which the Paris merchants have procured for us."* The ink that printed these words was not dry on the paper, when—on the morning of the 21st of June—the president, Alexandre Beauharnois, husband of the fair Josephine, afterwards Josephine Buonaparte and empress, rose in the Assembly, with a very solemn face, and said, "I have afflicting intelligence to give you. M. Bailly has this moment been to inform me that the king, and a part of his family, have been carried off last night by the enemies of the public weal." Nearly at the same moment—it was about ten o'clock in the morning—the municipality announced the flight by firing three great guns. But the fact had been

* Journal des Debats de Jacobins.

* L'Orateur du Peuple, as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

known three hours before; and the mob had already taken possession of the vacant nest, turning everything in the Tuileries topsy-turvy, and shouting and shrieking for the head of Lafayette, who must, they thought, have been an accomplice in the evasion. Part of the mob encountered Lafayette with his national guards, in the Place de Grĕve, and followed him, hissing and hooting, all along the quays to the Tuileries: Camille Desmoulins says that the hero of two worlds looked very pale, and for once we can entirely believe Camille. Lafayette himself, of course, describes his conduct as heroical; yet, in so doing, he used words which seem to show either that he was glad of the prospect of the total overthrow of monarchy, or that he was afraid of the people. According to this account "he repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, accompanied by a mob, and found in the Place de Grève a still greater mob, who had seized the Duke d'Aumont, commander of the sixth division of national guards, that had been mounting guard at the palace. Lafayette extricated the duke from their grasp. Hemmed in by that immense crowd, he at first addressed them merrily by telling them that, as the king was gone, there would be no more civil list to pay—*that every citizen would gain twenty sous a year by the suppression of the civil list;* but fresh groups presenting themselves, he harangued them in a more serious tone."* He was joined in the street by Mayor Bailly; and for some time it is quite evident that the lives of both were in imminent danger. Nor was the Assembly in much more security. The first to break the long silence which followed Beauharnois's announcement was Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, who reminded the Assembly of their courageous and imposing behaviour two years ago at Versailles. "The men," said he, "who at that epoch knew how to conquer liberty will know how to defend it now! Let all the friends of the constitution instantly unite to maintain it!" He proposed that, without losing a moment's time, they should take possession of the executive government, send for the ministers, and give them the orders of the Assembly; and then send off couriers into the departments to cause the arrest of all those who had conspired and effected the carrying off of the royal family. These propositions were unanimously adopted, as was also a decree calling upon all public functionaries, national guards, troops of the line, and citizens whatsoever, to arrest the fugitives, and prevent the passage out of the kingdom of all coaches or horses, goods or arms, ammunition or money. Vernier thought that they also ought to decree instantly that all the arsenals and every forge in France should be set to work to manufacture arms. Camus thought it would be better to provide, in the first place, for their own security, to see that the Assembly was properly guarded, and that no strangers were admitted. The Assembly forthwith charged the president with these important duties. Chapelier then proposed that the municipals should be instructed to acquaint the people, by means of a proclamation to be made in all the great thoroughfares in Paris, that the National Assembly was going to deliberate, in permanent session, on the best means of securing order in the empire, and that they commanded the people to be quiet. Camus proposed sending immediately for Mayor Bailly and Lafayette, in order that they might look after the Tuileries, which was in the hands of the mob. Another member, of a more gunpowder temper, proposed, as something very essential, that all the biggest guns of Paris should be fired every ten minutes in sign of alarm, that a black flag should be hoisted, and that orders should be sent by fast couriers to every town in France to do the like. Another member thought that there would be danger in making such a hubbub, and imprudence in burning so much gunpowder, at a time when gunpowder might be wanted. At this moment the minister of justice entered the Hall; and he was soon followed by an aide-de-camp of Lafayette, one M. Robeuf, who was in a sad pickle, having been beaten and arrested by a mob who had brought him a prisoner to the bar of the House. The poor aide-de-camp said he had been sadly used, and that he had left a brother officer in the hands of the multitude, who probably had murdered him by this time. Then Rewbell, the sworn friend and ally of Robespierre, rose to insinuate the foul complicity of the commandant-general. "I should like to know," said this true Jacobin, "whether it be true that for some weeks past the officers on guard had orders not to permit the king to go out after midnight? That signifies something. . . . . ." Here Barnave, who had changed or was about to change his views, rose and demanded that he might be heard before more was said on this subject. "The object," said he, "which ought to occupy our attention, is how to save the commonwealth, and attach the confidence of the people to those who ought to enjoy it. There are some men upon whom these popular movements would draw down distrust and suspicions, which I firmly believe, and which I swear to the nation, they have not merited! M. Lafayette, from the beginning of our revolution, has evinced the intentions and the conduct of a good citizen: he merits confidence, he has obtained it, and it is important to the nation that he should preserve it. I demand, therefore, that, without noticing the proposition of M. Rewbell, we order all citizens to be under arms, but calm, immovable, and resolute to obey no impulse or orders but what may be given by the Assembly." This was unanimously voted. The ministers of finance, of the marine, of the interior, and of war were successively admitted into the Assembly, where they all declared that they knew nothing about the plan for carrying off the king. The constitutional bishop (Gregoire), who had changed his unproductive curacy for the see of Blois, was rejoiced to say that the people were in the best of possible dispositions. "Let us," said

* Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by his family.

he, "sustain their cause with courage; *et nos, si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidos ferient ruinæ;* we will die, if necessary, to save the commonwealth!" Charles de Lameth proposed organising an executive government in the bosom of the Assembly, and adding six more vigilant members to the committee of research, in order to discover who had committed the great crime. D'Andre reminded the House that, according to the constitution, no *decree* could be executed or become law without the sanction of the sovereign. "That sanction," said he, "is, in this moment, impossible, and therefore I propose that the following *decree* be passed immediately:—'The National Assembly *decrees* that, provisorily, and until it shall give fresh orders, whatever decrees it may pass shall be put into execution by ministers, without any need of sanction or acceptation.'" Pétion said that this proposition was extremely simple, and conformable to first principles. There arose, however, many calls for amendments, and the president was obliged to implore the honourable members to speak one at a time. M. Guillaume, in supporting the motion of d'Andre, said it would be very necessary to change the headings of decrees, and say, instead of "Louis by the Grace of God," &c., the "National Assembly decrees, commands, and orders," &c. M. Delessart, minister of the interior, said something about his responsibility and very awkward position, and demanded that two members of the Assembly should be appointed to act with him in executing the new unsanctioned decrees. "It is impossible," cried Baumetz, "that the demand of the minister, who shows his modesty, but not his capacity, should be adopted by the Assembly. We must rally round principles. We must leave the functions of the executive power to those who are charged with them. We must admit ministers to the bar to make their reports to us, and to ask for their necessary orders." Then M. Duport-Dutertre, minister of justice, and at the moment keeper of the great seal, wished to know how he was to be authorised in putting that seal to their decrees. "It was the king," said he, "that appointed me, and placed that seal in my hands, and this morning I received a note from the king enjoining me not to sign or seal any order until he shall give me other instructions." There was great disorder in the hall, and the president had to ring his hand-bell a long time before he could get a hearing. At last he was enabled to read to them a letter from Montmorin, the minister for foreign affairs, complaining that the people had surrounded his house, so that he could not come to the Assembly with safety. When he had read this letter the president informed them that he had another letter, addressed to the queen, and found in her apartment by the people. Some called upon him to break the seal and read this letter; but others cried, "No! No! the Assembly ought to set an example of the inviolability of private letters." D'Andre called back the attention of the House to his motion, hoping it would be put immediately to the vote. It was then put and carried. They next passed some decrees for insuring the obedience of the national guards and the troops of the line. One of the côté gauche proposed that the civil list should be suspended from the moment of the king's departure, but the majority said this was too severe. M. Clermont-Tonnerre now entered the hall with precipitation, announced that he had been arrested by the people at the Tuileries, and mounted the tribune in order to give an account of all that had happened to him. But the Assembly would not hear him, and passed to the order of the day. Here Bailly and Lafayette entered the House. Lafayette, who had brought a strong detachment of national guards to protect the Assembly, was in full uniform, and went and seated himself next to Camus, who had been so very anxious about the security of the Assembly and a proper guard. Yet the sour Jansenist rose in a towering passion, and exclaimed, pointing to Lafayette, "No uniforms here! We must not see uniforms in the Assembly!" This caused a terrible rumour and strife of tongues. "Gentlemen," cried the president, "this violence may produce a great calamity, by bringing about a quarrel and division when we ought to be most united. It is true there exists a decree which forbids any one to come to the Assembly in uniform; but M. Lafayette has been hastily summoned hither, and has not had time to change his clothes." After some more hard words about the impropriety of Lafayette's conduct, that commandant-general was allowed to speak. He had little to say except that one of his aides-de-camp, and second in command of the battalion of national guards that were doing duty at the palace, had something to relate, if the Assembly would hear him. This aide-de-camp, M. Gouvion, was admitted to the bar, and began his discourse by saying that he must beg to be permitted to name nobody for the present. He said, he had been for some days informed of a plot carrying on in the Tuileries: more than a week ago a commandant of a battalion of national guards had assured him that certain movements in the Tuileries announced that the queen had the project of flying and carrying with her the dauphin and her daughter. "This officer," continued Gouvion, "told me that he had this information from the best source. I told him that it was too serious a matter to allow one to rely on the word of a third person. Then he named to me the *lady* who had given him the information. I had an interview with her, and I then informed the commandant-general (Lafayette), who ordered me to double my vigilance." But Gouvion, it appears, had received his information from the *lady* in a much more direct manner than he chose to tell, and the same source had been open to him for a long time. This *lady* was a woman of the queen's wardrobe, who had been in constant attendance on her majesty ever since she came to France: she had become a sort of favourite, had received

many marks of kindness from her royal mistress, enjoyed a large salary, and had an apartment in the Tuileries immediately under the queen's apartment. This garde-robe dame had some beauty, and a turn for intrigue, both amorous and political —a very common case with women of her country: she received in her apartment in the Tuileries the visits of popular deputies, *and had for her lover this same M. Gouvion, aide-de-camp to M. de Lafayette*, &c. It also appears that she was constantly on the watch and playing the spy, and that she had possessed herself of a double key to the queen's cabinet, as she was afterwards found to have made revelations which she could not well have made without some such nefarious process.* Gouvion, continuing his account, told the Assembly that ever since that time he had always kept a number of officers promenading round the Tuileries, watching all the entrances and issues, and reporting the least suspicious appearance. He protested that these officers had watched most vigilantly all last night, that every gate and door was closed, and that it was not until the morning that he learned from the same lady that the king was fled. He spoke as if there had been magic in the operation, or as if the obese figure of poor Louis could have been whisked through a key-hole. "That lady," said he, "indicated to me the door by which the king had got out; but I believe it is impossible he could have passed that way, since I, and five other officers, had never left that door during the whole night." Gouvion, moreover, said that Sillery, the husband of the Genlis, and creature of Orleans, had been warned of the intended flight; to which Sillery responded that he knew nothing of any such affair. After other discussions, in the course of which it was resolved that the letter found in the queen's apartment should be submitted to the committee of research, and that no time should be lost in getting possession of all the money in the treasury, M. Laporte, minister of the civil list, appeared at the bar to announce that he had received that morning, at eight o'clock, from the hands of one of the king's valets-de-chambre, a long *mémoire*, signed by the king. After some discussion, it was agreed that this paper, which was headed "Proclamation of the King to all the French on his quitting Paris," should be read by the secretaries. It was a long list of the insupportable grievances Louis had undergone, and of the disorders and outrages which had been committed in every part of France. It declared that he had been a prisoner ever since the month of October, 1789, when they brought him from Versailles to Paris; and that, though he could have borne his own misfortunes, he could no longer bear to see that the operations of the National Assembly had ended in the destruction of royalty itself, in the violation of property and personal security, in a complete anarchy in all parts of the empire. It complained, perhaps with too much emphasis, of the bad lodging and unsuitable accommodation he and his family had found in the Tuileries. It spoke of the bitter sacrifice he had been compelled to make in dismissing the gardes-du-corps, whose fidelity to him had been so long proved. It spoke of the massacre of two of them, and of the wounds and ill-treatment they had received under his own eyes. It spoke of the savage outcry which had been kept up all along against the queen, "a faithful wife, whose conduct had been so heroic;" and it declared that it was evident all the machinations were directed against the king himself. "It was to the soldiers of the ex-Gardes-Françaises and the Parisian national guard that the custody of the king was intrusted, under the orders of the municipality of Paris, from whom the commandant-general derived his appointment. The king therefore saw himself a prisoner in his own states,—for what else can one be called who sees himself forcibly surrounded by persons he suspects?" It recapitulated the first acts of the reform, where the king had willingly and readily concurred with the Assembly, and the acts which immediately followed, and which had continued ever since, in which his assent had been extorted from him by violence and threats. "The Assembly has put the king out of the constitution, in refusing him the right of sanctioning the constitutional acts, and classing as constitutional acts whatever other acts they think proper, and in curtailing and limiting his veto. They have allowed him 25,000,000 livres, which are entirely absorbed by the expenses of his household. They have left him the usufruct of some domains, with embarrassing forms, and have deprived him of the patrimony of his ancestors. Let the different points of administration be examined, and it will be seen that the king is set aside in all of them. He has no share in the making of laws; he can only beg the Assembly to occupy themselves about such or such a matter. As for the administration of justice and the appointment of the judges, he has no share in it. There remained a last prerogative, the most beautiful of all, that of pardoning and commuting punishments: you have taken that too from the king!" It asserted, with a truth that no one will dispute, that the Society of Jacobins had made themselves the chief power in the state, and had reduced all other authorities to a state of nullity. It said the king had been declared supreme chief of the army, and yet the army had been directed, without his participation, by committees of the National Assembly; and he had never been able to exercise any authority or appoint to any places, *because his choice displeased the clubs*, and his authority was envied him by the Assembly. The king had been declared supreme chief of the administration of the kingdom; but the Assembly had taken that administration into their own hands, and the agents of the king had been left without any power or influence. "Above all, the form of government is become vicious through two causes; the Assembly exceeds the limits of its powers, and it exercises by means of its committee!

* Madame Campan, Mémoires.

of research the most barbarous of all despotisms. It has established associations, known under the name of Jacobins or Friends of the Constitution, who compose corporations infinitely more dangerous than the ancient ones: these associations or clubs deliberate on all the parts of government, and exercise a power so preponderating, that all public bodies, not even excepting the National Assembly itself, can do nothing but by their orders. The king does not think that it can be possible to preserve such a government as this; the nearer the Assembly draws to the conclusion of its labours, the more do sensible people despair of it. Their new regulations, instead of throwing balm upon wounds, embitter discontents; the thousand journals and calumnious pamphlets, which are but the echoes of the clubs, perpetuate the disorder, and never has the Assembly dared to apply any remedy. *What it tends to is a metaphysical government, impossible in its execution.*" The paper then mentioned that a motion had been made in the Assembly, and loudly applauded, that the king should be carried off from Versailles, and the queen put in a convent. It described the massacre of an innocent man, almost under the king's own eyes, in the garden of the Tuileries; and it dwelt with a natural feeling on the affronts studiously put upon the king and the royal family at the Federation festival. It affirmed that all those men that had spoken against religion and the throne had received the honours of a triumph. It complained of the harsh insulting treatment which the king's aunts, who were leaving France on account of religion, had met with on their journey. It alluded to the Day of Poniards, saying, that, when the factions had excited the émeute at Vincennes, those gentlemen had gathered round him out of pure love to their sovereign, and yet they had been shamefully ill-treated; and men had carried their audacity to such a pitch as to break their arms before the king's face. After mentioning the interrupted journey to St. Cloud, and the forced attendance at mass in the parish church, and the circular letter to the foreign ambassadors, which, it said, had been forced from the king, the proclamation concluded with these words:—"After all these sufferings, and seeing the impossibility of hindering the evil, it is natural that the king should endeavour to put himself in safety. Frenchmen, and you whom he was wont to call inhabitants of the good city of Paris, place no confidence in the suggestions of the factious; return to your king; he will ever be your friend, when your holy religion shall be respected, when government shall be placed on a proper footing, and liberty established on a solid basis.—P. S. The king prohibits his ministers from signing any order in his name, and enjoins the keeper of the seals to send him the great seal as soon as he shall be required so to do." This paper was, possibly, not the very best or most political of compositions; but it was still farther from being the mean contemptible thing that Thiers represents it; nor can any man, in his senses, that will honestly look at the mountain of evidence which exists, attempt to deny that it contained a true picture of the state of France, and of the sufferings and humiliations which Louis had undergone.* It is not true that the reading of this paper was listened to with calmness, and without producing any effect. On the contrary, the secretary was repeatedly interrupted by murmurs and loud exclamations, the whole côté gauche being excessively excited; and, when the reading was over, Gregoire, that right reverend Bishop of Blois, who felt his new mitre tumbling from his head, made what appears to have been a most furious speech, and which ended by demanding that the paper should be referred to the constitution committee, who should prepare a counter proclamation. Barnave demanded that, in the first place, it should be signed by Laporte, who had presented it, and by the president of the Assembly. Then indeed they passed to other matters, from their very imperative sense of the sacred duty of self-preservation. Barnave proposed that the commanding officers of all the troops actually at Paris should be called to the bar, and there take an oath of obedience to the Assembly, and receive their orders directly from the lips of the president. A deputy of the côté droit hazarded the remark that the military had been sworn enough already, and that, as the committee for military affairs had been charged to draw up a report as to the best means of securing the chief commanding officers by land or by sea, he thought that they might wait the result of that operation. Robespierre, no doubt equally moved by his fears and by his hopes, expressed his astonishment at hearing such soft, weak measures proposed. "I believe," said he, "that the measures already adopted are extremely feeble, but we must wait for a more precise knowledge of all the circumstances, and, in the mean time, we must watch over the traitors and the public weal!" The king's paper was signed as Barnave proposed, and the business of swearing the officers at the bar of the House was referred to the committee; and then Messieurs the deputies went to their dinners. As soon as they met again in the evening, Regnaud de Saint d'Angely informed them that several foreign ambassadors residing in Paris had expressed some uneasiness about their personal safety, and that, though he did not think their fears were well founded, it seemed to him necessary to give them a guard of honour. The mob, in fact, had been threatening the houses of the Austrian, Prussian, and Sardinian ambassadors, and, as those gentlemen had had some opportunity of seeing of what excesses a Paris mob was capable, it will not

* All that this historian says about the paper, is—"The king complained of his losses of power, without sufficient dignity, and showed himself as much wounded at being reduced to 30,000,000 of civil list as at having lost all his prerogatives. The Assembly listened to the complaints of the monarch, pitied his weakness, and passed on to other matters."—*Hist. de la Rev. Francaise.* In absolutely nothing will this writer be correct. The civil list, as we have seen, was 25,000,000. This may be considered as a trifle, although five millions, even of livres, make rather an important sum: but Thiers is constantly working at this kind of arithmetic, adding here and subtracting there, just as it suits his purpose.

be considered extraordinary if *they* thought their apprehensions were well founded. A deputy replied to Regnaud that to adopt his proposition would be casting a doubt on the *tranquillity* of the people of Paris; that the ambassadors ought to be left without any uneasiness under the guarantee of a *generous* people, who would ever respect the rights of nations. Regnaud thereupon withdrew his proposition, and demanded—1. That the foreign ambassadors in Paris should be informed that they might continue their relations with the minister for foreign affairs as if nothing had happened; 2. That the ministers and ambassadors of France, residing at foreign courts, should have orders sent them to continue their duties, their negotiations, and correspondence, in the ordinary manner. This was instantly decreed. After some discussions on the woeful lack of money, General de Rochambeau, who had served against the English in America, and who continued to be the friend of Lafayette, and in whom age had not cooled the enthusiasm of youth, demanded to be admitted to the bar. This was readily granted, as Rochambeau held the command of the greatest corps d'armée in France after that of de Bouillé—of all the troops that were on or near to the northern frontier. The veteran was introduced, together with a number of general officers who attended him. "The National Assembly," said president Beauharnais, "wishes to understand your sentiments at the present crisis, and to know whether the late event has changed your patriotic intentions." Rochambeau, who had recently been raised to the dignity of a marshal of France, and whose command had been extended, spoke modestly of the decline to be expected in the moral and physical faculties of a man of sixty-eight years, and desired that the new dispositions made in his favour might be modified. "For the rest," said he, "I beg the National Assembly to receive the assurances of my zeal, of my fidelity, and of my entire submission." After the old general had been enthusiastically applauded, the general officers who accompanied him, and who were all in active service (Crillon the elder, Delbecq, Custine, and Daboville), presented themselves at the bar; and Crillon, being spokesman, said, "Equally employed in the service of the nation, we come, under the wings (*sous les ailes*) of M. de Rochambeau, to assure you of the same submission and the same devotedness." When fresh sounds of applause had ended, M. Montesquiou, who was a deputy of the Assembly, and who had been among the very first of the noblesse order to join the Tiers Etat, rose and said that, as he had the honour of being employed in the army, he would not be the last to swear zeal, devotion, and submission to the Assembly; and then M. Aiguillon, also a member, said that he, as a colonel, must take the same oath, and that all colonels actually employed ought to take it. Latour-Maubourg, and some other deputies that were colonels of regiments, requested that a new and proper form of oath should be drawn up by the military committee, and be ready to be sworn to on the morrow. Charles Lameth, also a colonel, supported this motion, and swore, *impromptu et en attendant*, to die for the country and the constitution. Being so ready a swearer himself, this Charles Lameth went on to say that there were other officers in active service, besides generals and colonels, that ought to be sworn; that the Assembly ought to decide at once as to the opinion to be entertained of such officers as were now in their places as deputies, and remained silent. "For," said he, "there is no retreating or equivocating: a man either loves the nation and the constitution or he does not, and he must say it, or he is opposed to the one and is betraying the other, and this must be known. Every officer here ought to have pronounced himself by this moment, for by to-morrow we may have the enemy upon us! I demand, then, that those who, within twenty-four hours, shall not have taken the oath, be deprived of their ranks and appointments!" Toulongeon said that the form of the oath ought to be drawn up instantly, and that all the officers in the Assembly or in Paris ought to take it that very evening. General Custine declared that the profession of civic faith made by Charles Lameth would be that of all the officers of the army. "Without doubt," said he, "the general officers will give the example of taking this sacred engagement: yes, they will give it!" Another officer said that, whatever might be the form of the oath, its sentiments were in his heart, and that he would swear beforehand without waiting for the decree of the Assembly. The applauses were tremendous, and the fears of the suspicious and timid began to evanish. At last it was agreed, and decreed unanimously by the côté gauche—*for the côté droit took no part in these deliberations*—that the form of oath should be ready on the morrow morning, and should be taken in the course of that day by all the members of the Assembly that belonged to the army. Old Rochambeau, though not a member of the House, was invited to join the committee of military affairs. A numerous deputation from the department, from the district, the tribune, and the municipality of Versailles was now admitted to the bar, to express their entire confidence in the representatives of the nation, to assure the Assembly that it was considered as the centre around which all good citizens ought to rally, &c. "This step," cried one of the Jacobin republican deputies, "is a grand example. Let us print this discourse, and send it immediately to the departments." After this Alexandre Lameth presented a report and project of decree already drawn up by the military committee. The project was well devised, for the French understood these matters better than constitution-making. All the national guards of the kingdom were to be called out, and every citizen that wished to bear arms for his country and liberty was to inscribe his name in his municipality; every battalion already formed was to be divided into ten companies, of fifty men each; the companies were to be commanded by a

sub-lieutenant, a lieutenant, and a captain; the battalions were to be commanded by two lieutenant-colonels and a colonel; the companies were to name their own officers, and the battalions their own staff-officers. Every national guardsman was to receive fifteen sous a-day, a sub-lieutenant forty-five sous, a lieutenant sixty sous, a captain seventy-five sous, a lieutenant-colonel ninety sous, and a colonel one hundred and five sous—all to be paid so long as their active services were required; and sixty thousand muskets were to be dispatched instantly to the districts where they seemed most wanting. The decree to this effect was unanimously voted. One of the secretaries then read a letter from the committee of research, acquainting the Assembly that the committee had been very actively at work, and would not separate; and one of the Rochefoucaults said that the municipals of Paris would remain assembled day and night to preserve tranquillity, and to execute whatever orders might be sent to them by the Assembly or by the committee of research: he added that all proper dispositions had been taken for forwarding the day's decrees to all the departments, and to every corner of France with the utmost expedition. Among these decrees was of course included the one for arresting the king; and we cannot discover, in the fullest and best authority we possess,* that Lafayette is entitled to the *honour* he lays claim to for his readiness and dispatch in this particular. According to his own account he said, on his first appearance in the Assembly, in the morning—"Do you think that the arrest of the king and his family is necessary to the public safety, and can alone shelter us from civil war?"—and that, upon the peremptory answer of the Assembly in the affirmative, he added—"Well, then, I take upon myself the responsibility!"—and then wrote with his own hand a note, declaring that the enemies of the country had carried off the king, and ordering all national guards and citizens to arrest him, dictated the same note to a great number of individuals, signed it, and sent off officers of the national guards in all directions. He may have done something of the sort, and very probably did, *after* the decree of the Assembly had been passed. Yet, after laying claim to the honour, he is anxious to escape any imputation of the atrocities which the king's arrest so soon led to, and tries to shift all blame from his own shoulders to the shoulders of the court, and of uncourteous chance. The words proclaim his character, or at least an essential part of it, as well as if it had been written by La Bruyère himself. "Fortunately for him," considering the atrocities those august victims experienced, "their arrest was not owing to his orders, but in consequence of their having been accidentally recognised by a post-master, and in consequence of their own bad arrangements."†

But it is in quarters more popular and more powerful than the National Assembly that we must look for the great excitement of this memorable day—the 21st of June, 1791—and for the manner in which the flight of the royal family was felt. Almost as soon as the news was known, that broad-faced brewer of small beer, Santerre, who was as sonorous as one of his empty butts, called out from his Faubourg of St. Antoine a fresh contingent of two thousand men, women, and boys, and armed them all with pikes. Danton and his Cordeliers, or Society of the Rights of Man, placarded the streets with a resolution of their own, importing that the Assembly had made a slave of France in decreeing the crown to be hereditary, and that the name of king should be for ever suppressed, and the kingdom turned into a republic. Camille Desmoulins says extatically—"During this day the people of Paris displayed all that courage, activity, and gaiety, which properly belong to the French character! They published this advertisement—'This is to give notice that a fat hog has escaped from the Tuileries; all those who may meet him are begged to bring him back to his sty, and they shall receive a moderate reward.'" The following motion was made in the open Palais Royal:—"It would be very unfortunate in the present state of affairs if this perfidious man should be brought back; what should we do with him? I move, that, if he is brought back, he be exposed during three days to public derision with a red handkerchief on his head, that he be then conducted on foot to the frontiers, and then dismissed with a kick behind. . . . ." The strongest prevailing opinion was an antipathy for kings and a contempt for the person of Louis XVI. In the Place de Grève they broke to pieces the bust of Louis XVI., which was lighted up at nights by the celebrated lanterne, that dread of the enemies of the revolution. In the Rue St. Honoré they made a shopkeeper sacrifice a plaster head, a likeness of Louis XVI. As they were effacing everywhere the name of the king, they remarked at the corner of a street the sign of the Bull and Crown, and condemned it to the same proscription. The words king, queen, royal, Bourbon, court, monsieur, brother of the king, &c., were effaced wherever they were found on the signs of shops and warehouses. Even painted crowns were proscribed. The Palais Royal was re-christened 'Palais d'Orléans.' The wasp, Fréron, said in his journal of that day—"He is departed, that imbecile king, that perjured king, and with him that atrocious queen, who unites the lubricity of Messalina to the thirst for blood which devoured the Medici! Execrable woman, fury of France, it is thou that wast the soul of the plot!" Later in the day the Cordelier Club, or Society of the Rights of Man, printed and stuck up a placard, on which, as a tail-piece to some very bad and bloody verses, were the following plain words in prose:—"The free Frenchmen composing the Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man, the Club of Cordeliers, declare to all their fellow-citizens that

* Hist. Parlement.

† Narrative of the Departure and Arrest of the King, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of Lafayette, published by his Family.

their society contains as many tyrannicides as it contains members, who have all sworn individually to stab with poniards the tyrants that dare attack our frontiers, or make attempts against our liberty or our constitution, in any way whatsoever. Signed—Legendre, president; Collin, Champion, secretaries." Marat, in his journal, was still more explicit; and he laboured to excite the people to immediate acts of vengeance against Lafayette and Bailly, as the chief traitors, and against nearly all the members of the côté droit, as having had a share in the conspiracy. He reminded the people of Paris of the king's oaths and declarations, and called them, in his cynical way, dolts and fools for having ever placed any confidence in them. He said that Leopold the emperor, and Gustavus the king of the Swedes, had pressed Louis to fly; that the Austrian woman had fallen on her knees before Lafayette and had won him over; that the most gangrened officers and men of the national guards had been selected to mount guard at the Tuileries, and that Louis, dressed as a priest, had been allowed to escape with the dauphin and the rest of the family. "Yes," continued the horseleech, "that perjured king, without faith, without shame, without remorse, that monarch unworthy of the throne, has not been retained by the fear of eternal infamy. The thirst for absolute power which devours his soul will soon render him a ferocious assassin; soon will he swim in the blood of his fellow-citizens that refuse to submit to his tyrannical yoke. In the mean while he laughs at the stupidity of the Parisians who trusted to his word!" After more reproaches he told the dear people that he had studied how to remedy the evils which their own blind confidence had brought down upon their heads. The scheme was every way worthy of its author. "One only means remains to save you from the precipice to which your unworthy chiefs have dragged you, and that is to name instantly a military tribune, a supreme dictator, to slaughter the principal known traitors. You are lost without hope, if you lend an ear to your present chiefs, who will not cease cajoling you until the enemy are before your walls. Let your tribune be named this day! Let your choice fall upon that citizen that has hitherto shown you the greatest zeal and fidelity and the most knowledge; swear to him an inviolable devotion, and obey him religiously in whatever he orders you to do for the destruction of your mortal enemies!" The maniac meant himself; but the hour of his dictatorship was not quite come. He continued:—"This is the moment for striking off the heads of the ministers and their subalterns, of Lafayette and all the villains of his staff, of Bailly and all his counter-revolutionary municipals, and of all the traitors of the National Assembly. Make a beginning by getting possession of all their persons if you are yet in time. Seize this moment for destroying the organization of the national guards who have sacrificed liberty. Summon up all the patriots of the departments, call the Bretons to your succour, storm the arsenal, disarm the alguazils of the police and customs, prepare to defend your rights, to avenge liberty, and to exterminate your implacable enemies. A dictator, a tribune, a military tribune, or you are lost for ever!"

On the same day, the 21st, apparently at an early hour, the Jacobins met in full force, in their great hall in the Rue St. Honoré. According to the journalist of the club all enmities were forgotten; and Lafayette, Sièyes, &c., all attended in the course of the day to swear with their brethren to be true to the nation. On the motion of Barnave the society expedited to all its affiliated societies a brief letter, assuring them that the Jacobins of Paris were calm and more courageous than ever, and determined to devote their lives to the defence of their good cause. Robespierre, before the swearing began, made one of his longest orations. He said the flight of the king was a matter for exceeding great joy, and not for grief or fear. This day might be the most beautiful day of the revolution. *Forty millions* of livres allowed on the civil list to the *royal individual* might be saved, and this would be the least of the benefits resulting from the flight, if men would only act with proper spirit. But he thought the measures adopted by the National Assembly, which he had that minute left, were not strong enough. He found many suspicious signs and demonstrations, but none so suspicious and full of danger as the outward appearance of agreement and friendship among all parties in Paris. "Since this morning," said he, "all our enemies speak the same language as ourselves; all the world are uniting together, all have the same visage; but beware of the wolves! It is not upon the support of the Emperor Leopold and the King of Sweden, it is not upon the army of emigrants beyond the Rhine that the king counts—we can beat all the brigands of Europe that are leaguing and coalescing!—No, it is in the midst of us, it is in this very capital, that the fugitive king has left those resources and supporters upon which he counts for a triumphal return! You know that three millions of Frenchmen under arms for liberty are invincible by foreign nations. There then must be a powerful royalist party, and intelligences, and plots in the midst of us; and yet, if you look around you, you will share in my alarm at seeing that all men are wearing the same mask of patriotism!" He declared it to be not merely his own inward conviction, but the conviction of all true patriots, and a thing capable of proof, that the National Assembly had betrayed and was betraying the nation. He even swore that he knew this. "I know," said he, "that this denunciation is dangerous for me to make, but not dangerous to the people; I know that, in thus accusing nearly all my brethren, the members of the National Assembly, of being counter-revolutionists, some of them through ignorance, some through terror, some through resentment and wounded pride, others through a blind confidence, and a great

many more because they are bribed and corrupted, I am raising up against myself a host of enemies, sharpening a thousand poniards, and I devote myself as a victim to all these hatreds. I know the fate that is reserved for me; but, if at the commencement of the revolution, and when I was scarcely distinguished in the crowd of deputies, if when I was watched only by my own conscience, I determined to sacrifice my life to truth, to liberty, and the country, now that the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, their universal good-will and too much indulgence, their gratitude and attachment, have so well rewarded me, I could almost receive as a benefit that death which would prevent me being a witness of the inevitable evils which I foresee! I have now passed judgment on the National Assembly: I defy it to pass judgment on me." The enthusiasm with which this speech was heard, and the pathetical conclusion of it, led to another solemn oath. We ask again, was there ever, since the world began, so much swearing? The Jacobins, one by one, took an oath to defend, with their lives, the life of M. Robespierre, endangered by the bold truths which he had just delivered from the tribune. Just as this was over, Lafayette and several deputies of the National Assembly came forward in the Hall and caught the quick eye of Danton. That formidable man instantly rose and exclaimed, "I solemnly engage to carry my head to the scaffold, or prove that the heads of those men ought to fall at the feet of the people they have betrayed. In the first place I call upon M. Lafayette!" And terrible was the call, for he accused the commandant-general of all the deadly crimes imputed to him by Marat, and asked him how he dared present himself in that society of patriots. Lafayette made but a very timid reply, consisting of a compliment to the Jacobins, and a miserable commonplace sentiment. As an orator, and in such an assembly, the hero of two worlds, as opposed to Danton, had no more force than a mouse in the claws of a cat. "I have been asked," said he, "why I come to re-unite myself to this society. I come to re-unite myself to this society because it is here that all good citizens ought to repair in times of crisis and alarm. It is more than ever necessary to fight for liberty, and I was the first to say that when a people desired to be free they became so; and I have never been so sure of liberty as I am now, after enjoying the spectacle which this capital has offered us on this day." And, having thus said, Lafayette, who had courage, but no orator courage, slunk out of the hall of the Jacobins, wherein we believe he never appeared again. A hot Jacobin from Brest demanded that M. Lafayette, who had eluded all the questions put to him by M. Danton, should be invited to return, and reply categorically. "I demand it," said the Brest man, "in order to satisfy the wish of those who sent me here, and the wish of good citizens in general." The society ordered that Danton's terrible speech should be printed, and sent to all the affiliated societies, and that their president should invite M. Lafayette to reply to it; but it appears that the commandant-general wholly disregarded this invitation. Thus passed the day that followed the king's flight, the particulars of which we must now detail.*

As early as the 3rd of December, 1790, Louis had addressed himself to his brother-in-law the emperor, to the empress of Russia, and the kings of Spain, Prussia, and Sweden. Vague applications had been made to some of these courts before, but at this date Louis proposed the immediate assembling of a congress, to be supported by an armed coalition.† In short, the project appears to have been broadly put, and the throne of the Bourbon was to be re-established by foreign invasion, aided by civil war. It is doubtful whether any other form of government was thought of except the restoration of the old absolute monarchy: no other constitution could be approved of by the absolute sovereigns to whom application was made for help; nor could those hare-brained fanatics the emigrants bear to hear of any other. Except in a few cases, these ruined aristocrats had learned no useful lessons from their misfortunes, had acquired no moderation from watching the immoderate fury of their democratic enemies. They thought it less dishonourable to owe their restoration to foreign armies, and to devastation and carnage, than to enter into any compromise with their plebeian foes, who, on their part, were resolved to reject every compromise whatsoever, and refuse the slightest concession. The noblesse were to be satisfied with nothing less than the restoration, not merely of their titles and property, but also of all their old rights, privileges, and exemptions, of many of which they ought to have been deprived centuries before this revolution began. The Czarina Catherine had not yet arranged her peace with the Turks, and was much occupied in watching events in Poland; the King of Prussia was busy in watching her; and both these sovereigns appear to have already contemplated the final partition of Poland. The King of Spain, the imbecile Charles IV., was willing enough to assist the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, but knew not how to set about it, his finances being deranged and his army disorganised. The King of Sweden, the eccentric Gustavus Adolphus, though united by no ties of blood either to the King or Queen of France, was by far the most enthusiastic of all the sovereigns; but he was also the poorest of them all, and it was most difficult for him to bring an army of brave Swedes into France without the assistance of the other powers. In the old forms of chivalry, Gustavus Adolphus had sworn himself the knight of the fair and unfortunate Marie Antoinette; and, if a bravery as romantic as ever existed even in a Swedish king and a race of heroes—if an extatic devotion to the cause could have sufficed—he would

* Journal des Débats des Jacobins, L'Ami du Peuple, Journal des Revolutions de France, and other newspapers of the day, as largely quoted in Hist. Parlement.

† Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat, attributed to Hardenberg, the Prussian minister.

have performed wonders, and saved that queen from the dungeon and the block. Even as it was he did something, nay a great deal, towards liberating her from captivity, and sending her on her present journey, for he had sent her the gallant and intelligent young Count Fersen; and, if all parties engaged in that evasion had only done their duty as well as that noble Swede, Marie Antoinette and her husband and children had been saved. The Emperor Leopold, the queen's own brother, was certainly not insensible to her sufferings and danger, and he had a very royal and imperial antipathy to revolts and revolutions; but he was averse to war, much fonder of pacific congresses than of the most brilliant campaigns; he had a good deal of the Austrian slowness and indecision; and the very easy way in which he had put down revolution in his own Belgic states seems to have duped him into a belief that it would not be much more difficult, at any given time, to arrest and undo the French revolution. He had been told by the noble French emigrants that the revolution, after all, was but a temporary insurrection, that they and the court had still a most powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, and that the common people, the national guards, without discipline, without officers of experience and name, would be routed at the first onset. At the same time the emperor was perplexed by differences of opinion and plan, and by intrigues and jealousies, that existed among these emigrants, and apparently among the royal princes themselves. At last, however, Leopold was convinced that it was time to do something. After some interviews at Mantua with the king's brother, the Count d'Artois, he dispatched to Paris Count Alphonse de Durfort, to ascertain accurately the sentiments and intentions of the king and queen. De Durfort returned to Mantua in the month of April with all the information the emperor wanted from the Tuileries, and then Leopold engaged to send 35,000 men into Flanders, and 15,000 into Alsace, to hang upon the French frontiers. The emperor further announced to the court of the Tuileries, by means of secret emissaries, that an army of Swiss would advance in the direction of Lyons, that an army of Piedmontese and Savoyards would invade Dauphiny, that the King of Spain would have 20,000 men ready to pour through the last defiles of the Pyrenees, that the King of Prussia had promised to co-operate, and that England had engaged to remain strictly neutral. All the princes of the House of Bourbon, the King of Spain, the King of Naples, the Duke of Parma, and the expatriated princes of the French branch, were to sign a solemn protest and manifesto, and to co-operate in the great work according to their respective faculties.* Overtures of reconciliation and accommodation were even made to the Duke of Orleans, but they came to nothing, and his friend and negotiator, the Duke de Biron, declared to Bouillé that Orleans had been carried by artful and wicked men farther than he intended to go, but thought he could not, with honour, desert his party; that his royal highness was weak, but that, although his want of resolution had placed him at the disposal of dangerous men, who had sadly misled him, Bouillé might be certain of one thing —that it was the Duke of Orleans and his party who would save both the king and kingdom.*

Louis, who had kept up a pretty frequent correspondence with de Bouillé, wrote to that officer early in May, that he was fully resolved to fly from Paris, and retire to Montmedy, where de Bouillé had made a fortified camp, and whence, in case of necessity, it would be easy to retreat into the emperor's territory of Luxembourg, where Austrian troops were to be stationed to support him. His majesty further acquainted de Bouillé that he had reason to believe the Austrian troops would be in Luxembourg before the middle of June, and that he proposed leaving Paris on the 15th of June; adding, however, that he would acquaint him in good time with the exact day, and desiring him to complete meanwhile his dispositions and necessary arrangements. The watchful eyes of the Jacobins in the departments presently saw that de Bouillé's army was busily employed; but he accounted for this activity by representing that the emperor was gathering an army on the frontiers, and that he was only making dispositions to enable him to give the Austrians a warm reception if they violated the territory of France. Except the cavalry, and a part of the artillery, de Bouillé had not many troops on whom he could depend. He collected a part of his force to cover Montmedy, and secure the king's route from Châlons to that place. He had disposed eight foreign battalions, composed chiefly of Germans and Swiss, along the road, at the distances of one, two, and three days' march, and he had thirty squadrons of horse. At Montmedy he had a train of artillery, consisting of sixteen pieces, besides many guns that were mounted in the fortress, and that might be made use of at a moment's warning. He placed the regiment Royal Allemand at Stenay, a squadron of hussars at Dun, and another squadron of hussars at Varennes. Two squadrons of dragoons were to be at Clermont the day the king should pass; and these dragoons were commanded by the loyal Count Charles de Damas, who was to place a detachment at Ste. Menehould, and another detachment at the bridge of Sommevesle, between Châlons and Ste. Menehould. "The pretext I intended to make use of," says de Bouillé himself, "for placing these last two detachments, was, that they were intended to escort a sum of money coming from Paris for the payment of the troops. Thus, conformably to the wish expressed by his majesty, the whole road from Pont de Sommevesle to Montmedy was occupied by troops destined to secure and protect his retreat." On the 27th of May the king wrote that he intended setting out from the Tuileries on the 19th of June, between twelve at night and one in the morning; that he

* Bertrand de Molleville, Mémoires.

* Marquis de Bouillé, Mémoires.

should proceed in a common coach as far as the forest of Bondi, which was one post from Paris, and there take his own carriage; that at Bondi likewise there would be stationed one of his gardes du corps, intended to serve as a courier, but with instructions, in case the king should not reach Bondi by two in the morning (a certain proof that he had not been able to effect his escape), to spur onward to Pont de Somme-vesle, and announce the circumstance, in order that de Bouillé might be quickly informed of it, so as to have time to provide for his own safety, and the safety of all those concerned with him. Louis also desired de Bouillé to send him either the Duke de Choiseul or M. de Goguelat, for the purpose of giving such information as might be necessary on the road. On receiving the letter, de Bouillé dispatched both these gentlemen from Metz. He instructed the Duke de Choiseul, who was colonel of one of his regiments of cavalry, to go straight to Paris to wait upon the king, desiring him to quit that capital about twelve hours before his majesty, and to give orders to his people to be at Varennes on the 18th of June with his best horses. On his return from Paris he was to stop at Pont de Somme-vesle, take the command of the detachment of hussars he would find stationed there, and escort the royal family as far as Ste. Menehould, where he was to leave the hussars with strict orders to guard the road leading from Paris to Varennes, and during four and twenty hours to suffer none to pass, either in one direction or in the other. De Bouillé delivered into his hands orders signed by the king himself, enjoining him, and all the officers under his command, to employ the force at their disposal in defending and protecting his Majesty and the royal family. In case the king should be stopped at Châlons, or at any other place beyond that town, the general charged de Choiseul to unite all the troops he could collect from Varennes, Clermont, and Ste. Menehould, and use his utmost efforts to liberate the royal travellers, assuring him that he (de Bouillé) would march to his assistance with the utmost rapidity. As an important means of insuring success, he gave him five or six hundred louis in gold, to be distributed among the soldiers as soon as the king should appear among them; and with this purse, and all these instructions, de Choiseul reached Paris, pretending to have come to see his children. Two days after dispatching de Choiseul, de Bouillé dispatched M. de Goguelat to the capital also. This Goguelat was an officer of engineers, who had been employed before now in several secret and critical missions. He owed his employment and promotion to the queen, for whom he had made some drawings and plans for improving St. Cloud and her favourite Trianon. There was no reason to suspect his fidelity and devotion; but, seeing that he was hot-headed, presumptuous, and a babbler, there was every reason to distrust his discretion. Marie Antoinette had, however, always thought that his services would be most valuable; and she had insisted on his being admitted into the secret of all that was going on. De Bouillé ordered him to visit Stenay, Dun, Varennes, and Ste. Menehould on his way, to examine the road thoroughly, in order that no precaution might be neglected, and also in order that he might communicate to the king everything that could best contribute to secure the flight. He directed him to join him either at Longwy, Montmedy, or Stenay, a few days before the king set out, so as to acquaint him with his majesty's final instructions. De Bouillé then sent Count Charles de Damas with his dragoons towards Ste. Menehould, repeating to him the instructions which he had given to de Choiseul, in case the king should be stopped. On the 13th of June de Bouillé himself set out from Metz, under pretext of visiting the frontier places towards Luxembourg, and was enabled to march into the environs of Montmedy the few regiments that remained steady to him. On the 15th he was at Longwy, and there he received a letter from the king informing him that his departure was put off till the 20th, at the hour before mentioned.* This delay greatly disconcerted the general's measures. He had already given orders for the departure of the troops, and particularly of the two squadrons who were to be at Clermont the day the king intended to pass through that town; and, as he was now obliged to double the time of their stay in the place, he foresaw that suspicions would arise. He says that these suspicions were still further heightened by the negligence of de Choiseul in not apprising the officer charged to place the relay at Varennes of the delay; but this was only one of the many causes of failure.

Now for the preparations made by the Court. Count Fersen, the brave and generous young Swede, had ordered a large coach—a *Berline*—to be built in Paris, as if for his own use. The coach was capable of containing six persons, together with sundry conveniences necessary to travellers who did not intend stopping on the road. The coach was finished in good time, and was sent to the residence of a Russian lady in the Rue de Clichy. Fersen also procured without difficulty a passport for a Baroness de Korff, who was on the point of returning to Russia with two children, a valet, a femme-de-chambre, and other attendants. Thus far was well done, but other preparations had been made which almost appeared as if the court wished to betray its own secret. Ever since the beginning of March the queen had been giving various orders and commissions out of a somewhat childish and inexcusable anxiety for her wardrobe and the dresses of her children. "It was with pain," says Madame Campan, "that I saw the queen occupying herself about these matters, which seemed to me useless and even dangerous; and I remarked to her that the Queen of France would

* The old soldier, de Bouillé, seems to hint that the delay arose out of a question of court etiquette. He says, "The king told me (in the same letter) that he could not have the Marquis d'Agoult in the same carriage with himself, as the governess of the royal children, who was to accompany them, had refused to abandon her privilege of constantly remaining with her charge."—*Mémoires.*

find chemises and gowns everywhere. But my remarks had no effect: she was determined to have at Brussels a complete trousseau both for herself and for the children. I went out alone from the palace, and almost disguised, to buy and order the things for this trousseau. I ordered six chemises in one shop, six in another, and so on, with dresses, handkerchiefs, &c. &c." In spite of this precaution suspicions may have been excited in a town where all were suspicious and vigilant. Marie Antoinette moreover insisted upon sending off to her sister at Brussels—the Archduchess Christine, who governed the Low Countries for the emperor—her *necessaire de voyage*, a cumbersome thing, fitted with jewels and trinkets and the paraphernalia of the toilette. This, she said, might be done under the pretext of making a present to her sister. The faithful Campan strongly opposed this project, representing that, in the midst of so many persons that were constantly spying and watching her least actions, the real intention might be discovered; but the unfortunate queen was most royally obstinate about all these trifles, and all that Madame Campan could obtain was a little more caution. The Austrian chargé d'affaires waited upon her majesty, at her toilette, and requested her, in the presence of all her attendants, to procure for her sister, the archduchess, a necessaire exactly like her own; and the queen, before the same listeners and eavesdroppers, ordered Madame Campan to get one made. This plan had no other inconvenience than that of costing some 500 louis. But the ebéniste, or cabinet-maker, employed by Madame Campan to construct this precious commodity worked so slowly, that there was no prospect or chance of its being ready in time; and poor Marie Antoinette, with almost as much fixity about her necessaire as Othello showed about Desdemona's handkerchief, told the Campan that the real original one must go, adding that, as she had commanded a new necessaire for her sister in presence of all her chamber, there had been precaution enough; that it would be easy to say that the archduchess was impatient, and that it would seem natural that she should empty her own necessaire and send it to Brussels immediately through the Austrian chargé d'affaires. This perplexing dressing-case was emptied accordingly, and the diamonds, trinkets, &c. were made up into other parcels in the presence of several of the queen's household, and especially in that of the garderobe woman, who had for her lover Monsieur Gouvion, the aide-de-camp of Lafayette. The diamonds were intrusted to Monsieur Lunard, the queen's hairdresser, who carried them safely to Brussels. The necessaire was sent to the chargé d'affaires, but it never reached the place of its destination. The garderobe woman, as early as the 21st of May, made a denunciation, apparently to Gouvion, who seems to have carried it to Lafayette and Bailly: the woman said that the queen was too much attached to that precious piece of furniture—that unlucky necessaire—ever to part with it, and that the sending it away was a strong proof, among many, that her majesty intended to follow it. After receiving such information, it is difficult to conceive how Lafayette and Bailly could ever have been for one moment off their guard, or how they could have doubted that the royal family were determined to fly. The queen assured Madame Campan that they were only going to the frontiers, where the king might be better able to treat with the Assembly; and that the king would only quit France in case of absolute necessity, and after the failure of pacific negociations, which they hoped would not fail. She also said that she counted a great deal on the National Assembly, where many members had recovered from their first exaltation! The Fête Dieu, or Corpus Christi, one of the most solemn festivals of the Catholic Church, was close at hand, and the royal family had been invited by Gobel, the jacobinised and uncanonical Bishop of Paris, to walk in procession after the Host, as in former times and from very remote ages. The religious scruples of Louis must have been horrified at the proposition, and this affair alone must have made him eager to escape. On the evening of the 20th of June the royal family supped together, and retired to their bed-chambers at the usual hour. Everything was quiet in the palace when the king went to the apartment of the queen, where disguises were in readiness; and where the rest of the family, with the exception of Monsieur and his wife, who were to take a different route, presently assembled. Louis, to pass as a respectable valet-de-chambre suitable to a Russian baroness, put on a brown frock-coat, a thick wig, and a round hat. The queen and Madame Elizabeth put on simple travelling dresses and plain gypsy-hats; and, as Madame Korff's children were both females, the little dauphin was dressed like his sister as a girl. The poor boy, who had been roused from his sleep, knew not what to make of this strange travestimento, and asked whether they were going to act a comedy? Alas, though, as in most human transactions, there was much that was comical or farcical, it was to be a bloody tragedy! They left the palace in separate parties, going out from the apartment of the Duke de Villequier, who had scarcely been seen or heard of since the day of poniards. They neither whisked through a key-hole, as Gouvion had seemed to suspect, nor crawled through a foul subterraneous sewer, as was generally reported and believed in Paris; but they went out by Villequier's door, where no sentry was placed. The first little party consisted of Madame de Tourzel, the governess, and the two royal children; then followed Madame Elizabeth and her equerry, M. de Saint Pardoux; and in a minute or two the king, in his brown coat, wig, and round hat, issued from the portal leaning upon the arm of one of the gardes du corps, who was dressed as a courier. The queen came out last of all, attended by her equerry, who was also disguised as a courier. Not many paces from the walls of the palace, in the square called Place du Petit Carousel, at the corner of

the street de l'Echelle, was drawn up a voiture de remise, or one of that kind of hired vehicles which we commonly call a glass coach; and the driver on the box, properly travestied, was the gallant young Swedish noble. As the little party arrived, they got into this vehicle; but the queen came not, and kept the noble coachman waiting for nearly an hour, and every moment was of such life-and-death value! As the doomed Marie Antoinette was on her way, the carriage of Lafayette, with flambeaux and his usual numerous attendants, dashed across the Place du Carousel and passed so near to her, that she is said to have touched the spokes of the wheel with her badine. This rencontre greatly disconcerted her, and neither she nor the gentleman accompanying her was acquainted with the tortuosities of the Paris streets, which were very different then from what they now are. Although only two hundred paces from the corner of the street de l'Echelle, and the voiture de remise with her husband and children, the queen mistook the way, turning to the right hand instead of to the left. After long wandering on quays, and through streets, squares, and alleys, she and her attendant ventured to ask their way of a sentinel, who directed them without suspecting who they were. They were obliged to retrace their steps, and to traverse the court of the Tuileries close to the gardes-du-corps and many sentries. At last, however, some time after midnight, they reached the glass coach: the queen entered it, her attendant mounted behind, and the noble Swede drove off with all his royal passengers. Some little time was lost through a mistake committed by the noble coachman, who was not sufficiently acquainted with the streets and boulevards; and it gives a curious and not very advantageous notion of them to find that not one of the party knew enough of the city they had been living in nearly all their lives to set Count Fersen right. But at last the brave Fersen got fairly out of Paris, upon the high-road, and to the spot where the berline stood ready, and had been standing ready for an hour and a half, with six post horses to it, and the postilions in their saddles. The royal party got hastily into the carriage, the two body-guards mounted behind, Count Fersen mounted the box, and away they all went to the forest and the village of Bondi, leaving the horses of the voiture de remise to trot it back to Paris, or rather into a ditch, for there the vehicle was found on the following morning. At Bondi they found a third garde-du-corps, a change of horses, and a chaise containing two of the queen's waiting-women, which chaise had also been ordered and prepared by the alert Swede. As soon as the post-horses were put to, and one of the body-guards had spurred forward on the Châlons road, Count Fersen, in a hackney-coachman manner, bowed and took his leave, then scampered across the country to a place where his own German coachman awaited him with a light carriage, and found himself, within a very few hours, on the safe side of the French frontiers. The heavy berline sped not quite so rapidly; yet in somewhat less than two hours it reached Claye, the second posting station on the Châlons road, and at the distance of six leagues from Paris. But the heavy, cumbersome machine already needed some repairs, and French harness was, as it now is, very apt to break; and all this occasioned further delay. When the journey was resumed, the king, too eager to enjoy his new liberty and the blessed sunshine and the warm balmy air of that fine June day, insisted frequently on descending from the carriage, and would walk up all the steep hills to relieve the poor horses. So slowly did they proceed (it should be added that it was difficult to travel very fast with any kind of vehicle over such a road with miserable under-fed French post-horses), that it was four or five o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st ere they came in sight of Châlons; and on crossing a crazy bridge at the entrance to that town the clumsy berline rolled against some of the timbers, the horses broke their rope traces, and another precious half-hour was lost. The ties of fate, much stronger than French harness, seemed in every way to bind the victims to the guillotine. Several persons in Châlons recognised, or fancied they recognised, the king, who, instead of sitting back quietly in a corner, as became his seeming character of valet, was constantly putting his head out at the coach-window. The royal travellers, however, were in good heart and hope until they reached Pont de Somme-vesle, three leagues beyond Châlons, where the king counted upon finding his first escort, or detachment of forty dragoons, under the command of the young Duke of Choiseul, but where he found neither the duke nor any one else. Choiseul thus accounts for his own absence and for that of the troops:—M. de Goguelat arrived with the forty hussars at noon, and Choiseul made them picquet their horses in the village of Pont de Somme-vesle, and stationed himself on a height which commanded a view of the high-road from Châlons. He expected that the royal carriage would be preceded by a courier, one of the body-guards; that this courier would arrive at about two o'clock in the afternoon, and that the berline would not be more than an hour behind him. But two o'clock, three o'clock, four o'clock, came, and no courier or coach. From his hilly post he watched the road with intense anxiety, but he could see nothing coming. "During this terrible state of suspense," says the duke, "a new scene, a violent tumult, was preparing. Chance joined hands with fatality: the peasants of an estate belonging to the Princess of Elbœuf, in the neighbourhood of Pont de Somme-vesle, had refused to pay their taxes; they had been threatened with military execution, and the country-people, their neighbours, had promised to stand by them against the troops that might be sent. When these peasants learned that a detachment of cavalry was at Pont de Somme-vesle, they concluded that it had come to carry the threat into execution, and they began to sound the tocsin throughout the district,

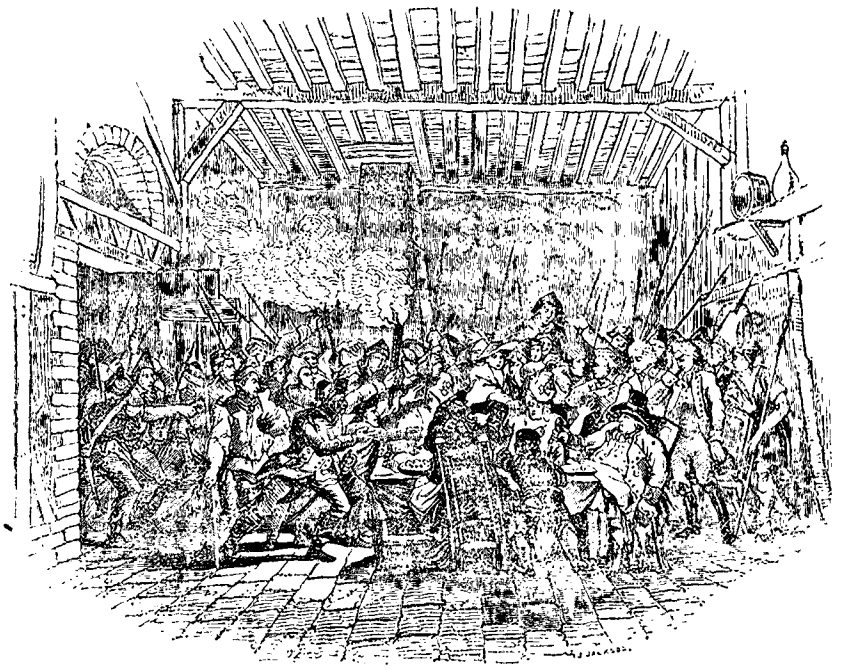
and to gather together in a body. On the other side, the people of Châlons took umbrage at seeing a post established so near their town, and they sent out some mounted national guards to reconnoitre. They already began to murmur that the hussars were there expecting the queen, and to talk of sending out national guards to dislodge them, of doubling the guards in the town, and of closing the gates." The Duke of Choiseul, whose loyalty was not doubted, continues:—"Would it not have been a capital mal-addresse on our part to have created new dangers for the king, or not to have put an end to that popular fermentation by riding away? We heard five o'clock strike; it was nearly half-past five, and consequently almost four hours later than the time at which we had expected to see the courier!" After taking some precautions to dissipate suspicion, Choiseul gave the order to sound boot and saddle. "By the time my hussars were on horseback," he adds, "it only wanted a quarter to six; and then we rode slowly off, at a walking pace, until we reached the cross-road which leads to Varennes." De Bouillé's son, commonly called the Count Louis, bitterly blames this retreat from Pont de Somme-vesle. "Why," says he, "were not one or more persons left behind at the village to warn the king how the detachment had been displaced! Ought he to have neglected intercepting all communication with the capital? And finally, ought not M. de Choiseul, who knew that his detachment was a principal ring in the chain, to have fallen back on the next post on the road that the king was to take, instead of going off by cross-country roads with which he was unacquainted?" Count Louis, who did his part as badly as any of them, also reproaches de Choiseul for having sent word to the commanding officers of the other detachments not to wait for the king any longer, as it seemed to him that something must have happened, either in Paris or on the road, to derange the whole plan of escape, and for having ordered the commander of the detachment stationed at Sainte-Menehould to unsaddle. But, in reply it may be urged that de Choiseul had no person to whom he could confide the important secret; that, if he had left two or three of his own hussars, they might not only have been suspected, but cut to pieces; that his forty men altogether formed far too small a force to intercept the communications; that, if they had attempted anything of the kind, they might have been attacked by the Châlons national guard in front, or by the peasantry in their rear; that it behoved him, above all things, to avoid making a scene on the road, and to do everything in his power to lull the suspicions that were already excited; and that, in fine, the conclusion was a very reasonable one, that the plan had been defeated or the journey at least put off. It was half-past six when the berline lumbered through Pont de Somme-vesle. Louis, who had calculated that he should be safe as soon as he reached this point, was completely disheartened at not finding de Choiseul and his detachment, and he said to his discouraged companions that he felt as if the earth were opening under his feet to swallow him. He had no presence of mind; the two gardes-du-corps that were riding outside the carriage must have been about equally deficient in that essential quality; and the competent, steady, old d'Agoult, whom the Marquis de Bouillé had recommended as a fit person to be inside the carriage, to direct the movements, and to speak and act in any case of emergency, had been kept out of it by Madame de Tourzel and the rigour of court etiquette. In doubt and dismay the royal party rolled onwards at the rate of some four miles an hour, and this was the top of their speed, though the berline was dragged by ten or eleven horses. It was half-past eight in the evening when they reached Sainte-Menehould; and there, instead of finding the cavalry escort ready mounted, they found sour and suspicious-looking townspeople.

The garde-du-corps, M. de Valory, who rode foremost on horseback, performed his duty of courier so badly, that he entered the town only a few minutes before the berline and the chaise that followed it, and, instead of stopping at the post-house, he rode past it and went blundering through the streets in search of it. M. Dandoins, the commander of the detachment, who had unsaddled and put their horses in stable for the night, was standing at the door of an inn, and, as soon as Valory, the pretended courier, saw him, he rode up to him and entered into conversation. This was noticed by the innkeeper and by many other persons. The delay in finding the post-house and the cruel disappointment at not finding this the second detachment, and his doubts about the road they were to take, induced this most awkward of kings to put his head out of the window in the midst of a sharp-eyed crowd, and to question, in an agitated voice, the postmaster of the place about the cross-road leading to Varennes. This postmaster was the famed Drouet, a man of an iron body and of a mind just as hard; he had been a trooper in the regiment of the Prince of Condé's dragoons, had seen something of war and blood, and was still in the prime and vigour of life; like nearly all Frenchmen of his class, he was a hot patriot in the revolutionist sense, and his dislike of royalty and all connected with it had been sharpened the very morning of this day by one or two little occurrences which touched his pocket: M. Goguelat, in starting from Sainte-Menehould, for Pont de Somme-vesle, had hired a chaise horse from his own innkeeper, instead of hiring one from Drouet, the real postmaster, and this had worked upon the bile of the ex-dragoon. As the king spoke to him, notwithstanding the plain brown frock and the homely wig and round hat, it struck Drouet that he had somewhere seen that face before. The fellow had been in Paris at some revolution festival or performance; he had there had a near sight of the queen, and as he peered into the carriage through the wide open window, he fancied

that one of the faces under the gypsy-bonnets was wonderfully like that of Marie Antoinette; and her aquiline nose and Austrian lips were not common in France. Besides Marat and the other Jacobin journalists had long been putting all true patriots upon their guard. To make a quasi certainty more certain, the atrabilarious postmaster pulled out a bit of paper-money, an assignat, and compared the effigies of the king thereon delineated with the face of the stout gentleman in the berline; the likeness was perfect, and, putting this and that together, postmaster Drouet felt as sure as he did that the sun was then sinking below the horizon that this was the royal family flying from France, to bring in the Austrians and the Prussians, the Spaniards and the Italians. Quick! quick! and postmaster ex-dragoon Drouet was not a gentleman garde-du-corps that could only ride his horse well when it was saddled and bridled for him, but a fellow that could do everything for himself and in the readiest manner; in a trice the best horse in his stable was saddled and bridled, and Drouet in the saddle: and the next best horse (a well bred English galloway would have outstripped the two, have saved a king, a queen, a princess, from the guillotine, a dauphin from a still worse death, and have perhaps given a different turn not merely to the fate of France, but to that of all Europe) was saddled, bridled, and mounted by his assistant Guillaume, who also had been a dragoon in former times. The two allowed the berline and the chaise to get their post-horses and roll out of Sainte-Menehould towards Clermont in Argonne, the next posting-station, at some three leagues distance: but then they followed the carriage at a hard trot. M. Dandoins, the commanding officer, now ordered his detachment to saddle and mount too; but his people had been drinking with the patriots of the town, and refused to obey orders, swearing terrifically that they had had nothing to eat since dinner-time, and that they wanted their suppers. A few minutes later the tocsin was sounded, the cry was spread through the town and vicinity that the king was escaping, the national guards of the place, who had recently obtained 300 muskets, were all out and under arms, swearing that the hussars should not follow the berline. It is very doubtful whether many of the hussars had any wish to do so; and certainly only one of the lot, a certain Legache, a quartermaster, took his departure in the face of this resistance. With a pistol in either hand, and with his reins between his teeth, this Legache spurred through the mob, national guards and all, was not much hurt either by the musket-balls or by the stones that were aimed at him, and, getting clear of the town, he galloped towards Clermont. As soon as he had ascended the hill which rises behind Sainte-Menehould, he caught sight of a horseman trotting close after the berline, and, guessing his object, he pricked after him with the intention of stopping his progress by sending a pistol-bullet through his head. This horseman was either postmaster Drouet or Maître Guillaume, for the pair, it appears, had separated on the road. Whichever of these worthies he was, as soon as he heard hoofs clattering behind him, and turning his head saw a hussar in full pursuit, he quitted the high-road, struck aside into a lane, and galloped across the country with all the speed that was in his beast. Quartermaster Legache kept him well in sight, and seemed to be gaining on him, but the twilight faded, the night became dark, the country rough and wooded, and, as the Sainte-Menehould man was better acquainted with the country than the trooper could be, he not only escaped the fate intended him, but succeeded in spreading the alarm of the king's flight far and near. With a tired horse quartermaster Legache regained the high-road, and trotted as well as he could after the berline. Something like rapidity had at last been communicated to this cumbrous machine, for it reached Clermont by half-past nine at night. In that town the king found Count Charles de Damas with a detachment of 140 dragoons, and the noble colonel, who was to follow the carriage with his troopers, but not immediately, for fear of exciting suspicion, contrived to whisper a few words to his majesty as they were changing the post-horses. The fresh postilions, inspirited by promises of double drink-money, presently cracked their whips and went off at speed along the road to Varennes. They had not, however, gone far when a man on horseback galloped past them and cried at the top of his voice to those within the carriage: the terrible noise made by the wheels of the ponderous machine and the hoofs of twelve horses on a rough road, paved in French fashion with ill-jointed flag-stones, prevented the man's words being heard, but the king and queen afterwards imagined that he said, "You are known," or, "You are discovered." When the berline had been gone some time out of Clermont, Count Charles de Damas prepared to mount and follow; but the municipality, who by this time had got the warning note, waited upon him and commanded him not to stir until the morrow. Regardless of this order, he mounted his horse and rode to a square or open space in the town, where his dragoons were already mustered, and said to one of his officers, "We must get out of this place, happen what may." He instantly dispatched a brave and trusty cornet to Varennes, bidding him ride as if for his life: young Remy dashed through the streets, where the patriots were already assembling, and got into the open country; but in his haste and in the darkness of the night he mistook his way, and could not arrive at Varennes in time to be of any use. A better scheme than old de Bouillé's might have been disconcerted and spoiled by such a sad combination of fatalities. There was a double misfortune in this night-ride of Cornet Remy, for his hurried departure acted as a signal to the patriots of Clermont, who sounded the tocsin, illuminated their windows, and loaded their muskets, vowing by liberty and equality, and by other oaths not quite so decorous,

that the dragoons should not march. One hundred and forty well-disciplined troopers might have easily cut their way through that rabble, and even despised the national guardsmen; but the doubt of doubts was, whether the troopers would attempt it. Damas, rising in his stirrups, addressed them with energy and with tact, reminding them that their comrades had been insulted at Sainte-Menehould, saying other words to revive the esprit de corps, which is usually so strong, and telling them that their king and country were calling on the brave; yet when, as the proper end to his harangue, he gave the word of command, "Draw swords," not a sword moved from its scabbard; the troopers, on the contrary, striking the hilts as if to fix them tighter in the scabbards. The doubt was sadly solved, and all that the noble colonel could do was to shout, "Whoever is for the king will follow me!" and gallop out of the place. Only two subaltern officers followed him, the rest of the dragoons remaining to drink and to sup, and make common cause with the patriots of Clermont.

In the mean while the berline had rattled on its way; and at half-past eleven it reached the outskirts of Varennes. Here was another detachment of sixty hussars, under the command of young de Bouillé, and a good relay of horses furnished by the Duke of Choiseul, Varennes not being a posting-station. But instead of finding all ready, the royal fugitives could see neither horse nor hussar; and, by another fatality, neither they nor any of their attendants knew where the relay of horses or where the hussars were stationed. M. Valory, the garde-du-corps, who did so ill the office of courier, and whose brains—if he had any—must have been completely addled, went capering through the streets of Varennes, and shouting and bawling to find out the inn where the relay was stationed, and did not find it after all. The queen herself descended from the coach, and inquired at two houses where she saw lights still burning; for by this time nearly every inhabitant was buried in a deep sleep, but a sleep presently to be followed by an energetic waking. The wakeful people addressed by the queen knew nothing about the relay, and it was not considered safe to ask them about the hussars; in this manner thirty-five most precious minutes were lost; and just as the royal party had made up their minds to proceed with the same jaded horses that had brought them from Clermont, and the postillions were trying to refresh them with some meal and water, the hard-riding Drouet entered the town from another side, pulled up at a patriot inn where he was well known, gave the alarm, got speedy assistance, rushed down to an arched gateway and a rude old bridge on the river Aire, over which the travellers must pass to get out of the town, barricaded the bridge by upsetting a waggon and some carts, took his station under the archway with his fresh companions, musket in hand, and dispatched messengers to the mayor and other patriot notabilities. Perhaps Drouet would not have had time to do all this or half of it if the king had kept to his purpose of proceeding with the old post-horses; but, by some means, it was discovered at last that the Duke of Choiseul's relay was at the inn called the Grand Monarque, in the lower part of that hilly and irregular old town, and so the berline was dragged round about to that stabling, and several more minutes were lost in rousing the sleepy grooms and in putting-to these fresh horses. The marvel is that all this time the hussars were as invisible as if they had put on the coat of darkness. Young de Bouillé, the commanding officer, after waiting till ten o'clock, concluded that something had happened, and that the king would not come that night; and, taking his ease at his inn, he went to bed at that unfashionable hour, and fell into a most unaristocratic and unsoldierlike sleep. Before resigning himself to this happy oblivion, he did indeed order a young cornet to keep wide awake and watch the road in case the berline should come; but this stripling, as sleepy and as careless as his superior officer, went also to his bed, and so young de Bouillé knew nothing of the king's arrival until he learned that he was arrested! More vigilance, more activity, more self-denial, and a greater promptness for self-sacrifice—when, through the defect of vigilance and common sense, desperate bravery alone could suffice—might have been expected from such men, who must have known that not merely the life of the king, but also the lives of his fair queen, his interesting sister, and his innocent children, were exposed to the greatest peril: but so it was, and so did gentlemen hussars do their duty in a crisis more important and terrible than any that had ever been known in France. How different the activity and energy of postmaster ex-dragoon Drouet! As the big berline rumbled up to the archway, he started out and seized the leader with a sonorous "Halt, there!" And in the next instant the patriot comrades he had collected issued from under the archway, produced lanterns which they had kept concealed under their great-coats, presented the muzzle of a musket at either window of the carriage, and roared out, "Your passports!" There were only six men, and apparently only two or three muskets among them. With the assistance of three gardes-du-corps, a braver or more resolute man than Louis might have attempted to force the passage through that miserable old archway; but then there would have remained the cursed waggon and carts on the bridge; and the tocsin was now sounding, and lights were flashing from the windows of the town, and cries and screams announced that the town's people were coming down to the gate. If young de Bouillé and his hussars had been where they ought to have been, if even now their horses had been but saddled and the bits in their mouths, there might have been a chance—with high courage and only a little skill, an excellent chance;—but the sluggards were snoring in their beds, the horses were all fast at rack and manger; and for the king, for the fair queen, for the admirable Elizabeth, and for the



DETENTION OF THE KING AT VARENNES. From Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française.

innocent children, chance or hope there was none. But poor Louis, that poor unromantic king, who could *bear*, but who could never *dare*, whose want of grace and dignity, spirit and pluck, despoil even his most romantic adventures of their interest and charm, sat awkwardly and fatly in the corner of that unlucky big berline, neither doing nor saying, or attempting to say or do, anything. And anon down came tripping to the archway the procureur of the township of Varennes, one M. Sauce, tallow-chandler and grocer of the place, with a good long tail of notables and vagabonds, all thoroughly indoctrinated in the Rights of Man, and as indifferent to the blood of a king or a queen as to a drop of the water of the river Aire which was flowing and murmuring near them. After a few words with the garde-du-corps, the officious chandler induced the royal family to quit the carriage, to go to his house, there to await superior orders. This Sauce, patriot, Jacobin, as he was, was not without humanity and gallantry, and, seeing that the ladies were terrified at the sight of the thronging people and the dismal sounds of the alarm-bells, he gave one arm to the queen and the other to the Princess Elizabeth: the king led by the hand the dauphin and his little daughter; Madame de Tourzel and the gardes-du-corps followed; and in this manner the blood of the Bourbons and of the Kaisers traversed the dirty little market-place of Varennes to the door of Sauce's dirty shop. But the tallow-chandler and grocer had what the French call an "apartment in two pieces," or, in modester English, two rooms over his shop; and thither he conducted his royal guests or captives. Poor Louis was cursed with a most vulgar and uncontrollable appetite, and the very first words he spoke when ensconced in a corner of Sauce's first floor, were to ask for some refreshments. The active little dealer, who had cheese at hand, gave his most Christian majesty some bread and cheese, and brought out a bottle of Burgundy—and forthwith the unromantic, unroyal, unkingly king, began to eat and drink, assuring the tallow-chandler, grocer, procureur, that his wine was very good indeed! When his inward man was thus refreshed, he entered into some conversation with Sauce, and, seeing that the secret was fully known, he declared who he was, and attempted to persuade him to lend a helping hand in this extremity, protesting that his journey boded good, not ill, to all honest Frenchmen. But it was now too late, and Sauce was as little of a hero as the king himself. Louis spoke of the passage of the bridge over the Aire. Sauce told him that it was barricaded. "Well then," said Louis, "we could cross the river at the ford lower down." "That is still worse," replied Sauce, "for, being afraid of the Austrians, I have had it covered with sharp stakes and good crows'-feet it is impossible to pass there." "Eh bien," said the fainéant king, "go and get the bridge cleared!" The grocer went out, but it was only to prevent the mob from rushing in, and to consult with his official colleagues, who had come forth in their night-gowns and slippers. By this time too Madame Sauce had risen from the connubial couch at the back of the shop, had

thrown on her clothes without pinning or lacing, and had stepped up to take a look at her royal inmates. Marie Antoinette, with a woman's quickness, discovered that the wife had a good deal more spirit than the husband—or, to adopt our language to the homely scene—that the grey mare was the better horse.* With a desperate hope, she took Madame Sauce aside, descended with her to the back part of the shop, and there, being seated between two binns of tallow candles, she attempted to work upon her interests and her feelings; but the only answer she could obtain from Madame Sauce was, "What will you have of it, madame? Your position is very distressing; but d'ye see, that would expose Monsieur Sauce; they would cut off his head! (A wife ought to think for her husband.") "Well then," said the queen, "I ought to think for mine, and my husband is your king: he made you all happy for a long time; and he wishes to do so still." Madame Sauce repeated her words about the danger her husband would run if he attempted to do anything; and it was far too late for a hundred chandler-grocer-procureurs of the chicken-heart of M. Sauce to get the king even beyond the little river Aire, that flowed and murmured on in happy music, as if torrents of hot tears were not to be shed, and long months of agony suffered, and then the block and the guillotine-knife were not to follow the events which were taking place on its banks.

The shop and the apartment above it were now well nigh filled with people. A national guardsman said insolently to Louis, "You know you are the king! Why don't you confess it like an honest man?" Fire darted from the eyes of the imperial daughter of Maria Theresa, and she said to the armed burgher, "Since you know him, treat him with more respect—speak to him as you ought to your king!" The poor little dauphin and his sister, who had been snatched from their beds in the Tuileries when the fatal flight began, and who had been shaken over rough roads for twenty hours or more, were worn out with fatigue and want of sleep. Madame de Tourzel laid them down on Madame Sauce's bed, and they soon fell fast asleep. By this time young de Bouillé was up and in the saddle, but two or three thousand national guards, that were soon to be increased to ten thousand, were actually within the town or hurrying towards it from all quarters, for the sound of the tocsin had been repeated from village to village, and patriots slept not so soundly as king's dragoons and hussars; and so young de Bouillé thought that the best thing he could do would be to gallop off to his father, in order that that wiser and more wakeful officer might bring up all his forces and rescue the king by fighting a pitched battle. This, too, was a most desperate hope, but the young man went off to act upon it, swimming the river Aire with his horse, and then spurring and galloping along the high road. About the time of this departure the Duke of Choiseul and M. Goguelat had arrived with a detachment of forty hussars from Pont de Somme-vesle, had forced their way into the town, and had gone in search of young de Bouillé's dragoons, who were dispersed in different cabarets or public-houses. Two municipals waited upon Choiseul and summoned him to the town-hall, or to the house which served as one; but the duke, instead of attending to their summons, rode to Sauce's house and placed his forty men in order of battle in front of it, telling them that the king and the royal family were prisoners, and must be released if there was heart and faith in soldiers. In going into the house Choiseul met Count Charles de Damas, who had arrived from Clermont some time before; but, of course, without his detachment. "The king, and the royal family," says Choiseul, "were in two dirty rooms on the first floor. I ascended by a crooked staircase: in the front room, which faced the street, I found some armed country people, two of whom, with pitchforks in their hands, stood sentinels at the door of the inner room, wherein the king was. They attempted to oppose my entering, but I pushed them aside and entered sword in hand. In the midst of that filthy chamber was a table with bread and some glasses upon it; on a bed the exhausted dauphin was sleeping, and Madame de Tourzel was seated by the bed-side with her head leaning on her hands, and having near her Mesdames Brunier and Neuville, the two waiting-women who had followed the berline in the chaise. Near the window were Madame Elizabeth and the little princess-royal. The king and queen were standing and talking with M. Sauce and one or two municipals, and at the end of the room, seated upon chairs, were the three gardes-du-corps. My sudden entrance, which was followed by that of Damas and Goguelat, interrupted the conversation. The queen and Madame Elizabeth came up to me and took my hand with joy and kindness; the king received me in the same manner. We took their majesties aside, explained the situation of affairs, and asked the king's orders. 'Where is young de Bouillé with his dragoons?' said I. 'I have not so much as seen one of those gentlemen,' said the king. One of us said, 'We believed that they were all killed before the wheels of your carriage.' The king said, 'What is to be done?' 'You must try and escape,' said M. de Damas.' 'Give your orders,' said I; 'Sire, I have here forty hussars that may cut their way as far as Dun—we must decide upon something at once.'" The Duke of Choiseul goes on to say that he proposed mounting the king, the queen, the children, the gardes-du-corps, and the attendants on seven hussar horses, surrounding them with the thirty-three hussars that would remain mounted, and then cutting their way out of the town. But, considering the patriot force collected and collecting, and the narrow gateway and the barricaded bridge, this was surely frantic advice.

* Madame Campan says, rather neatly:—"Madame Sauce paraissait une femme prépondérante dans son ménage, et M. Sauce la regardait de temps en temps comme pour la consulter."

The king, according to Choiseul, replied to it, "It is necessary to reason coolly. The municipality do not refuse to let me pass; they only demand that I wait till daybreak. Young de Bouillé, I am told, set out from this soon after my arrival, and no doubt it is to inform his father of what has happened, and to march up the troops, which are surely ready. If I were alone, I would follow your advice; but the queen, my two children, my sister, these ladies....." The municipals had indeed told Louis that he should be allowed to depart at daybreak; but this was only to keep the party quiet until the place should be filled by armed patriots, and the streets barricaded as well as the bridge. M. Sauce assured his majesty that all would go well at daylight, if he would only consent to take some of the national guards of the place as an escort. M. Goguelat, who had courage which might in other circumstances have made up for his lamentable want of prudence and forethought, went out of Sauce's house to speak with the national guards that were crowding round the berline as if intending to destroy it; and, according to other accounts, he went out in the hope of making himself master of the town battery, which consisted of two honeycombed field-pieces. He was followed by several of the hussars; but he did not go far. A certain Roland, major of the Varennes national guard, approached him and said, "If you move another step I will kill you!" Goguelat was springing upon the major sabre in hand, when the major fired a pistol and hit him on the shoulder, and presently another pistol or a musket was fired, which wounded him in the head and made him fall from his horse. In the mean time the Duke of Choiseul had dispatched an orderly to call up the detachment which was stationed at Dun. The brave soldier swam the river with his horse, as young de Bouillé had done before him, and then went forward with a loose rein to Dun. The detachment there was under the command of Captain Deslons, who was in a better state of preparation than the other commanders on the road had been found in; probably young de Bouillé, in galloping through the village in search of his father, had given him some warning, for he sounded boot and saddle, and was off to the rescue with his hundred men. He halted his squadrons on the skirts of Varennes, found the entrances to the town strongly barricaded and guarded, spoke with some officers of the militia, entered the town alone like a brave and fearless man, and even reached in safety the house of M. Sauce. He gave the king and queen the hope that the Marquis de Bouillé would soon arrive at the head of the Royal Allemand, and that then it would not be impossible to cut their way out of the town. In taking his leave of the king he demanded his orders; but poor Louis, who had certainly determined to submit to anything rather than risk a battle, told him that, being a prisoner, he had no orders to give! By this time it was past five o'clock in the morning, and the number of patriots collected in the town, and armed for the most part with muskets, is supposed to have exceeded ten thousand. Drouet, the real commander-in-chief of this great undisciplined army, had made sure of the two old honeycombed field-pieces, and pointed them against the Duke of Choiseul's hussars, who still stood ranged in order of battle by Sauce's house. It is said that the guns were incapable of any service, that there was nothing in them but cobwebs; yet they nevertheless imposed on the hussars, and bottles of heady wine handed opportunely by the patriots to those troopers, who, as being nearly all Germans, were not averse to drink, completed their military demoralization; so that now they began to hiccup "Vive la Nation!" and to swear by thunder and lightning that they were for the people! Captain Deslons, from the edge of the town, kept looking impatiently towards Dun in hopes of seeing every moment the head of old de Bouillé's column: but it was written in the book of fate that neither he nor any other man should ever see it there. On the 20th of June the brave old general had repaired to Stenay, one of the last links of the chain of posts, and early on the morning of the 21st he had assembled the general officers under his command, and acquainted them that it was probable the king would that night pass through Stenay, so as to arrive at Montmedy by break of day on the 22nd. He detached General Klingin to Montmedy to prepare everything for the king's reception, sent General Heyman to bring up two regiments of hussars that had been left isolated on the river Sarre, and ordered General Hoffelize to remain at Stenay with the regiment of Royal Allemand, who were to send a detachment of fifty men to a point on the road between Stenay and Dun, and to have all their horses saddled at an early hour of the night. In the evening of the 21st de Bouillé quitted Stenay with some squadrons of horse and rode towards Dun to meet the royal family at an earlier stage. Knowing the violent revolutionism of the people of Dun, and fearing to excite suspicions, he did not enter the town, but remained with his men on horseback in a hollow near the roadside and about a mile from the gates of the town. He expected that the royal family would reach this spot between one and two in the morning, and that the courier would reach it at least an hour sooner. But one o'clock, two o'clock, three o'clock came, and nothing was seen or heard of courier or royal berline. At four o'clock, when it was daylight, and when the country people might be expected afield, he hastened back with a heavy heart to Stenay; and just as he was entering the gates of that place he met his son Count Louis, who had behaved so badly at Varennes, and who in his rapid flight from that place must have passed in the dark close by the hollow where his father lay concealed. Having learned how the king had been arrested, the marquis resolved to put himself at the head of the Royal Allemand, and march with all speed to the king's deliverance.

But as these German cavaliers had expected to see the royal family by night, they had gone to bed as soon as it was day; and their colonel slept so soundly, and was so long in dressing, that it took three-quarters of an hour and five or six stormy summonses to get him ready. These angry messsages were delivered by de Bouillé's own son, who had himself slept so soundly at Varennes. At last the slothful colonel was ready. "I could undertake nothing," says de Bouillé himself, "without this regiment; and I confess I could trust to none but myself to lead it. As soon as it was clear of the town of Stenay, I informed the men that the king was arrested by the people at Varennes, and then read to them his majesty's orders, which enjoined the military to escort him and to use their utmost exertions for the protection of himself and the royal family. I found them all in the best disposition imaginable, and, having distributed among them four hundred louis d'or, I placed myself at their head and began my march. From Stenay to Varennes is about five-and-twenty miles, through a mountainous country where the roads are exceedingly bad. I now bitterly regretted having been so late informed of the king's detention. I might have been apprised of the event two hours sooner, had a messenger been sent the instant of his majesty's arrival at Varennes, and consequently might have set off at three in the morning instead of at five. I was in despair at the time thus lost, not that I was afraid of no longer finding the royal family at Varennes, for I did not conceive it possible that the municipality of that town would dare to compel the king to return to Paris, and I supposed regard had been paid at least to that part of my instructions which directed that, after the king should have passed, no couriers should be permitted to go the road of Clermont or Varennes, and consequently that no orders could have been transmitted from the National Assembly; but all my uneasiness proceeded from the obstacles which, owing to the delay in the arrival of the assistance I was bringing, might arise either to his majesty's deliverance or to his safety in pursuing his route—difficulties and dangers which I knew were increasing with every moment. I used all possible diligence, and the whole way the men went at a hard trot and never once drew rein. At a short distance from Varennes I came up with the detachment from the Royal Allemand which had been sent forward the day before. I found them stopped at the entrance of a wood by the national guards, who were firing on them. Having dispersed these militia, I put myself at the head of the detachment, and spurring forward and being closely followed by the rest of the regiment, I arrived at about a quarter past nine under Varennes. I was proceeding to reconnoitre the place with the view of attacking it, when, in the outskirts of the town, I perceived a troop of hussars, who proved to be part of the squadron posted at Dun, who had marched to the king's assistance, but who had not been able to get into the town on account of the barricades and the many thousands behind them. In a short time Captain Deslons, who commanded these squadrons, rode up and acquainted me *that the king had been gone from Varennes full an hour and a half;* that his majesty had told him he was afraid it would be out of my power to render him any essential assistance, but that he hoped I would do all I could. M. Deslons further told me that the people and the municipality of Varennes, *on the arrival of one of M. de Lafayette's aides-de-camp,* had compelled the king to re-enter the carriage in which he had travelled, and return to Paris; and that his majesty must already be at a great distance..... M. Deslons confirmed what I had before been told, that the hussars stationed in Varennes had been corrupted, and that the dragoons at Clermont had refused to march..... All the circumstances of this affair appeared to me a mystery, nor could I form any idea of the causes which had led to them. I asked him if he had seen M. de .....,* M. de Goguelat, and Count Charles de Damas. He told me that all three of them had been put under arrest; that the two former had arrived with their detachments about half an hour after the king, but that the hussars they commanded had joined those at Varennes: he said that M. de Damas came soon afterwards, accompanied only by two or three commissioned and a few non-commissioned officers, his dragoons having refused to follow him. It was now apparent to me that the dispositions agreed upon had not been observed, and that my orders had not been executed, though I could form no idea of the reason of this neglect."

Matters had even gone as Deslons related, so that after all it was a bold impudence in the Grandison Cromwell to pretend that it was not through him that the royal family were tied to the stake. His aide-de-camp, who reached Varennes at half-past six o'clock, was that M. Robeuf whom we have seen complaining to the National Assembly of the hard treatment he had received from the mob of Paris on the morning of the 21st. He was accompanied by M. Baillon, one of Bailly's municipals. They entered the house of the grocer and tallow-chandler, and presented the decree of the National Assembly. Louis, in receiving it, murmured most sadly, "I am a prisoner; there is no longer any king." He threw the paper on Madame Sauce's bed, where the little dauphin was still sleeping: the queen snatched it up with the bitter exclamation that it would contaminate her child; and then, turning to Robeuf, she expressed her indignation and astonishment that he, a gentleman and a soldier, should have charged himself with such a commission. But in vain did the imperial woman look through the dingy windows across the square in the lingering hope of seeing brave de Bouillé charge across it, and of hearing the German voices and shouts of Royal Allemand;

* The Duke of Choiseul.

in vain did she listen, and cautiously inquire whether they were coming—her case in very truth was past hope, past cure, past help! At half-past seven o'clock the royal fugitives were compelled to re-enter the berline, the three gardes-du-corps who had attended them from Paris were tied like felons on the coach-box, fresh horses were put to, and the unwieldy machine, being wheeled round, was driven back towards Clermont and Paris, preceded, followed, flanked by thousands of national guards, who dragged the two old Varennes field-pieces with them. The patriots had suffered nothing, not a drop of blood had been spilt except from the shoulder and the silly pate of the royalist Goguelat; the patriots were all triumphant, with a king their captive, and triumph and success generally bring good humour and generosity; but these ill-conditioned scoundrels, whom nothing could cure of their old instinct for blood, murdered the Vicomte Dampierre under the eyes of the king and queen, as the carriage was rolling out of the town, because he had hurried from some country house where he was residing to offer assistance or advice, and, seeing the king a prisoner, had approached the door of the carriage with tears in his eyes to kiss his hand; and, after poniarding him, the execrable rabble went over his body, horse and foot. The berline must have been somewhere between Varennes and Clermont, or perhaps already at Clermont, when de Bouillé finished his maddening conversation with Captain Deslons. He then turned to General Hoffelize and the other officers who had ridden with him from Stenay, and proposed that the Royal Allemand should cross the river and follow the king's carriage at least three or four leagues, to see if they could not overtake it and rescue the royal family. As so many of the national guards had departed with the berline, it might not have proved a work of much difficulty to force the passage of the bridge; but hours before de Bouillé's arrival the patriots had demolished several of the arches. He sent some light horse both above and below the town to examine where the river was fordable, but, though there certainly were several places where it might have been crossed, these light horsemen could or would find none. "I saw," says de Bouillé, "many national guards under arms in Varennes; and we were now informed that the Jacobinised garrisons of Metz and Verdun were in full march towards that town with their cannon: the troops which composed the latter garrison were indeed already at no great distance; the national guards throughout the whole country were in motion; and now indeed all seemed lost, for even the cavalry under my command, whose horses were tired and blown by the hard ride from Stenay, expressed a reluctance to proceed any farther." Gallant Deslons, without orders, dashed into the river Aire with his hundred men, and partly forded and partly swam across one branch of it; but his horses could not manage the second branch, and he was compelled to return. De Bouillé, giving up all hope, led back the cavalry regiment and all the detachments to Stenay, and having disposed of them in the town, and learning that the municipality were assembled for the purpose of ordering his arrest—an order not now likely to be opposed even by the Royal Allemand—he summoned around him his principal officers, whose liberty or life was in equal jeopardy, and that very evening set off with them and with a few subalterns for the emperor's territories of Luxembourg. Although they travelled fast, orders for their arrest had travelled still faster, and as they crossed the French frontier late at night they were fired upon by some watchful national guards. The fusilade, however, did them no harm, and that night they supped, with what appetite they could muster, with the Bernardine monks at Orval in Luxembourg. These fugitives were twenty-one in number. Royalty was not again to find so much bravery and devotion as it had lost in de Bouillé.*

We return to the doleful journey of the captives. On entering Clermont, amidst a forest of bayonets, the king was waited upon by the municipals and all the constituted authorities; and the president of the district hurled at his discrowned head some terrible patriotic harangue. Louis, so admirable in suffering, meekly replied, "My people are seduced; my people are deceived." The pert president rejoined, that it was easier to deceive one man than to deceive an entire people. The berline then moved slowly onwards, still guarded by an army, for, as the national guards at one place grew tired of marching, plenty of national guards poured in from other places, all fresh and vigorous, and eager to see how the king and queen looked in patriot hands. That night they slept, or rested, at Châlons. On the 23rd they continued their rout to Epernay, where they met commissioners appointed by the National Assembly to take charge of them, and see them safely conducted back to the Tuileries. These commissioners were Barnave, Pétion, and Latour-Maubourg. Of Barnave we have already spoken, and have hinted that some change had come over his dream of politics. Pétion, who was to be the Bailly of a future day—a day now near at hand—was a poor advocate from Chartres, a ready speaker in the Assembly, a Jacobin of the deepest dye, a man of inordinate vanity, whose heart was all in his head, and whose manners were excessively coarse, partly by nature, and in part through the common conviction of the times that politeness did not become republicans or professors and disciples of liberty and equality. His head was not intellectually enlarged by having his heart in it: he had no high or even acute in-

* For the flight to Varennes and the arrest there, we have consulted, besides the *Mémoires of de Bouillé, Lafayette, Campan, Georgel, de Choiseul, Count Louis de Bouillé, and Valory*, one of the unfortunate gardes-du-corps, a variety of memoirs and narratives of the time, together with the *documents, letters, and debates in the* Histoire Parlementaire. Our narrative might have been better, but for the despair of doing well and in a different manner what has been so recently and so admirably done by Mr. Carlyle, whose narrative is far more dramatic than most dramas, and more truly poetical than most poems, that have appeared in these latter days.—See 'The French Revolution: a History,' vol. ii., book iv.

tellect whatever, and, like most of the rest, his moral and political philosophy consisted in a few bare rules and dogmas. Dumont says of him, "He had little wit, little vivacity, no force either of expression or of thought." Yet such is the fanaticism of political theorists and party politicians, that this vulgar piece of mediocrity had been fêted in London by the Foxite Whigs as a great man and a noble patriot!* He came to Epernay with the determination to insult the wretched captives; and we shall presently see how perfectly he did what he intended to do. Latour-Maubourg was a man of high family and a colonel in the king's army. He had been sent to the States-General as deputy for the noblesse of Puy-en-Velay, but had been one of the first to join the Tiers Etat. Though an ultra-liberal, and, perhaps, at this moment, not very averse to trying the grand experiment of a republic, he was a man of honour and humanity, and far too generous to think of insulting a fallen king and a hapless queen. He seems, indeed, to have grieved at and to have been ashamed of his mission; and from that sentiment, which might, however, be coupled with some fear of being suspected afterwards, if he conversed much with royalty—for he was an aristocrat by birth and name, whereas Pétion and Barnave had the happy security of being plebeians—the next morning, when the journey was continued, he got into a carriage which followed, with Madame Tourzel and the waiting-women, leaving Barnave and Pétion to ride in the berline with their majesties. The king was, as usual, awkward and silent; but the queen soon entered into conversation with Barnave, who had the manners and the spirit of a gentleman, and who won upon her heart by a little incident that occurred not far from Epernay. A poor country curate—no doubt of the unsworn kind—had the imprudence to approach to speak to the king: the national guards and the mob that surrounded the carriage fell upon the priest, and were going to murder him. Barnave shouted from the coach-window, "Tigers, have you ceased to be Frenchmen? Nation of brave men, are you become a people of assassins?" These words saved from certain death the poor curate, who was already knocked down: Barnave, in pronouncing them, almost threw himself out of the window, and the king's sister, touched by this noble burst of feeling, held him by the skirt of his coat. By the very act they were committing this French rabble proved that they had not ceased to be Frenchmen, that they were what their fathers had been before them, and what their children have been after them; but it was natural that Marie Antoinette should be favourably impressed with the words and action of Barnave. She spoke to him often on the road; and in the inns where they stopped, when Pétion's back was turned, she had more confidential conversation with him. Barnave, with a truth that no one will dispute, told her that royalty had been very badly served by the royalists; that the courtiers and aristocrats had committed a great many errors in the revolution; and that, seeing the interests of the court so feebly and so unwisely defended, he had been several times tempted to offer them a courageous champion who knew the spirit of the age and the spirit of the nation. Here he meant himself, for Barnave was as vain and as self-confident as any of the actors in this drama: very possibly he fancied he could do more than Mirabeau had engaged to perform; and, as he was poor and ambitious, it is not impossible that he may have been desirous of having a revenue like that which Mirabeau had derived from the court for doing nothing. Now that Mirabeau was gone, he might consider himself the best orator in the Assembly; and as a debater, as one ready at impromptu answer and rejoinder, he had all along been superior to the Count; but he lacked altogether the grand commanding figure, the striking, intimidating countenance, the sonorous voice, and the wonderful physical energy that had died with Mirabeau. The queen asked him what means he would have advised her to employ? "Popularity, madame, popularity," said he. "But how," asked the queen, "could I obtain it, when it had been taken from me?" Barnave replied with a mixture of gallantry and vanity which could only have come from a Frenchman, "Ah, madame, it was much easier for you to recover your popularity than for me to obtain mine." Pétion, to illustrate practically the doctrine of liberty and equality, ate and drank in the royal carriage like an unmannered clown, throwing the bones of his chicken out of the window, not without risk of hitting his majesty's nose; shrugging up his shoulders without saying a word when Madame Elizabeth poured wine into his cup, meaning by this shrug that he had wine enough. Barnave was disgusted; and, though pressed by the queen, he delicately declined eating and drinking in the carriage. The king began to speak to Pétion about the situation of affairs and the motives which had induced him to go to the frontiers, saying that these motives arose out of the necessity of giving to the executive power its necessary strength, as France could not possibly be a republic. "Not yet," replied Pétion, "because the French are not

* "The first man that came over to England from the Assembly was Pétion. I had known him too well at Paris to avoid seeing him in London; but he was so eagerly received, so much sought after by a part of the public, that the chance of meeting him was very rare. People disputed the honour of entertaining him; they loaded him with invitations; they showered on him the most flattering attentions. He was come, he said, to see the management of trial by jury in criminal and civil cases. It is true he understood no English, but a barrister well versed in French offered to accompany him to the courts. The day was fixed, but Pétion did not keep his appointment, preferring to run over London and see sights with a friend who had just arrived from France. He remained in England no more than three weeks. The reception he met with from one party excited some suspicion in the government."—*Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.*

It is pretty evident that the real object of Pétion's visit was rather to fraternize with some of our clubs and republicans than to study our trial by jury. Nevertheless, in a monstrous ignorance of the subject, he led the discussions on the jury law in the Assembly, and was the chief framer of the system which was adopted. A good notion of the man as a debater and politician may be derived from his exclamations, that opposition was very troublesome!—that the Assembly was constantly troubled by the revolt of the minority against the majority!

yet ripe enough!" This brutal answer reduced the king to silence, and he spoke no more during the remainder of the journey. As the berline was crammed, the children sat on the laps of their elders. Pétion took the little dauphin on his knee, and began to amuse himself with twisting his greasy fingers in the auburn curly locks of the interesting boy; and, as whenever he spoke he gesticulated, he pulled the hair so strongly that the child cried out. This was too much for the queen, who exclaimed, "Give me my son; he is accustomed to delicate cares which little dispose him to such familiarities!" The king's sister spoke a good deal with Barnave, and, it is said, excited in him a profound respect and a warm admiration. Long before the end of the journey the queen discovered the schism and total separation that existed between the constitutional monarchy party to which Barnave belonged, and the republican party which had Pétion for one of its chiefs; but she miscalculated sadly when she fancied that there must be more Barnaves than Pétions in France. She said that Barnave was worthy of trust and confidence, nay, of esteem; that that young man was full of esprit and noble sentiments; that she could not severely blame the feeling of pride that induced a young man born of the Tiers Etat to applaud a revolution that opened the road to honour and glory to the class he belonged to; and that, if ever the revolution should be stopped, and the kingly power be restored, the pardon of Barnave should be certain.* Poor queen! and how would the revolution pardon you and yours? While she is slowly approaching Paris, we may return to the National Assembly there.

The person that had the honour of first announcing in that noisy hall that the king was a prisoner, was one M. Mangin, a surgeon and man-midwife of Varennes, who, being dispatched by the municipality, and using such speed as French horses and French roads would allow of, contrived to reach Paris about ten o'clock at night on the 22nd. The letter of the municipality, which was read to the Assembly by one of the secretaries, was as short as an order of the day:—"In the alarm in which we find ourselves," said the paper, "we authorise M. Mangin, surgeon of Varennes, to go and acquaint the Assembly that his majesty is here, and that we supplicate them to trace out for us the course we ought to pursue." There were loud cries, both inside the hall and outside, of "The king is taken! the king is arrested! What shall we do with him?" Letters were also presented and read from the municipals of Sainte Menehould and the municipals of Châlons. The first related the patriotic exertions of Drouet, and informed the Assembly how the dragoons in that place had been disarmed, and their commanding officer thrown into prison to save him from being murdered by the people. This letter, as also that of the Châlons municipals, was written between night and morning of the 22nd, before it was known in either of those towns that the king was taken: both letters stated that the national guards of the districts had set off in pursuit of the berline. The first thing the Assembly did was to decree that de Bouillé should be deprived of his command, and, if possible, arrested; that none of the troops should serve him or render him any assistance; that no postmaster should furnish him with horses; and that nobody should be allowed that night to quit Paris without a passport signed by the president of the Assembly. On the motion of M. Toulongeon it was agreed that the character of the king should be treated with the respect which was due to it. They next decreed that Latour-Maubourg, Pétion, and Barnave should go and take charge of the royal family, with full power to call into action the national guards and the troops of the line, to give orders to the administrative and municipal bodies, as well as to all officers civil and military, and generally to do and to command whatever might be necessary to the execution of their mission. They recommended these three commissioners to see that the respect due to the royal dignity was properly observed; and they farther decreed that M. Dumas, adjutant-general of the army, should go with them to carry their military orders into execution. At this moment they seem to have apprehended that de Bouillé was in full pursuit, and that the king would not be got into Paris without a battle, or at least a skirmish. The Assembly sat all through the night, or at least a certain number of members remained to keep the permanent session, which had been decreed as soon as the king's flight was known. On the morning of the 23rd a secretary read two letters, one from the municipality and the other from the Jacobin Club of Valenciennes, who demanded arms from the Assembly, and invited all their brethren to join them in arms on the frontiers. The Valenciennes Jacobins announced that the instant the news of the evasion of the king reached their town, the chief commander of the king's troops there hastened to their club with all the officers of the garrison, and took the oath to maintain the constitution and all the decrees of the National Assembly. The Assembly forthwith decreed a vote of thanks to these Jacobins of Valenciennes. A portion of the deputies had been to attend a popular procession; and they now entered the Assembly, to the number of two hundred, escorted by a numerous detachment of grenadiers of the Paris national guard, who all entered with them and ranged themselves in double rows in the middle of the hall, the band of the said grenadiers taking post by the door, and there playing with all their might the Ça Ira. The president announced that the detachment which had honourably escorted the Assembly in the procession demanded permission to take, in the bosom of the Assembly, the oath which had been decreed for all military functionaries. As these people never could have swearing enough, the proposition was received with acclamations; and the said

* Madame Campan, Mémoires.

grenadiers, putting themselves into theatrical attitudes, such as we see repeated in the pictures of David and the other French painters of that time and school, swore sonorously, and when they had done swearing the deputies and the gallery mobs renewed their shouting, and the band at the door their Ça Ira. In the afternoon the three commissioners, who had not yet departed to meet the king, were enjoined to set out immediately. Then more letters from municipalities and from Jacobin Clubs were read, and Robespierre rose and said, "The country is grateful. M. Mangin and the two national guards that stopped the king's carriage have rendered a signal service. I demand that we award them a civic crown!" This proposition was welcomed, and the consideration of it was referred to the constitution committee. Then Thouret rose to call for vengeance and for blood. "A great crime," said he, "has been committed. Under whatever aspect we look at it, whether the king has been carried away by force, or whether he has been led astray by perfidious suggestions, it is necessary that the Assembly characterise the crime and devote the guilty to the vengeance of the laws." And he then presented the project of a decree as drawn up by the constitution committee, proposing—1. That the Assembly should declare traitors to the nation and to the king those who had advised, aided in, or executed the carrying off—*l'enlèvement*—of the king, and all those who, to favour perverse designs, as contrary to the rights of the people as to the interests of royalty, should attempt to raise any obstacle to his return and to his re-union with the representatives of the nation. 2. That the Assembly should order every functionary, civil or military, to do his best to protect the return of the king; to repulse by force, seize, and put under arrest all such as should dare to fail in the respect due to the royal dignity. Robespierre then hinted, in his cautious, sly manner, that it was not enough to speak of those who had advised the king, and that there was no necessity of taking so much precaution about his safety. "In the first part of the decree proposed to you," said he, "there is nothing more than a severe regulation against those who counselled the evasion of the king. The duty of the representatives of the nation surely obliges them to take up a more important question. You all feel, by anticipation, what that question is; I will not develope it, and I demand an adjournment for it. You have determined, in your wisdom, that we are not to fancy any culpable intentions against the person of the king. The measures you have already taken for his security are quite sufficient. Since that event (the flight) the people have shown a conduct so wise, so imposing, that it is impossible not to repose confidence in their moderation. It would be doing an injustice to the people not to regard the precautions already taken as sufficient." Then his friend Rewbell, whose Jacobin republicanism was bolder and more plain spoken, rose to say that the Assembly were quibbling, and describing a fact by an improper word. "The constitution committee," said he, "employs the word *enlèvement*; but was it an *enlèvement*? And have we not courage enough to speak the plain truth? It is because we have not so spoken that we are still where we are!" Here he was loudly applauded by the côté gauche. Rewbell continued: "The word *enlèvement* is misplaced for all the members of the Assembly who are not accomplices of the evasion. The king ought to come back, and we ought to protect his return; but I demand that we strike out of the decree the words *about his re-union with the representatives of the nation*. I will say no more about it; for whoever does not understand me is unworthy of being a Frenchman!" After the tumultuous applauses with which Rewbell's last words were hailed had subsided, Toulongeon exclaimed, "We are going to write some grand pages in the history of France. It is beautiful for the conqueror not to *will* all that he *can*. Let us prejudge nothing! Let us wait till the law has pronounced itself." After some amendments the decree was passed, and a committee, or, rather, several committees were afterwards appointed to co-operate with the committee of research in examining witnesses in order to discover who had advised, aided, assisted, &c., in the flight of the king. On the evening of this day, the 23rd, a very numerous deputation of the national guards, with Lafayette at their head, came to the Assembly to take the oath like the grenadiers. Lafayette, as orator for the deputation, made a speech which contained nothing but the commonplaces which had already been said and re-said *ad nauseam*. Then the president read the form of the oath; and the national guards, raising their hands to heaven, swore; and the musicians of the band of this battalion raised their hands and swore also, and went and seated themselves on the upper benches of the côté droit, even as if they were members of the House; and some of the Swiss guards, and a great many of the *citizens* of Paris, armed with muskets, sabres, pikes, and clubs, came in without announcement, raised their dirty hands, and swore also, and then, traversing the hall, they stopped in front of the president, and roared, "We swear it! We will live free, or die;" and all these oaths were mingled with shouts and vivats, and the tune of Ça Ira, Ça Ira. When these parties had withdrawn, others came in; and the swearing and the hurly-burly were continued for hours. On the morning of the 24th Lafayette's aide-de-camp, Robeuf, presented himself in the Assembly to give an account of his journey and proceedings at Varennes; and in the evening postmaster Drouet and Maître Guillaume, his clerk and comrade, were introduced with great pomp and parade, being attended by a grand deputation of Paris municipals. Drouet made a very good dragoon-like speech, beginning, "I am postmaster at Sainte-Menehould, and ancient dragoon in the regiment of Condé; my comrade Guillaume also is an an-

cient dragoon in the regiment of the Queen"—and describing their hard ride across the country, and all that they did at Varennes, in a homely, straightforward manner. When he had finished his speech, the president told him that he had saved France; that he was an honour and glory to his country, and that the National Assembly would recompense him according to his high deserts. Drouet returned no more to the post-horse business, but was put on the high road to posts of republican eminence, for he had energy and daring, and a thorough fanaticism for the dogmas of the day. In the following year he became a lawgiver, as a member of the National Convention; he voted for the death of the king, and proposed putting to death all the English in France as spies. He will reappear on the scene covered with revolutionary honours and with blood. On the 25th, at half-past seven in the evening, it was announced to the Assembly that the king had arrived, and was surrounded by the mob, who were threatening to hang the three gardes-du-corps that were fastened on the coach-box.* There was a terrible uproar in the hall and all round about it; and the Assembly voted that twenty of their number should go out and endeavour to preserve order.

Suffocated with grief and shame, with dust and heat—for that June month was excessively hot—the royal family had arrived at the barriers a little before seven o'clock, escorted by Lafayette, who had gone out on his white horse beyond Pantin to meet them, and by at least ten thousand national guards, mixed with a multitude ten times more numerous. The Assembly and the municipality had carefully prepared the reception which they were to meet: a placard had been stuck up beforehand in all parts of Paris with these laconic words upon it—"WHOSOEVER APPLAUDS THE KING SHALL BE BEATEN; WHOSOEVER INSULTS HIM SHALL BE HANGED." One part of the order, though the infraction of it was only punishable with a beating, was much more strictly attended to than the other where the penalty was hanging. The Paris citizens stared at the captives *chapeau sur tête*, and one poor fellow, who, out of royalist sentiments, or pity and respect, ventured to take his hat off to the queen, was nearly torn to pieces; and the accursed berline was several times stopped by the bloodthirsty vociferous rabble, swearing that they must at least murder the gardes-du-corps; and, though these gentlemen were not massacred nor hanged, they were beaten while sitting on the coach-box. To avoid passing through the streets of Paris, where worse might have happened, the berline was dragged round the boulevards, through the Champs Elysées, and then into the garden of the Tuileries by the gate of the Pont-Tournant. But even there it was in an instant surrounded by a mob, and apprehensions were entertained for the personal safety of the royal family. The king and the Princess Elizabeth descended and walked precipitately towards the open door of the palace. The Queen, who was the last to quit the berline, had scarcely touched the ground with her foot when the dukes of Noailles and Aiguillon came up to her, and almost carried her in their arms across the garden; for, though hot and inconsiderate patriots, and in very bad odour at the court, these two noblemen could feel for her perilous and deplorable situation. To some one in the crowd, who ventured to whisper a few words of comfort and encouragement, the queen gently said, "Monsieur, I am prepared for everything!" This was graceful and touching; but her poor husband could never be touching or graceful, and he said, most maladroitly, "Well, here I am! I am not lost! I really did not mean to go beyond the frontiers!" And very possibly the next words he uttered were to ask whether dinner was ready. Every gate, door, wicket, and outlet whatsoever of the palace was now guarded, both from within and from without; and the national guards had orders never to lose sight of any of the family, or at least never to permit the king or the queen to go from one room to the other without watching them. Louis lost no flesh, but the effect of these humiliations on Marie Antoinette, and of the agitations she had undergone during the journey, was terrible. "The first time," says Madame Campan, "that I saw the queen after the sad catastrophe of the journey of Varennes, I found her rising from her bed: her features were not extremely altered, but, after her first words of kind greeting, she took off her cap and bade me observe the effect which grief had produced on her head of hair. In a single night her hair had become as white as that of a woman of seventy years! I will not describe the feelings which rent my heart. ..... Her majesty showed me a ring which she had prepared for the Princess of Lamballe: it contained a tress of her white hair, with the inscription, *Blanchis par le malheur*—(Made white by misfortune)."

The commandants of battalions doing duty in the palace occupied day and night a saloon called the Grand Cabinet, which opened into the queen's bed-chamber, and they had strict orders to keep the door of that bed-chamber constantly open, in order that they might have their eyes on the royal family. One day the king shut the door. One of the officers on guard instantly opened it again, telling him that such were his orders, and that he would always open it; and that his majesty, in closing the door, would only give himself unnecessary trouble. For some time the door was even kept open during the night when the queen was in bed, the officer placing himself in an easy chair between the two doors. The only favour obtained was that the inner door of the chamber might be shut when the queen was going to rest and getting up and dressing. She placed between her bed and the door the bed of her first femme-de-chambre; and this bed, furnished with curtains, preserved her

* Thiers, with his usual exactness, says the journey from Varennes to Paris occupied *eight* days.—"*Le voyage était lent, parce que la voiture suivait le pas des gardes nationales. Il dura huit jours de Varennes a Paris.*" The journey began on the morning of the 22nd, and ended, as we have seen, on the afternoon of the 25th!

majesty from the unmannerly, unmanly gaze of the Arguses that watched her. Another day the king, wishing to ascertain to what degree he was a close prisoner, presented himself at a door: the sentinel, musket in hand, and bayonet on his musket, opposed his passage. "Do you know me?" said Louis. "Yes, Sire," said the burgher patriot soldier, "and I know my orders!" But Marie Antoinette, like Mary Queen of Scots, possessed that wonderful fascination of manners which can captivate even the rudest hearts, and make friends in all circumstances. Some of the fiercest of the national guards were moved to pity, and from pity to a perfect devotion to her service; and they not only favoured her secret interviews with the king, but also carried secret messages for her to her friends in Paris. One day an officer of the national guard treated her with some insolence in her own apartment; the commandant of his battalion said he would have him disgraced and dismissed; the queen strongly opposed this intention, and spoke a few words of reason and kindness to the officer, who from that instant became one of her most devoted partisans. At first everything was arranged in order that the garderobe woman who had Gouvion (Lafayette's aide-de-camp) for her lover should have the entire service of the queen, only aided and assisted by her sister and her daughter, who were to play the part of spies as well as herself. Gouvion even placed the portrait of this ungrateful traitress at the foot of the stairs which led to the queen's apartment, in order that the sentinels should permit no other female to pass. The indignant queen complained to her husband, who found spirit enough to remonstrate with Lafayette, who, as commandant-general of the national guards, was still his chief gaoler; and the hero of two worlds was obliged to give orders that not only the portrait but the original should be removed out of the palace.

From the prison we may pass again to the bear-garden. On the evening of the king's arrival Barnave and Pétion made their report to the Assembly about their journey, and about what the king had said to them. Barnave, who was completely won, took good care not to breathe a syllable of his conversations with the queen. When he said that the king had assured them he had never the least intention of going beyond the limits of the kingdom, he was interrupted by loud and angry murmurs. He finished his discourse by praising the wonderful moderation of the people, and by saying that the king, the queen, the princess royal, the dauphin, Madame Elizabeth, and the three gardes-du-corps, dressed as couriers, were all safely deposited in the Château of the Tuileries, under the guard of the commandant-general, M. Lafayette. Pétion said a few words merely to excuse the conduct of the patriots in attempting to murder those body-guards. The Assembly then decreed that the three gardes-du-corps should be instantly transferred from the Tuileries to a common gaol. The Assembly, or a small portion of it, sat all that night, but did nothing more except pass a vote of thanks to Latour-Maubourg, Barnave, and Pétion. On the following day (the 26th of June) a report was presented by the committees of constitution and criminal law, proposing, among other measures, that the ordinary tribunal of the quarter of the Tuileries should examine, without delay, all such persons as had been arrested upon suspicion of being concerned in the king's flight; and that a committee of three of their own House should be appointed to examine the king and queen, and take down their depositions in writing. M. Chabroud represented that the ordinary tribunals were not competent to examine the crime in question. Duport said that they had not yet determined what the crime was, or whether it was high treason against the nation or not. Robespierre thought that the same ordinary tribunal that examined the other prisoners might very well examine the king and queen, and that any other course would be contrary to the principle of equality before the law. "If," said he, "we violate this principle, if we make an exception in favour of the king and queen, we shall lose that confidence of the people which constitutes our only strength. No citizen, no citizeness, no person, however elevated be his dignity, can ever be degraded by the law. The queen is but a citizeness; the king, at this moment, is a citizen accountable to the nation; and, in his quality of first public functionary, he ought to be submissive to the law." This discourse was vehemently applauded, and its arguments were hotly supported and enforced by Buzot and other members of the côté gauche. Duport begged to observe that the king could not be considered as a citizen, but ought to be considered as a power; and that it would be departing from the spirit of their constitution, and of so many of their decrees, to treat him as a common citizen, and to send an ordinary court to interrogate him. Malouet boldly said, "You have decreed the person of the king to be inviolable and sacred, therefore no person has the right to interrogate the king, or demand declarations from him; and even your own committee, if you employ one, ought to be respectful and reserved in addressing the sovereign." Here he was interrupted by shouts of laughter and loud murmurs. Malouet, however, continued, "Without doubt the law is above the king; but you ought to be careful not to denaturalize the king's inviolability; for, in declaring his person sacred and inviolable, you have rendered him a stranger to crime and to all prosecution." After a stormy discussion the Assembly decreed that a committee of three should be appointed to receive the declarations of the king and queen; that these declarations should be received separately, then written down and signed by the king and queen; and that they should be reported to the Assembly, who would afterwards take such steps as might be necessary. The commissioners named were Tronchet, d'André, and Duport, who were all three moderate men; for the côté droit could still form

a majority when they had courage enough to vote. It was then decreed that the permanent session had ceased, and the House, which had not adjourned since the evening of the 20th, now adjourned till the morrow, the 27th. This same evening, at about nine o'clock, the three commissioners went to the Tuileries, found the king alone in his chamber, and read to him the decree of the Assembly. The answer of Louis had been dictated beforehand by Barnave. The king, having observed that he did not understand that he was to undergo an interrogatory, said he would readily make a simple declaration, and that he never could fear rendering public the motives of his conduct. "The motives of my departure," said Louis, repeating the sense if not the very words which Barnave had advised as the best, "were the outrages and the menaces which were offered on the 18th of April to my family and to myself. Since that time a great many writings have endeavoured to provoke violence against my person and my family, and these insults have remained till now unpunished: from that time I believed that there was no security, nor even decent treatment, for me while I remained in Paris. I consequently desired to quit this city. Not being able to do it publicly, I resolved to go out by night and without any suite; but it was never my intention to quit the kingdom: I have had no kind of agreement for such a purpose, either with foreign powers, or with my relations, or with any other Frenchmen that are gone out of the kingdom. I could give a proof of my intention in the fact that lodgings were prepared for me and my family at Montmedy. I chose that place, because, being fortified, my family would have been in safety there; and because, being near to the frontier, I should have been near at hand to oppose every kind of invasion, if any such thing had been attempted; and, finally, I chose Montmedy as the first point of my retreat, where I could stay until the moment when circumstances would permit me to go to some other more suitable part of the kingdom. One of my principal motives in quitting Paris was to overthrow the argument which has been drawn from my not being at liberty, which might give occasion to troubles. If I had had the intention of quitting the kingdom, I would not have published my declaration to the French people the very day of my departure, but would have waited until I was beyond the frontiers. I always retained the earnest desire of returning to Paris, and it is in this sense that the last phrase of the declaration that I left ought to be understood—'Frenchmen, and you Parisians above all, what pleasure should I not have in finding myself in the midst of you!' I never had in my carriage more than 13,200 livres in gold, and 56,000 livres in assignats. I only informed Monsieur my brother of my intended departure a short time beforehand: he is gone into a foreign country only because it was agreed between him and me that we should not travel the same road; and he was to return to France to be near my person."* After a few more sentences to cover and justify the three unfortunate gardes-du-corps, and to prove still farther that he really did not intend to quit the kingdom, the king added, in the words or sense of Barnave, "I have never made any other protest than in the declaration which I left at my departure from the Tuileries. Even that protest is not against the principles of the constitution, but only against the form of assent or sanction, that is to say, against the little liberty I seemed to enjoy, and against the fact that, the decrees not having been presented to me en masse, I could not judge of the whole of the constitution. The principal reproach contained in my mémoire relates to difficulties in the means of administration and execution. I have discovered in my journey that public opinion is decidedly in favour of the constitution. I did not believe that I could fully know that public opinion if I stayed at Paris; but, in the notions which I have personally collected on my route, I have become convinced how necessary it is, even for the support of the constitution itself, to give strength to the powers established for the maintenance of public order. As soon as I discovered the general will, I did not hesitate, as I never have hesitated, to make the sacrifice of all that is personal to me for the happiness of my people, which has ever been the object of my desires. I will willingly forget all the disagreeable things I may have suffered in order to insure the peace and the felicity of the nation." As ordered by the Assembly he signed this declaration, and the three commissioners signed it after him. Tronchet, Duport, and d'André went to the queen, but not till half-past ten o'clock on the following morning; and, being alone with them, her majesty said—"I declare that, as the king desired to set out with his children, nothing in the world could have prevented me from following them. I have sufficiently proved, these two last years, in many circumstances, that I never would quit *him*. What determined me the more was the positive assurance I had from the king that he would never quit the kingdom. If he had had the desire of doing so, all my influence would have been employed in hindering him." The rest of her majesty's declaration was little more than some generous falsehood to screen the companions of their journey. She declared, for example, that Madame de Tourzel knew nothing of the journey until the day of departure, and that she was entirely ignorant of their destination; that the three gardes-du-corps acting as couriers neither knew the destination nor the object of the journey; and that, on the road, they received money to pay the horses, and orders for the route. Her majesty also affirmed that Monsieur and Madame his wife were to rejoin the king in France, and only went through the Low Countries in order not to delay or embarrass the king on his road through want of

* Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., who fled from the Luxembourg Palace nearly at the same time as the king fled from the Tuileries, managed matters so well as to get safely to Brussels with his wife.

post-horses. She was made to sign her declaration as the king had done; and the two papers, in form of *procès verbal*, were presented by the commissioners to the Assembly, who, for some days, appear to have taken no manner of notice of them.* On the 30th of June they black-balled the white flag of the Bourbons for ever, solemnly decreeing, on the motion of Menou (who afterwards distinguished himself in Egypt as a general-officer), that from that time forward the flag of every regiment, &c., should be the national flag of three colours—the glorious tri-color. At the end of this day's sitting the president announced that he had just received a packet containing two letters, one addressed to himself, and the other to the Assembly. "These letters," said he, "are from M. Bouillé. The one addressed to me is in these terms:—'Monsieur le Président, I send you, enclosed, a letter for the National Assembly; I believe it interesting enough to engage you to place it under their eyes.'" Biauzat said, in a passion, that it was a very insolent letter. "Never 'mind that," cried the côté gauche, "it ought to be read." The president said that, although he had only glanced at it, he had seen that it contained some very strong expressions. "What does that signify?" cried the same voices on the left; "read it, read it!" De Bouillé's letter was read accordingly. "This letter," says de Bouillé himself, "which was soon printed and distributed throughout all Europe, was intended by me for no other purpose than to turn upon myself that torrent of popular fury which I feared might prove fatal to the king and royal family. I wished, likewise, to intimidate the numerous enemies of that prince and the monarchy."† The letter, which was dated Luxembourg, the 26th of June, did indeed contain some very strong expressions. "The king," it said, "has just made an effort to break his chains: a blind destiny, to which empires are subject, has decided otherwise; and he is still your prisoner. His life and that of the queen are, I shudder to think it, at the mercy of a people whom you have rendered ferocious, and who are become the scorn of the universe. It is interesting for the king, for you, for what you call the nation, for myself, that the grand object, which was to have been the result of the flight, should be properly known: it is important that the people should know that the king sought no other object than the welfare of an unjust and cruel people. Disengaged as I now am from all the ties which bound me to you, I am going to speak the language of truth, which, doubtless, you will not listen to. The king was become the prisoner of his people: attached to my sovereign, although detesting the abuses resulting from an arbitrary regal power, I groaned at the frenzy of the people; I blamed your operations; but for a long time I hoped that, in the end, the wicked would be confounded, and the anarchy cease; and that we should have some sort of government that would be, at least, supportable. My attachment to my king and my country gave me strength to support the humiliation of corresponding with you. But then I saw that the spirit of faction was becoming dominant, that some wished for a civil war, that some wished for a republic, *and that among the latter was M. Lafayette.* Jacobin clubs were established to destroy the army; the populace were no longer directed but by cabal and intrigue. The king being without power, and even without respect,—the army without chiefs and without discipline,—it was then I proposed to the king and queen that they should quit Paris, in the persuasion that that might operate a useful change: they refused to do so, alleging the promise which they had made not to separate themselves from the National Assembly. The day of the 28th of February (the day of poniards) gave me occasion to renew my pressing instances; but I met with the same refusal. The king feared disorder and bloodshed, and the queen thought as he did. I knew that all the powers of Europe were arming against France, that the king alone could stop them, that our fortified places were dismantled, that the paper-money could not long supply the want of coin, and that the people would not long delay throwing themselves into the arms of the king, to implore him to prevent the misfortunes with which they were threatened. After the obstacles met with to the journey to St. Cloud, on the 18th of April, I made the king see that there was no other means of saving France; and he decided at last, and resolved to go to Montmedy, thence to announce to foreign powers the object of that step, and induce them to suspend their vengeance [*here shouts of laughter proceeded from the whole côté gauche*] until a new Assembly, which the king would have convoked immediately, should have given those sovereigns the satisfaction they had a right to expect. The king was to have issued a proclamation ordering the convocation of a new legislature, and would have become the mediator between foreign powers and his people. [*Here the côté gauche laughed again with all its might.*] The people, placed between the fear of seeing the French territory invaded, and the hope of seeing order re-established, in choosing their new representatives, would have intrusted their interests to wise and moderate men, who would, at length, have repressed the crimes that had sprung out of the popular despotism, and have re-established the reign of reason by the pure light of the torch of liberty: it was this beautiful idea which engaged the king to withdraw himself from the vigilance of M. Lafayette and his satellites. Believe me, all the princes of the universe know that they are threatened by the monster you have generated, and they will soon fall upon our unhappy country—for I cannot prevent myself calling it still *my* country. I know our forces. Every kind of hope is chimerical, and soon will your chastisement serve as a memorable example for posterity: it is in this way that a man ought to speak who has all along had pity for you. Do

* Hist. Parlement. † Mémoires.

not accuse any one of a plot against your infernal constitution; the king did not draw up the orders which were given; it was I alone who ordered everything; it is against me alone that you ought to sharpen your daggers and prepare your poisons. You will answer for the life of the king and the queen to all the kings of Europe! If you touch a hair of their head one stone will not be left on another in Paris! [*Here there were fresh peals of laughter, loud and long continued.*] I know the roads; I will guide the foreign armies. This letter is but the forerunner of the manifestoes of the sovereigns of Europe; they will warn you in a more emphatic manner of the war which you have to fear. Adieu, Messieurs."

The Assembly, with affected magnanimity, passed to the order of the day; but nevertheless a price was set upon the head of the author of the letter soon after. Most of the great powers of Europe were, as we have said, occupied about other matters, foremost among which was the final partition of Poland; and de Bouillé himself says, that he saw no dispositions among them for any invasion of France, and that he knew at the time it was impossible to put his threats into execution. For once we agree with Thiers, that, but for the generous motive which dictated it, and which was to turn the torrent of popular fury from the king and queen upon himself, de Bouillé's letter was a mad one. Thiers is, however, wrong when he taxes the fugitive general with falsehood in representing the military forces of the country as being in a contemptible state: those forces were in that condition when de Bouillé wrote, and it was only through the long time allowed them before the allied powers attempted to strike their blow that the patriot armies were got into some order and consistence. If the armies of the allies had really been ready to march into France in the summer of 1791, it would have been no laughing matter for Frenchmen!

The National Assembly was now drawing near the end of its days, and it had been for a long time so much less powerful than the Jacobin Club, that it is rather in the great hall of the Rue St. Honoré, and in the Jacobin journals, than in the Salle de Manège and Assembly decrees, that we ought to look for the grand effects produced by the flight to Varennes. The journalists exhausted their imaginations, though fertile in that particular, in heaping abuse, and ridicule, and low buffoonery on poor Louis, and in stifling any emotions of pity by laughter and contempt. Camille Desmoulins declared in his paper that it was all through his gluttony that the king had been stopped; that, being at Sainte-Menehould, "our crowned Sancho Panza" recollected the place was famed for pigs' pettitoes, and would stop to eat some on the spot; —"not recollecting the proverb, *Plures occidit gula quàm gladius.* The delay in getting the pigs' feet ready was fatal to him." Brissot, or some other foul-mouthed Jacobin that wrote in his newspaper, represented the king as crying like a whipped baby when he was stopped by patriot Drouet, and put coarse and foul language—the offensive indecencies of the French vulgar—into the king's mouth, who was only a vulgar man in personal appearance.* Fréron, in his journal, said that the king had called for wine at the village of Pantin, near Paris, and had re-entered his capital dead drunk! "I saw the sight," exclaims Fréron in a rapture, "I saw this ci-devant king, this Antoinette with her young wolf called the dauphin; I saw this Bourbon Elizabeth, and the little princess royal. Gods! what a spectacle! More than a hundred and fifty thousand men escorted them. Near to Pantin, the patriot Santerre, who was commanding his battalion, was recognised by the king, who wanted to speak to him; but the brave Santerre, merely saluting, turned his back on him. The Sieur Mottié found means of approaching and of speaking to Louis and his wife, while the carriage rolled on; but, as that conversation lasted too long and became suspicious, the national guards gave him to understand that that was not his proper post. Mounted on his white horse, Mottié then put himself at the head of that army, as if to make for himself, in the eyes of the people, the merit of having brought back the king to the capital, whereas, instead of having contributed to his return, he had favoured his flight.... .....This was not a triumphal march; it was the funeral procession of the monarchy! And how delightful it was to see those ci-devant nobles, the three gardes-du-corps, dressed like postilions, and chained by the legs to the coach-box!" These journalists attempted to make the queen as horrible as they made her husband ridiculous: they allowed that she had shown presence of mind and courage at every crisis; but they said that it was the courage of ferocity, the presence of mind of a Catherine de' Medici. They described her countenance, on her arrival at Paris, as being sombre and savage, and her eyes, reddened by dust and heat, as being bloody eyes, greedy for the sight of the blood of French patriots. There was but slight probability that Barnave would be more useful to the court than Mirabeau had been; for he had scarcely set his foot in Paris ere these journalists, in loud chorus, proclaimed that he had sold himself to the queen. The Société Mère and other Jacobin Clubs in the provinces petitioned the Assembly not to pronounce any opinion upon the recent conduct of the king, until they should have obtained the opinions of the eighty-three departments of the kingdom. Brissot analysed the different schemes which were proposed, and wrote them out with more than the brevity and simplicity of an old saw, or proverb:—1. The French might abolish royalty, and substitute

* Even Mr. Wilberforce has left upon record a strong and coarse description of the person of poor Louis, whom he saw at Fontainebleau in the year 1783, while making a tour in France with his friend Pitt:—"Here, at Fontainebleau, we dined and supped with ministers, and every night we spent with the queen, who is a monarch of most engaging manners and appearance. The king is so strange a being (of the hog kind), that it is worth going a hundred miles for a sight of him, especially when a boar-hunting."—*Letter from Wilberforce to Henry Bankes, Esq., in Life by his Sons.*

the republican form of government: or—2. They might have the king, and the question of royalty or no royalty, judged by the nation: or—3. They might have the king judged by the National Court: or—4. They might make him abdicate at once: or—5. They might put him under an interdict, and have a regent: or—6. They might leave him on the throne, and give him an elective council of ministers, to be elected by the people, like the deputies of the Assembly. "Every Frenchman," said Brissot, "that does not study these questions with the greatest attention, is not worthy of being free. The first opinion presented to the public was very decisive—'*No more kings; let us be republicans!*'—Such was the cry of the Palais-Royal, of some of our clubs, of some of our journalists; but their enthusiasm has not made, out of the Palais-Royal, so many proselytes as might have been expected. The Société Mère of Jacobins have even received with disapprobation a deputation from the Cordeliers Club, who suggested this idea. It seemed as if it was a blasphemy in their eyes. This repugnance for the *name* of a state in which we really are seems very singular to the eyes of a philosopher! but this singularity is only the fruit of a secret calculation." No doubt it was so. Even Robespierre, and more daring men than he, thought with Pétion that the French were not yet quite ripe enough. When the Rolands and their republican clique spoke of the glorious avatar, on the day of the king's flight, Robespierre, who was in a terrible fright, pretended not to understand them. "A republic," said he with a laugh, "Why, what is that?"* The Socialists, or the writers in the 'Iron-Mouth,' the journal of Fauchet's Social Circle, declared that France wanted neither king nor regent, neither protector nor president; and that it was high time to have done with all such devourers of men, and to leave the French to govern themselves according to the principles of eternal truth and the easy rules of Socialism. As a regency was much spoken of, and as he was named as secretly aspiring to that dignity, the Duke of Orleans protested in a public newspaper that he had never wished for, and would never accept of, any such office, being only anxious to remain a patriot and simple citizen. It was at this moment that a young republican, "destined to high functions," first made himself heard of in the world: this was Antoine Louis Leon Saint-Just, whom we shall soon find writing his long name in letters of blood, but who now merely wrote and published a crude republican essay, entitled "Esprit de la Révolution, et de la Constitution de France," and a poem in twenty cantos, entitled "Orgon," in the salacious style of the "Pucelle" of the patriarch and prophet Voltaire. In the great Jacobin Hall, Danton, bolder than Robespierre, declared, as early as the 24th of June, that the individual called the King of the French had clearly forfeited his crown by his flight; that it would be a cruel thing to put him to death, and that the proper thing to do would be to consider him and treat him as an idiot. In the course of that evening Lafayette sent his excuses in writing to the club for not being able to attend their important deliberations on account of his important duties as commandant-general, and promised to be present at their next session; and in the course of the same evening postmaster Drouet repeated before the tribune of the Jacobins the same narrative of the arrest which he had delivered to the Assembly. Subsequently the said Drouet went the round of all the political clubs and societies of the capital, making the same speech to all of them, and receiving from them such honours as they could give. For a week Drouet was the lion of the capital, and what little humanity was ever was in him was driven out by mad vanity and the contagious fanaticism. On the 26th of June, the day after the king's return, there was read in the Jacobin Hall an address of the affiliated Jacobin Club of Marseilles to the French people. As if influenced by the hot climate of the south, the Marseilles Jacobinism was, from the very beginning, of the hottest and fiercest kind; and it was heads and hands from this particular part of France that suggested and executed some of the most sanguinary measures of this sanguinary revolution. For the present these red-hot southerns recommended the French people to render a particular homage to Robespierre, "that worthy representative of the nation, that apostle of the national liberty." "He is the vigilant sentinel," said the address, "whom nothing can take by surprise; he is the only emulator of the Roman Fabricius, whose virtues the despot Pyrrhus lauded in these celebrated words—'It is easier to turn the sun from his course than to turn Fabricius from the paths of honour.' Oh, sacred roof of the Jacobins, may you still re-echo the truths which Robespierre and Danton have let you hear! Prolong the sounds of them to all the clubs of the empire. Our walls shall resound like yours, and repeat their glorious names!" After telling the Jacobins of Paris that they would be answerable for the safety of the precious days of Robespierre and Danton, that they ought to defend their lives even at the expense of their own, the Marseilles Jacobins said, "At the least appearance of danger we will fly to your assistance, followed by excellent patriots of the departments, to tear the mask from all hypocrites, and place truth and liberty on the national throne between Robespierre and Danton." With such encouragements as these, with addresses, vows, self-sacrificing protestations from most of the Jacobin Clubs of France, the Great Mother waxed rapidly bolder and more bloodthirsty. On the very next evening the Jacobins formally debated how the National Assembly ought to treat the king. The discussion was commenced by Girey-Dupré, a young littérateur, journalist, and co-laborateur of Brissot. "Oh, gentlemen Jacobins," said this stripling, "you have given a great example to the peoples of the earth in pro-

* Madame Roland, Mémoires.

claiming the rights of man, and in securing those rights to yourselves! You have now a grand lesson to give to kings, in teaching them that the supreme tribunal of heavenly justice is not the only one before which they may be summoned, and that they have also their judges upon earth. A great crime has been committed, the greatest of all crimes, if we consider who is the offender and who the offended, and what the nature of the offence. The offender is a man in whom you were pleased to concentrate all the splendour of the empire, whom you have wished to environ with all your majesty; a man who had nothing to do but to think how he might make you forget, by force of repentance and virtuous deeds, all the crimes and all the miseries of his former government; a man who ought to have considered himself fortunate, too fortunate, if, instead of loading him with benefits, you had merely permitted him to seek a refuge in your contempt against the anger of your execration. The offended party are a great people, a people good, magnanimous, who have persisted in only seeing a feeble friend in their cruel enemy, who have never been wearied of pardoning him, and who, perhaps, might yet pardon him, if they were not convinced that it concerns their glory and their safety to be for once, and once only, rigorous and inflexible. The offence is the blackest of ingratitudes, the most revolting of all abuses of confidence, the most atrocious of rebellions, the signal of civil and foreign war, the sure source of every disaster, if it had but depended on the offender. Well then! I do not come to cry vengeance, I only come to demand justice in my own name, in the name of France, in the name of the whole universe. Yes, the universe has its eyes fixed upon us! Yes, the universe expects a great act of justice to cry into the ears of tyrants, 'Understand, O princes of nations, instruct yourselves, ye who govern and judge the earth!' Gentlemen, we can punish a perjured king, and we ought to do it. We can do it, since the constituents are above the constituted, since the power which delegates is above the power delegated, and the sovereign people above their functionaries." In proving that they ought to punish the king, the orator treated with the utmost scorn the constitutional fiction that the king can do no wrong, ministers alone being responsible. He urged that they must do one of two things, either keep their constitution and have no Louis XVI. for king, or lose their constitution and keep their Louis XVI. "He has told you himself in the paper he left behind him," continued this young man, "that this constitution does not suit him: if he had escaped he would never have returned among us until that constitution was destroyed and a monarchical one built upon its ruins. Talk not of binding him by fresh oaths! His oaths are no security. You have seen him running among you to meet the oaths proposed, you have heard him appealing a hundred times to his known character and his respect for the sanctity of an oath. Never doubt it! He will make you all the declarations that you may choose to exact from him; his mouth will swear to maintain your constitution, while his heart is swearing to annihilate it; and be persuaded that, in as far as he is able, he will never be perjured to his inward vow. What then would be our position? Attacked on every side by the princes that are going to arm in his quarrel, and who will never believe in his conversion to the constitution, for they know the hearts of kings, we should be betrayed within by the man charged with our defence, by the supreme chief of the public force, who would put his accomplices at the head of our government and at the head of our armies!" Girey-Dupré finished his speech to the Jacobins by demanding that Louis de Bourbon should be provisorily despoiled of all the royal functions until he could be tried before a grand jury, which should meet at the latest on the 30th of August next, the terms of his motion hinting very plainly that the proper punishment for the king would be that which Charles I. met with in England. An unnamed Jacobin, who spoke next, approved of everything that had been said, except the mention of the block and the axe, and moved as an amendment that the phrase should be left out which referred to Charles I. of England. To this another unnamed facetiously responded that he would readily second this amendment, provided only the club would also agree that all the histories, engravings, pamphlets, and accounts of the decollation of the English king which had been collected by the society should be publicly burned. There was a good deal of laughing at this jest—a jest which proves that the Jacobins had, at a very early period, contemplated and studied the bloody finale of Louis's history, without the faculty or the wish to discover any difference between the lives and characters of the two princes, Charles and Louis. Anthoine, another potential Jacobin, thought there could be no doubt that Louis had merited death by his treacherous and ignominious flight; but conceived it might be magnanimous and wise to spare at least his life. "All his plots and projects," said he, "oblige you to make sure of his person, as you can have no security in his oaths or faith. He is a prisoner, and a prisoner he must ever be, for you know that if he were free for a moment he would fly again. Now, I ask you, can a state prisoner be the chief of the executive power of a great nation? It has been proposed to you to finish your constitution, to present it to him as a finished whole, and then leave him the choice to accept it or reject it. What absurdity! He will accept it, and plot and act as before. Louis XVI. has been a liar, and will still lie, and every despot will applaud his lies. The National Assembly ought to degrade and dismiss him; and after his degradation he ought to be strictly guarded, for his inviolability forbids our making him undergo any capital punishment. I will not speak of the fate which ought to be reserved for the criminal but unfortunate wife of this

monarch. We have her completely in our power, and this ought to quench the desire of vengeance in our hearts. The crown being taken from Louis XVI., to whom ought it to be intrusted? The dauphin, the constitutional successor, must naturally be called to the throne with a regent. But who shall be that regent? The absence and the culpable conduct of the king's two brothers deprive them of every chance. The Prince of Condé, upon our frontiers and in arms against us, can never be regent. Would d'Orleans accept the office? Would Conti be proper or disposed to fill it?" A loud voice cried "No!" Anthoine then went on to say that it did not much signify who should be regent, and that, perhaps, it would be better to choose some individual who was not a member of the royal family. He, however, thought it necessary to warn them that, if it should be decided to have a council of regency, that council would certainly be composed of nobles, and rich men who would manage to get elected by the departments and the National Assembly. "Such an election," said he, "would give us nothing but a council of scoundrels directed by the king. Let us all unite our efforts to avoid such a disgrace to the country: let us rally round our constitution, let us examine its defects, in order to correct them: let us have a dauphin, a regent, in short, a king, as, *for some time to come*, we may still have need of a single head, to lower the heads of the ambitious!" And the young orator then hurled his thunderbolts at the heads of the Lafayettes, the Baillys, the Barnaves, the Lameths. "Where," said he, "are those great men who occupy the offices of the administration; who fill the committees of the municipality and of the Assembly; who deserted this tribune as soon as they found that their discourses were not taken as oracles—as soon as they found that we wanted deeds, not words; and who only re-appeared a moment among us when they felt it prudent to seek an asylum against the indignation of the people among the Jacobins, among the friends of the constitution?" Charles Lameth, who was present, attempted to defend himself from these dangerous inculpations, which he said were ill suited to a society of friends. After some violent altercation, in which Lameth was backed by a rather numerous party, Anthoine declared that, though he had thought it his duty to denounce an evident coalition between the aristocracy and some of the military, he had not intended to include M. Charles Lameth.*

On the 29th of June two hundred and seventy deputies of the côté droit of the Assembly drew up a strong protest against all the decrees and measures which suspended the exercise of the royal authority, insisting that all such measures were contrary to the constitution and a direct attack upon the inviolability of the sacred person of the king. On the 5th of July Foucault, an ex-marquis, presented the protest to the Assembly, but was permitted neither to read it nor to make a speech about it; for the mere name of the thing excited a terrible tumult, and the president adjourned the house. The protest or declaration appears to have been soon printed and published. It was, apparently, the production of Abbé Maury, whose signature stood first in the list. It powerfully exposed the situation, the actual imprisonment, of the royal family, the cruelty of depriving the king of any concern in the education of his only son, and the insults the monarch was perpetually exposed to in his own palace by the guards or gaolers placed over him by Lafayette and the Assembly. It declared that the Assembly had usurped the whole royal power and all other powers whatsoever; that they had seized the great seal; that they had made their decrees imperative and omnipotent without the sanction of the king, which the constitution declared to be indispensable; that commissaries in their names were running through the provinces to exact the oaths which they had decreed, and to give their orders to the army; that, in short, the monarchy had been destroyed, the very appearance of royalty obliterated, and an interim republic substituted for it. It asserted, in the names of all who signed it, that, if they followed common rules of conduct and the impulse of their own feelings of horror and disgust, they would fly from the Assembly for ever; and that it was only for the sake of the king and his family—"only for the beloved blood of the Bourbons"—and in the hope of yet being of some use to them, that they remained at their posts, with the full determination, however, of taking henceforward no part whatever in any of the debates of the Assembly, excepting only such as had reference to the sovereign and the royal family. Among the two hundred and seventy signatures we find those of Malouet, Bonnay, Cardinal la Rochefoucault, Murinais, Royer, and of a great many ex-nobles and ecclesiastics. The pledge as to not voting or debating was observed; but this only facilitated the triumph of the côté gauche, and the carrying of several decrees which might have been rejected.

At these exciting moments one of the most constant attendants in the hall of the Jacobins was Thomas Paine, who did not content himself with playing the part of listener and applauder, but sometimes spoke, and more frequently wrote in journals and pamphlets. He passed for a great republican luminary; and his opinions, particularly when written, and put into decent French by native littérateurs, were always received with wonderful deference. "The famous Paine," says Dumont, who had just returned to Paris from Switzerland, "was very intimate in the house of Condorcet: he believed that he alone had made the American revolution, and that he was called to make a new revolution in France." The author of the 'Rights of Man' was constantly recommending a republic, something like that of the United States, but a good deal more democratical; and he spoke the words of truth and com-

* Jacobin Journal, as cited in Hist. Parlement.

mon sense when he said that the French had made a republic already in everything but the name, and that the co-existence of a king and of such a constitution as they had framed was incompatible, anomalous, impossible. Even before the flight to Varennes Paine had been busily engaged in writing arguments and manifestoes for a Gallican republic. His most zealous disciple was Achille Duchâtelet, who had served in America under Lafayette, and had there imbibed some crude republican sentiments, to which he added certain extravagant notions about the perfectibility of mankind by means of altering their governments, which he had since contracted through his close intimacy with Condorcet. When the king fled Duchâtelet waited upon Dumont with a manuscript written in English, hoping he would translate it and give some necessary developments to its meaning. The manuscript was in the form of a proclamation to the French nation. It was nothing less than a manifesto against royalty, and an invitation to the French to take advantage of the opportunity and form a republic. It was the composition of Thomas Paine; but Duchâtelet had determined to adopt it as his own, to put his name to it, to have it printed and placarded in all the streets of Paris, and to take the consequences. Dumont, though a republican by birth, ventured to doubt whether the republican form of government would be the best suited for a country like France, and whether, if it could be proved to be so, this was the best moment for trying the experiment. He represented to Duchâtelet the impropriety of thus raising the republican standard without the concurrence of the National Assembly. "At this moment of the flight," says Dumont, "they knew scarcely anything; they were quite in the dark as to the means of the king, as to his alliances, as to the army of de Bouillé, and as to the disposition of the provinces. I asked Duchâtelet whether he had consulted with any of the chiefs of the revolution; whether he had seen Sièyes, Lafayette, or any of those directors of affairs. Not a bit; he had seen and consulted nobody: he was acting alone; it was Paine and he—an Anglo-American and a thoughtless young man belonging to the French noblesse—that were putting themselves forward to change the face of France! I positively refused to translate the manuscript. Nevertheless the republican placard, signed Duchâtelet, covered the walls of Paris on the very next day. It was at first denounced in the National Assembly. The idea of a republic had scarcely presented itself, directly and nakedly, to any of them, and this first signal carried consternation to all the côté droit, and to the more moderate portion even of the côté gauche. Cazalés and Malouet proposed that Duchâtelet should be prosecuted; but Chapélier and a numerous party, fearing that they might stir up the fire instead of extinguishing it, succeeded in carrying the order of the day, with a considerando that the republican manifesto was insensate, and the author of it a madman."

When Duchâtelet sounded some of the chiefs, he met, at first, with but little encouragement. Sièyes refused his concurrence with marks of contempt, and a good many of them told him it was not yet time. "If I was not deceived in my information," adds Dumont, "Lafayette, in particular, repulsed those who tried to speak to him about a republic, saying that it would take twenty years to ripen liberty and make republicans of the French people. But the seed thrown by the audacious hand of Paine began to germinate in a good many heads. Condorcet, at the moment of the king's flight, had become a decided republican. Clavière, Pétion, Buzot, met together to discuss this question. They spoke about it at Biddermann the banker's, where I was residing; and I there saw formed the first filaments of that opinion which soon grew strong in the southern provinces. Here are some of the strongest things that were said in these private committees:—The king has lost public confidence, and will never recover it. The nation can never forget that flight, after so many positive and even gratuitous oaths; the king himself can never forget that he was brought back by force, and that he reigns by an act of grace over a people that despise him. The elements of the monarchy are destroyed; the king can no longer appear in any other light than in that of a conspirator; and nothing can be so absurd as to intrust great powers in the constitution to the man who has declared himself its enemy. This reasoning was very strong against the king, but it was very weak against royalty. They did not draw this distinction, because a difficulty presented itself, which they could not overcome without placing on the throne a branch of the Bourbon family. This last scheme pleased none of the men I have named. The Duke of Orleans appeared to them too despicable a personage. They also said that for two years past the king had not governed, but the National Assembly; that all the obstacles came from him, and all the resources and powers from the Assembly; that all the resistance to government was owing to his partisans, and that all the obedience was rendered to the Assembly. 'In short,' said Condorcet, 'if a republic is made by revolution, if the people rise against the court, the consequences will be terrible; but, if we make a republic now that the Assembly enjoys its omnipotence, the transition will not be difficult; and it will be better to make it at present, when the king is powerless and has nothing to hold by, than when his constitutional power shall have been restored to him; for then his dethronement will require an effort.' As for royalty itself, it was now regarded as a scarecrow for children, and as a puppet for men. I never heard in these meetings any true arguments in favour of monarchy. The greatest mischief is to quit what we know for what we do not know. To ask for a republic is very easy, and signifies nothing; but what form of republic is it to be? How many kinds of republic are there, or have there been? How can man reason on so

vague a word?" Condorcet's opinion appears to us the frankest and the best that was emitted at this crisis; and if the National Assembly had acted upon it there would have been at least a chance that the inevitable progress of the revolution might have been less sanguinary and atrocious—a *faint* chance, we confess, for Condorcet was no statesman or man of action; the vast majority of the Assembly had proved themselves neither the one nor the other; the masses had been appealed to, and had had arms put into their hands; the Jacobin clubs were already far stronger than the Assembly, and the masses and the clubs had chosen for their leaders and directors the Robespierres, Marats, and Dantons—men not to be satisfied without blood. Could Condorcet believe that, if they had established his model republic on the morrow, French republicans would have respected the lives of the royal family? Would they not have kept the members of that family as hostages in close state prisons? and would not their heads have flown from their shoulders on the provocation of foreign invasion, or of the civil war in the Vendée, or of the first royalist plotting? And would the unsworn priests and the suspected aristocrats have kept their heads on their shoulders by any safer tenure? Condorcet's house, with Thomas Paine for chief oracle, continued to be the centre and cradle of this nascent Gallican republicanism. Sièyes, who continued to attack the feeble remains of the royal power, still protested that he had no wish for a republic; and, being accused of favouring the new doctrine, he inserted a letter in the 'Moniteur' to refute the charge, and make his profession of political faith. "The best social regimen," said the ex-abbé, "is in my opinion that in which not one, not some men alone, but in which all men tranquilly enjoy the greatest latitude of possible liberty. If I perceive this character in the monarchic state, it is clear I ought to prefer it to all others. Here is all the secret of my principles, and my profession of faith honestly made. Perhaps I shall soon have to discuss this question in full. I will enter into the list with the *bonâ fide* republicans; I will not oppose them with cries of impiety and anathema; I will make use of no injurious expressions. I know a good many of them, whom I honour and love with all my heart. I will give them arguments and reasons, and I hope to be able to prove, not that monarchy is preferable in this or that circumstance, but that, on every hypothesis, men are more free under it than under a republic. But now I hasten to add, in order that I may not be misunderstood, that my ideas about monarchy are very different from those of the men who made the king's civil-list. For example, I do not think that the power of corrupting and conspiring is a necessary element of true royalty. I believe, on the contrary, that nothing is more likely to spoil it and destroy it. A public allowance of thirty millions of livres is very contrary to liberty, and, as I understand it, very anti-monarchical." Paine responded to the abbé in a long letter, which Brissot inserted in his journal. He told him that he was just on the point of making a journey to England,* but that he accepted his challenge as a republican of good faith, that he accepted it with pleasure, and with the perfect certainty that, let Sièyes write as much as he pleased, he could refute him in a pamphlet of fifty pages, and explain to the world the superiority of the republican system in all cases and countries over that nullity called a constitutional monarchy. He declared that it was the American system he took as his model; that he wept for the miseries of humanity, which all arose out of despotic governments; and that it was "against the whole hell of monarchy that he had declared war." Sièyes, never averse to a controversy, replied to Paine in a long article in the 'Moniteur;' but, as Thomas was busy printing, and making, or trying to make, converts in London, nothing more came of this pretty quarrel.

Marat, who never had much health, and who took but little care of what he had, fell so sick at this critical moment that he could no longer write. It was even reported that the great man, "the most intrepid defender of the Rights of Man, the writer most honoured by the hatred of the aristocrats and conspirators whom he had unmasked, the true friend of the people," was dead, was basely and secretly murdered by some of his innumerable enemies. But Freron, in his 'Orator of the People,' gladdened the souls of the patriots by assuring them that he had recently dined in company with Marat at Vincennes; that he was alive, though sick; "and may it please heaven," added Freron, "soon to restore that writer, so dear to the country, to the prayers which are offered up for him by all patriots." Condorcet, Clavière, Buzot, and others started a periodical work entitled 'The Republican,' and continued for some time to exert all their eloquence and all their

* Paine was going to London to publish the first part of his 'Rights of Man,' which did not appear till the month of August of this year. Dumont was going to London at the same time, and he chanced to have for his fellow-travellers Paine and my Lord Daer, whom he characterises as "a young Scotchman enchanted with liberty and republicanism, an honest and virtuous enthusiast, who would have it believed that he was rendering the greatest service to his country in inoculating it with French principles." Basil William, Lord Daer, the eldest of five sons of Dunbar, Earl of Selkirk, who successively bore that title of courtesy, will be remembered by many of our readers as the "noble, youthful Daer" of Burns's warm-hearted lines. He died, at the age of thirty-one, about three years after the time of which Dumont speaks. Between the rabid enthusiasm of Paine and the gentlemanly enthusiasm of Daer, the quiet Genevese must have had rather a stormy journey. Like a great many other people—and it is said that Burke was among this number—Dumont took the expatriated stay-maker, schoolmaster, and excise-man, for a native American. He says of him: "I had seen Paine five or six times before, and I could pardon *in an American* his prejudices against England; but his incredible *amour propre* and his presumptuous self-conceit disgusted me. He was mad with vanity. To hear him, one might have thought that he alone had done everything in America. The man was a caricature of the vainest of Frenchmen. He believed that his book on the 'Rights of Man' might supply the place of all the books that had ever been written; and he told us, without disguise, that if it was in his power he would destroy all the libraries in the world without hesitation, in order to root out the errors of which they were the deposit, and so recommence, by the 'Rights of Man,' a new chain of ideas and principles. He knew by heart all his own writings, and he knew nothing else. He even recited to us some love-letters, in a most fantastical style, which he had composed in his youth, and which were worthy of Mascarilla. He was a man of wit, full of imagination, gifted with a popular eloquence, and tolerably clever in managing the ridiculous. My curiosity about this celebrated writer was more than satisfied during this journey, and I never saw him again."—*Souvenirs.*

logic in recommending a republic to the French people; but it was neither logic nor eloquence like theirs that was at all likely to convert the people and fill them with this enthusiasm;—the mob-republicanism of France was to proceed from more vulgar sources, and for some time the Parisians seemed very well satisfied that there should be a nominal royalty, but without power, without money, without consideration. Madame Roland sported her pen in this publication; but her feminine republicanism was as little suited to the vulgar taste as were the learned abstractions of Condorcet. Still, however, it may be admitted that this publication helped to ripen some of the more refined of the French, and to convert a good many *petites maitresses*, and some *muscadins*, as the dandies of Paris were then called. Pétion and Brissot kept up in the great Jacobin hall the discussion of the questions whether the king ought to be tried, and how he ought to be punished. Pétion more particularly laboured to show that the constitutional inviolability of the sovereign could not cover such acts as Louis XVI. had lately committed. Brissot said that the ancient Egyptians, believing royalty a necessary element of government, but wishing to deliver themselves from the evil of animate kings, very wisely put a stone block upon the throne; and that the Seikhs put upon their throne a Koran and a sabre, and lived like republicans. "If," said Brissot, "this stone king and this Koran are incapable of punishment, they are also incapable of offence; they cannot conspire against the nation. Our declaration of the Rights of Man exacts that all citizens be equal before the law. Now, this equality ceases to exist from the moment that one man is placed above the law, and every article of that declaration of rights will begin to perish the very moment people have the audacity to trample one of them under foot. The sovereignty of the people acknowledges no superior. Now, if a man is privileged to conspire against the nation, without our being able to punish him, it is clear that that privileged being is the sovereign, and the nation his slave. I can no longer see in him anything but a god, or in the pretended citizens anything but twenty-five millions of brutes or serfs. The constitution affirms that all powers are derived from the people, and are all subordinate to the people. Now, the universal and perpetual inviolability of one man cannot be derived from the people; for the people cannot make one greater than themselves; and to make one greater than themselves would be to overthrow that subordination in which all the delegates of the people ought to stand in regard to them." After a great deal more of the hardest and dryest logic, all meant to prove that the people might cut off the heads of the king and queen whenever they chose, Brissot endeavoured to demonstrate the consoling doctrine that the French people had nothing to fear from the vengeance of other kings and tyrants. With a bold French licence as to respective numbers, and all the other circumstances attending those campaigns, with a rhapsody of lies at which George Washington and the best of the Americans would have blushed, he narrated how a handful of undisciplined Americans had beaten thirty thousand English and more, only because they wished to be free and republicans. And what was America, with its diminutive population, without discipline, without fortified places, without artillery, without money, without a navy, compared to the rich, the beautiful and populous France, which had all these things in abundance? He knew very well that the powers of Europe were making an unholy league to strangle liberty; but their peoples, their hitherto blind and submissive subjects, enlightened by the declaration of the Rights of Man, would very soon overset this coalition, and find them employment at home. It was impossible that the nations of Europe could long be blind to the stream of light which issued from France and extended over the universe. "What," said Brissot, "is now the calculation or the object of these crowned heads? To hinder the propagation of that declaration of the Rights of Man which threatens all thrones; to preserve as long as possible the prestige which surrounds them. Now, is it in arming against us, in inundating France with their troops, that foreign kings will prevent the contagion of liberty? Can they believe that their soldiers will not hear our holy canticles? that they will not be ravished by our constitution, where all places are open to all, where man is equal to man? Ought they not to fear that their soldiers, throwing off their chains, will imitate the conduct of the Germans employed by the English in America, and enrol under the flag of liberty? Not only have they to fear the men that will desert and remain resident among us, but they have also to fear those who, wearied of an impious and unavailing war, shall return to their homes; for these latter will naturally draw a comparison between their own condition and the happy condition of Frenchmen, between the perpetuity of their own slavery and the liberty and equality enjoyed in France: they will find their feudal lords more insolent, their governments more oppressive, their taxes heavier—and they will all revolt! The American revolution engendered the French; and our revolution will be the sacred fire from which will issue sparks to set on fire the nations whose sovereigns dare approach us!" Men were mistaken in thinking that the English government could go to war whenever it liked: without doubt the English nation had no longer any political liberty, but still the people were strong enough to check King George's warlike propensities. But, even if England were mad enough to go to war, what had they to fear from her? Was she not borne to the earth under the weight of an enormous and daily increasing national debt? Was she not losing, in a disastrous war with Tippoo Saib, all her possessions in the East? Was not Ireland ready to rebel and sepa-

rate from her? Was there not a constant emigration from poor Scotland? "Let her extend her victories and multiply her fleets as she will, her debt will not be diminished, nor will her Indian possessions be saved. Give her for her allies the versatile Nizam, the perjured Mahratta, and the Great Mogul, and still her empire there will be none the firmer, for it only exists in imagination. Now it is impossible that this dream of the imagination can last much longer [*it has lasted half a century since this precise political demonstrator had his head put into the common sack which received the bloody choppings of the guillotine*]; it is impossible that six thousand English can long hold in chains twenty millions of Indians, and impose respect and fear on one hundred millions more. Here is, without a doubt, what the English minister, Pitt, sees; and Pitt would not willingly precipitate his ruin by declaring a war which the *generous people* would hold in execration. Pitt has no wish to complete the destruction of his country by beginning a war which would exhaust all the resources he has need of to support an empire which only hangs by a thread!" If England was not to be feared, neither was there any cause to fear Holland and Prussia. Holland, governed by a woman and a fool, was a prey to factions, with the lower orders of the people ever ready to revolt, without money or credit, without fleets or troops. Prussia was equally poor, and a malady of desertion had broken out among her boasted troops: she was more fearful of the aggrandisement of the House of Austria, than anxious to put down liberty in France; and her king was nothing but a voluptuous, mystical, vain, empty-headed egotist. Was it Austria that France had to fear? The Emperor Leopold was far more anxious to establish peace in the scattered parts of his own empire, than to make war on his neighbours. The Low Countries, so lately subdued, were disaffected; the people were shrieking in their chains; the brave Belgians were beginning to see clear, and would all revolt again at the very first opportunity. There was revolution in Poland; and the neighbours of the Poles, the emperor's stubborn Hungarian subjects, were anxious to follow the example. His Italian dominions were a very hothouse of sedition and insurrection. And, with all these troubles upon his hands, and with a prospect of a new war with the Turk, would the weak and timid Leopold provoke a war with twenty-five millions of free and gallant Frenchmen? As for the Germanic League, composed of petty princes and margraves, it was but a political phantom. It was true they had given refuge and support to the fugitive princes and noblesse of France, but a single word from the mouth of a French minister, properly impressed with the spirit of the revolution, would reduce those obscure little tyrants to a state of nothingness; and the sound of the first French cannon fired on their frontiers would rally their people round the banner of liberty and equality. As for the power of Rome and the thunders of the Vatican, they were only redoubtable when the people were blind and superstitious. But the French people had broken to pieces all their old idols, and had become a nation of philosophes. As for the fanfaronades of the King of Sweden, that Don Quixote of the north, they were beneath contempt. There remained, as named members of the coalition, the kings of Spain and Sardinia. But what was Spain, with her crazy administration and her discontented people? Her king was terrified to death, like the rest of the European sovereigns, and was only bestirring himself for his own defence against French principles and the captivating truths of the Rights of Man. If, instead of an empty treasury, he had a full one; if he had money and credit, armies on foot and provisions to feed them, such was the state of the public mind among Spaniards he would not dare send an army across the Pyrenees, for fear of calling liberty into his own country. The King of Sardinia was making a great bustle with a few thousand men; but the extent of his puissance might be judged of by the fact that a set of revolted school-boys and college-students had recently given him the law in his own capital.*

Unhappily for the crowned heads of Europe, and for many heads that wore no crowns, there was a great deal of truth in several of Brissot's sketches. On the 13th of July, the united committees of constitution and research presented to the Assembly their report on the king's flight. The logical conclusion of this paper was that the flight to Varennes was not a constitutional but a personal crime; but that the principle of inviolability would not permit the Assembly to try the king or cause him to be tried elsewhere. Loud and terrible was the debate which followed. Thiers, with the historical veracity which is in him, says that the Assembly never lost sight of its dignity, never sacrificed *les convenances!* The first man that spoke, M. Vadier, called Louis XVI. a crowned brigand (*un brigand couronné*); and, as the galleries applauded, he repeated the epithet more than once. "Could any man among us," exclaimed he, "have ever believed that this crowned brigand might with impunity massacre, burn, and call into the kingdom his foreign satellites? With your inviolability you will make Neros and Caligulas!" In one part of his speech he said, parenthetically, "I am accused of speaking like Marat;† but I seldom speak at all!" To which some voices on the côté droit said, "So much the better, Monsieur." Nothing disconcerted, Vadier went on to show the infamy of placing the king again on his throne, and the madness of not bringing him to condign punishment; and the shouts and applauses of galleries

* Brissot's paper, Le Patriote Français, as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

† Marat, the vainest and most sensitively jealous of newspaper writers and of Frenchmen, was not at all flattered by this comparison; and, as he was now well enough to write, and as Vadier, moreover, had expressed some dislike of a republic, he besprinkled him with a little of his gall. He called Vadier a very great rascal and conspirator, and swore that he had stolen all his ideas out of his journal.

and côté gauche consoled him for the sneers of the côté droit. The debate lasted three whole days. On the second day a petition, signed with a hundred names, was presented. It was short and strong, and in these plain words:—"Deputies, it was to give us a constitution, and not to fix on the throne a chief, a traitor to his oaths, that the nation sent you here. Justly alarmed at the provisions of the project presented by your committees, we come to invite you to dissipate our uneasiness. When the Romans saw their country in danger, they assembled as a people, and the senators came among them to collect their opinions and wishes. It is in this character, which we have from the Romans, that we come to beg you not to decree anything until the opinions and wishes of all the communes of the kingdom shall have been ascertained. Dread crowning the atrocious perfidies of our enemies; and do not forget that every decree which is not strictly confined within the limits of the powers intrusted to you by the people is thereby struck with nullity." The galleries roared and thundered their long applauses, and the president rang his bell, called them back to the respect which they owed to the majesty of the Assembly, and told them that they ought not to express either approbation or disapprobation in that House, and all that sort of thing, which made about as much impression on the patriot mob as might have been produced by an harangue from Punch or by an admonition from a Poll-parrot. Robespierre now rose to chop a few logical straws. He began by saying that he would not answer to the reproaches of republicanism which had been cast upon him; his present business being to sift the question of inviolability, and to show that the king was as much subject to the laws of the country as any other man. "If," said he, "a crime is committed by the first public functionary, by the supreme magistrate, I can only see in that two reasons the more to sharpen the law: the first, that the criminal is bound to the country by the most holy duty; the second, that, the criminal being armed with great powers, it is much more dangerous not to repress his offences." After more words of this kind, to excite fear to cruelty and blood, which was nearly the whole of Robespierre's political science, he continued, with a growing atrocity, "Legislators, answer me for yourselves! If the king were to butcher a son of yours under your eyes, or violate your wife or your daughter, would you say, Sire, you exercise your royal right, you are inviolable, unpunishable; we have permitted you to do what you list? But, gentlemen, what are these private hypotheses, what are crimes like these, compared with the monstrous crimes which lately threatened the salvation and the happiness of the people? If a king brought down upon his country all the horrors of civil and foreign war; if, at the head of an army of rebels and strangers, he came to ravage his own country, and bury under its ruins the liberty and the happiness of the whole world, would he be inviolable then? The king is inviolable!—but you are inviolable also! And have you understood by this inviolability that the king should have the privilege of committing crimes? And will you dare to say that the representatives of the sovereign have less extended rights for their individual security than he whose power they met to limit and restrain—than he to whom they have delegated, in the name of the nation, the only power he properly possesses? The king is inviolable! but are not the people inviolable also? The king is inviolable by a fiction, but the people are so by the sacred right of nature; and what are you doing in immolating the inviolability of the people to that of the king? (*Loud applauses from a portion of the côté gauche.*) The law of nature is anterior to all other laws; and it cries out to all men, that, if the laws of society do not avenge their wrongs, they recover the right of avenging themselves!" He went on to ask what would become of liberty if the crimes against it were not punished? What a source of eternal and horrible divisions it would be, if they retained a king suspected by the citizens? How could the judges do justice in the name of such a man? What criminal on the scaffold would not accuse the partiality of the laws in making such a difference between the crimes of one man and the crimes of another? Like all orators, growing bolder as he went on, he exclaimed, "Let men accuse me of republicanism if they will, I declare that I abhor every kind of government in which factions reign. It is of no use shaking off the yoke of one despot, if we are to fall under the yoke of another despotism. England got free from one of her kings only to fall under the still more degrading yoke of a few of her citizens. I do not see among us, I avow, the powerful genius that might play the part of Cromwell, nor do I see anybody inclined to suffer or permit a Cromwell; but I see parties and coalitions among us much more active and powerful than suits a free people; I see citizens who unite in their hands means, but too various and too powerful, for influencing public opinion, and the perpetuity of such a power in the same hands might properly alarm public liberty. We must re-assure the people against the too long duration of an oligarchy. . . . . On my own personal account I fear factions and coalitions, and all the dangers that spring therefrom. Gentlemen, for the measures proposed to you by your committees you ought to substitute general measures, founded on first principles, and on the interests of peace and liberty. What the committees propose would dishonour you. If I were reduced to-day to witness the sacrifice of the first principles of liberty, I would demand permission to be the advocate of all those accused by your committees as accomplices. I would be the legal defender of the three gardes-du-corps, of the governess of the dauphin, of de Bouillé himself. In the principles of your committees the king is not guilty, and there is no crime; but where there is no crime there can be no accomplices, and your

committees recommend that these accomplices shall be punished. Gentlemen, if it is weakness to spare a great criminal, it is base injustice to immolate for him a weaker and less guilty party! Do not think that the French people will be so vile as to enjoy the spectacle of the execution of a few subaltern victims; and do not believe that they see without anguish that their representatives are following the ordinary march of slaves, who always seek to sacrifice the weak to the strong, and eternally endeavour to deceive and dupe the people, in order to prolong injustice and tyranny. No! Gentlemen, you must pronounce sentence on all the guilty, or you must absolve them all. This is the advice I give. I propose that the National Assembly decree that they will consult the opinions and wishes of the nation before they come to any resolution upon the fate of the king; that the National Assembly annul the decree recently passed to suspend the elections of the new representatives of the people that are to be our successors; and that it reject the present report of the committees. But if the principles which I have urged should be misunderstood, I demand at least that the Assembly do not defile itself by a mark of partiality against the pretended accomplices of a crime over which a veil is attempted to be thrown." Robespierre left the tribune deafened with the loud applauses his eloquence had excited in the galleries and part of the côté gauche. On the next day, the 15th of July, Goupil de Prefeln endeavoured to destroy the effect of this terrible speech, and to call back some of the old feelings of respect for monarchy and the person of the sovereign. He attacked Robespierre in front by declaring that the aim and object of him and his partisans was to re-revolutionise the revolution, and make a republic, whatever it might cost. "There are," said he, "among us Machiavelists of a consummate perversity, who would destroy our constitution, which they abhor because it is equitable, and which they have resolved to make perish in the convulsions of anarchy. The clubs established in this capital, the clubs which once did good service for liberty, are no longer anything but a dangerous machine under the control of these men, who have undertaken by means of these clubs to precipitate the French nation into a gulf of anarchy and horror. The direction of these dangerous and perfidious machinations has been given to a set of men who are called *clubocrats*—men factious, intriguing, versed in the art of seducing the thoughtless multitude and directing them at their will. Their manœuvres and their distribution in the different clubs are things well known. Some of them excite the people to riot and insurrection in the streets and public places; others entrench themselves in the corners of the halls occupied by the political societies I have spoken of, and there prepare the tumults and the applauses. The most extravagant rhapsodies are uttered—royalty can no longer be intrusted to Louis XVI.—we must have a regent—no, we will have no regent, but an executive council, a council of surveillance—no, neither council nor regency, but a national convention to meet immediately—a commission to be named by the eighty-three departments to carry on the government—no king, no more monarchy; and all these wild propositions are applauded in the clubs through the artful management of some twenty individuals. These are the manœuvres which have never ceased since the unhappy 21st of June; and the Jacobin Club has received, applauded, printed, and sent into the departments direct attacks on this Assembly. And for what? For having sent three commissioners to meet the sovereign, and for not having brought the king as a criminal to their bar! To support these abominable schemes a set of journalists, scribblers, and pamphleteers have been hired. A man (Condorcet) enjoying a reputation, obtained I know not how, and decorated with the title of Academician, has been employed on this occasion, as some time ago they employed the name of Abbé Raynal, to decry our constitution, and prepare the popular mind for a counter-revolution. Another writer, of less fame than these two, makes, like them, a traffic of his erudition. M. Brissot has openly announced himself to this Assembly; he delivered a certain discourse in the club, who ordered that it should be printed; and copies of that discourse have been formally presented to the bureaux of this House, to be distributed with our sanction. This cowardly and crafty calumniator calls upon us to break the oath which binds us to our *divine* constitution. Brissot has had the audacity to say, to write, and to publish, that the inviolability given by the constitution to the king is subversive of the constitution, an attack on the sovereignty of the people, and that consequently the king ought to be brought to judgment. He talks as if public opinion resided only in Brissot and his adherents." Some voices from the côté droit demanded that this speech of Goupil should be printed. A deputy on the left asked whether M. Goupil intended really to say that M. Condorcet was a ..... "Yes, yes," cried the voices on the right. The House passed to the order of the day. Soon after, Abbé Gregoire, now a constitutional bishop, rose and said, "I hear people saying around me that it is not proper for a priest to speak on such a question as the present." A member of the droit exclaimed, "Nobody told you that! You are beginning with a lie, and you will end with atrocities!" "Well," said the unctuous Gregoire, "whatever may be my opinion, I will speak according to my *conscience* [*the côté droit laughed*]; and, instead of comparing my opinion with my clerical state, gentlemen had better try to refute it. Whatever the Assembly may decree, I shall be submissive to it, and shall never permit myself to protest against anything it does [*the côté droit laughed louder than before*]. In the actual condition of France the inviolability of the king is perilous to the people, and the project of your committees ought to be rejected for

the national interest!" He told the Assembly that the broken promises and oaths of Louis, the iniquitous flight to Varennes, the dangerous civil and foreign war, all prescribed to them as a sacred duty to declare that the king had forfeited his throne, and then to bring him to justice; and he finished his long harangue by declaring that this Assembly ought to retire from the public scene as soon as possible, and give place to a convention which would take the sense of the people and be guided by it. Salles made a long speech to excuse or cover the late conduct of the king, and to demonstrate that by the existing constitutional laws he could not be punished for anything that he had done. He then proposed, as security for the future, that the Assembly should decree, before doing anything else, the three following articles:—1. If, when the constitution was finished and the king had sworn to the totality of it, he should retract, he should be considered to have thereby abdicated. 2. If the king should ever put himself at the head of an army against the nation, or instruct any of his generals to do so, or fail in doing his utmost to prevent any such scheme, he should be considered as having abdicated. 3. That a king who had once abdicated, or who should be considered as having abdicated, should become a simple citizen, and should be accusable, by the ordinary forms of law, for all such offences as he might commit *after* such abdication. Barnave, who was now in constant communication with the queen, and who had undertaken *to save the monarchy*, spoke at great length in support of Salles' motion, and in defence of the monarchic part of the constitution. He taxed Brissot, Condorcet, and their disciples with making romances in politics, with a gross ignorance of business and all the practical parts of government, and with a wilful or stupid blindness to the difference which existed between a new country like the United States of America and an old country like France. Verily Barnave said many excellent things; but they were said many months too late, when the materials that might have composed and sustained a constitutional monarchy had been all degraded or destroyed—and destroyed or degraded by few men more than by Barnave himself. If Mirabeau could not turn back the waters of that torrent which had been let loose, how much less might Barnave hope to do it, when the torrent was far more swollen, and when the last dyke was washed away? "It is easier," said the well-spoken and not illogical young lawyer, "to make political romances than to contribute to the real and positive good of one's country. These dreamers have seen in America a people occupying a vast territory, thinly populated, surrounded by no powerful neighbours, and with lakes, forests, and seas for their frontiers, having all the habits, all the simplicity, all the sentiments of a people almost new, almost entirely occupied with the culture of the soil or with its immediate labours, which render men natural and simple, and which keep at a distance from them those factious passions which convulse and revolutionise governments. They have seen a republic established in this vast territory, and hence they have concluded that a republic would be the best government for old France. These are the very men that are now disputing the principles of the sovereign's inviolability. Now, if it is true that our country is thickly peopled; if it is true that it contains a multitude of men exclusively occupied by those speculations of the intellect which exercise the imagination and inspire ambition and the love of glory; if it is true that we are surrounded by powerful neighbours who oblige us to have one head, to be one sole mass in order to resist them; if it is true that all these circumstances are positive and do not depend upon us, it is incontestible that there can exist no remedy except in the monarchic form of government." He showed that neither a republic for all France, nor a federation of republics composed of the different parts of it, could ever have any other than a short and a horrible existence. He even intimated that the executive power must be made stronger; that the royal prerogative must be reinforced, or that some anarchic republic must happen in spite of them. After Barnave's speech the three articles proposed by Salles were carried by a large majority. This was on the evening of Friday, the 15th of July: by Sunday, the 17th, there was riot and blood about it.

On the night of the 15th the Jacobins, in their club, decided that the sovereign people should be invited to sign a petition demanding the abolition of royalty. The petition was drawn up by Brissot;* but Robespierre, with his constitutional timidity or caution, thought it yet too soon, and said he had a *presentiment* that it would be made the pretext for some sanguinary attack on the people. It was probably through the manœuvres of Robespierre that the club determined to keep out of the scrape, and leave the people or the mob to act for themselves. Another petition was drawn up (apparently in the Cordelier Club) on Saturday the 16th, and by the usual means of proclamation in the Palais-Royal and placards in the streets, the people were invited to sign it on the next day, on the altar of the country in the Champ de Mars—which wooden construction had been left standing right in front of the Hôtel des Invalides ever since the Federation festival of the preceding year, when Lafayette had almost been kissed and hugged to death by the people. Betimes on the Sabbath morning Paris began to flock to the Field of Mars. A great many of

* Lafayette says that the petition was drawn up by Laclos, the author of 'Les Liaisons Dangereuses,' and still secretary to the Duke of Orleans, and corrected by Brissot. According to Madame Roland and Brissot himself, Laclos was associated in the task of drawing up the petition, but left it all to Brissot, after having failed to obtain the insertion of a paragraph favourable to the Duke of Orleans's pretensions to the vacant throne. One thing is quite clear, and that is that the direct attack upon royalty intended in the petition was a measure which Madame Roland and the whole Gironde party had taken to their heart of hearts. After the bloody scene in the Champ de Mars the Rolands scampered away from Paris, but they soon returned, and under auspiciously republican circumstances.

that republican party afterwards called the Gironde, with Madame Roland (who has as good a title as any of them to be considered as the leader of the party), went out to see and also to sign. The petition was not yet there, but a place was prepared for it on the boards of the altar of the country—deal planks, easy to pierce with awl or gimlet. A number of persons ascended the deal fabric, and were walking about gratifying their curiosity and expecting the arrival of the petition, when a patriot, or some say a patriotess, felt something prick the sole of his or her foot; and springing aside, and looking down, he or she discoved a brad-awl working through the deal boards. Hullabalu! Here was some deadly treason! No doubt some gunpowder-plot to blow up the altar of the country, together with the petition and all the sovereign people upon it or round about it! In brief time the planks were torn up, and underneath were discovered, lying *perdus*, with victuals enough to last them for four-and-twenty hours, two comical-looking fellows, one being an invalid with a wooden leg, and the other a Parisian hairdresser out of work. When first unearthed, these two drolls pretended to have been asleep or to have just awakened from a sound sleep; and, when taxed with their awl-and-gimlet work, they said, with a titter, that they only meant to look at the women's legs. As lubricity was so common a propensity among Parisians, this ought to have saved the wooden-legged soldier and the idle peruquier, more particularly as no barrel of gunpowder, as nothing but cold meat and a little wine, a brad-awl and a gimlet, could be found in the cavity, or in any other part of the hollow underneath the deal altar of the country; but the word had gone abroad that they were spies of the court. Some people, not near enough to see or hear very correctly, were really convinced that it was all a gunpowder-plot; and so the patriots clutched the man of the wooden leg and the man of scissors by the throat, and hanged them both at the nearest lanterne; then cut off their heads, stuck them upon pikes, and carried them through the most peopled parts of Paris to that great Gehenna the Palais-Royal. This was at an early hour of the morning, and not in the latter part of the day, as represented by Thiers and the other advocates of Lafayette, who tell the story as if the massacre of the people which followed was the immediate and almost instantaneous consequence of the murder of these two obscene rogues by the mob.* We can perfectly believe that the motive assigned by the two men for their being where they were found was the true one—we can believe that in Paris there were thousands of men quite capable of the same design;—but the republican faction have not scrupled to accuse Lafayette, and others of that party, of having paid the men to conceal themselves under the precious altar in order to excite suspicion and an émeute, which might give them an opportunity of employing their armed force and repressing the aspirations of the republicans by terror and blood. Madame Roland, that *angelic* republican, as she is still fancifully represented by so many writers, in one place repeats this accusation as being *vraisemblable*, or very probably true; and in another place she directly charges the treachery upon Lafayette by name, as an *instrument of the court*.* Another party accused Robespierre of being the cause of all the mischief; but, with a strict impartiality in judging between Lafayette and Robespierre, we cannot possibly conceive how either of them could induce two men to put themselves in a hole where detection was almost equivalent to death; and without detection there could be no use to the supposed plan of Lafayette in their being there. If the two wretches were to be spies on the meeting, would they have been placed underground, as it were, in a dark place, where they could see nothing except through a gimlet-hole? Bailly and Lafayette had paid spies or agents enough, who could mix with the patriots without danger, and see and hear all that was going on in broad daylight; but there was no evident necessity for any spying or eaves-dropping whatever. All the proceedings in the Champ de Mars were—and were intended to be—plain and above-board, as open as a deliberation of the National Assembly. The Ultra-Jacobins were far too powerful and too daring to need any secresy or concealment. It is quite true that Lafayette was prepared beforehand to attack and disperse the people; and that everything was ready for such an attack at a very early hour in the morning, before the invalid and the barber were discovered, and when scarcely a hundred people had collected in the Champ de Mars: but he had constitutional authority and licence to attend at such a great meeting with his national guards at his back; he might calculate pretty confidently that some provocation or collision would take place between his respectabilities and the mob, and there were a hundred little means to bring about an occasion for reading the riot act, or proclaiming martial law, and firing upon the people, without having recourse to that roundabout way of putting the invalid and the peruquier under the altar of the country, &c. At mid-day, or nearly five hours after the peruquier and the invalid had been murdered, Lafayette dispatched a detachment of his national guards to the Champ de Mars, with several pieces of artillery; but, though there was an immense multitude assembled, there was no rioting, and the petition, it appears, had not yet arrived. And these national guards retired without doing anything. The mob remained expecting Danton and his Cordeliers, who had engaged to bring the petition; but Danton and his confrères, panic-stricken at the indecision of

* The editors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' who have carefully collected and compared all the newspapers and other documents of the day, say that the account of it given by Toulongeon is nothing but a gross and clumsy sketch, full of false or inexact allegations; and that the same may be said of the account given by M. Thiers, who has followed Toulongeon almost word for word. None of the documents they give, and not one of the numerous memoirs of the time which we have read, will bear out Thiers's narrative. Dulaure's account is contradictory and incorrect from beginning to end.

* Madame Roland, Mémoires.

the Jacobin Club, at the parade of military force which Lafayette had got up, and at confident reports that there was a design on foot to butcher or imprison the popular champions and journalists, had either fled out of Paris or concealed themselves in it.* Some time after the national guards had retired from the Champ de Mars a committee arrived at the altar of the country from the Jacobin Club, which, on the motion of Robespierre, sent them thither, not to inform the people that the club had withdrawn the petition which had been written by Brissot, but simply to see and report what was passing at that great meeting. Tired of waiting, and convinced at last that neither the Cordeliers nor the Jacobins would venture to bring a petition to be signed, some of the mob, who could turn sentences themselves, set to work and drew up, upon the altar of the country, a petition of their own, telling the National Assembly that their political existence was drawing near its close; that an enormous crime had been committed by the king; that the empire was on the brink of ruin; and that the Assembly ought to be guided by the will of the people. And presently such patriots as could write began to sign their names, and such as could not, to scrawl their crosses. As the people wrote on different loose sheets of paper, which were afterwards fastened together so as to make an enormous scroll, more than six thousand signatures and crosses were soon obtained. Some of the signers, not satisfied with writing their names, gave their reasons for signing, or accompanied their signatures by denunciations of royalty—in words ill spelt and in sentences that defied the arbitrary power of French grammar.† Women and children signed as well as men. The mass of signatures proceeded from people who hardly knew how to write. There were marchandes-de-modes, soubrettes, and filles-de-joie in abundance; and these practical ladies, probably not without an eye to business, seem to have generally given their addresses as well as their names. Among the men who signed were several conspicuous members of the Jacobin Club—as Brewer-battalion-commandant Santerre, and Gateau; and a good many of the Cordelier club, maugre the fright and the flight of their leader Danton. Among the names that afterwards became most famous was the monstrous Chaumette, who wrote after his name, "Student in Medicine, Rue Mazarine, No. 9;" and this is the first time his name appears in the history of the revolution. There were also the signatures of riding-messenger Maillard, who had led the furies to Versailles; of Meunier, who signed himself President of the Fraternal Society; of Henriot, and of Hebert, a writer by some degrees more atrocious even than Marat, and whom we shall soon find wading breast-high in blood, and the chief of a great party. This Hebert wrote after his name, "Author, living in Rue Mirabeau;" and his signature is compared to the figure of some vile insect like a spider. "The whole petition," says a Frenchman who has examined it attentively, "is perhaps one of the most curious relics which have been found under the rubbish of our revolution. It has a form, a physiognomy, which paints better than all the apologies of the time the character and the very nature of this grand petitioning meeting."*

It was five o'clock in the evening, and still Lafayette and Bailly, and the municipality, though anxious to strike a blow, wavered and hesitated. The municipality had issued one of their proclamations and pasted it up in print on the Paris walls, apparently about the same time that Lafayette sent his detachment and artillery to the Champ de Mars—that is to say, between twelve and one o'clock, or five hours after the murders. This proclamation was as signal a piece of humbug as ever proceeded from that illustrious body. It was conceived in these terms, which ought to be well remembered:—"The municipal body, being informed that factious men and *foreigners, paid to sow the seeds of disorder, and to prêach rebellion*, are proposing to hold great meetings, in the culpable hope of leading the people astray and carrying them to reprehensible excesses; and having heard the report of the second substitute of the procureur of the commune, declare that every crowded meeting whatever, with or without arms, in the public places, streets, or thoroughfares, is contrary to the law: prohibit all persons from flocking together or forming in groups in any public place: order all those who have thus formed groups to separate on the instant: enjoin all the commissaries of police to repair without delay to such places in their several districts as may seem likely to become places where public tranquillity may be menaced, and to employ, in order to maintain tranquillity, all the means which are given to them by the law: send to the commandant of the national guard to give the most precise orders for dispersing these meetings; and the municipal body reserve to themselves to take such other necessary measures as circumstances may call for." But nothing followed this proclamation and the visit of the detachment of national guards to the Champ de Mars for several hours, although, at about two o'clock, the municipals were informed that some of the national guards had been insulted in the streets; that Lafayette had arrested four individuals for having thrown stones at the guard; and that one of these fellows, who had a loaded pistol in his pocket, had confessed or boasted that he had thrown some dirt at the commandant of the mounted guard. According to their own account, or *procès verbal*, Bailly and the municipals *then*, considering that the armed force could not alarm

* Yet Dulaure says that Danton read the petition from the altar of the country with his Stentorian voice, and was greatly applauded. The Stentor Danton was running away into the country at this moment, as if for his life!

† The editors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire' give the following example, which they say they took at hazard from among a heap of other signatures just as bad:—

"*Je renonce au roy je ne le veux plus le connette pour le roy je suis sitoïen fransay pour la patry du bataillon de Boulogne Louis Magloire l'aîné de Boulogne.*'

* Hist. Parlement.—The original petition is still preserved in the archives of the municipality of Paris.

good citizens, resolved that martial law should be proclaimed; but it appears they did not come to this resolution till past five in the evening. Three municipal officers descended from the Hôtel de Ville and read the law, which corresponded in some respect with our riot act; and the blood-red flag was then hung out at one of the principal windows of that town-house. At half-past five, at the very moment, say they themselves, when the municipality were going to put themselves in march for the Field of Federation or of Mars, some commissaries arrived at the Hôtel de Ville and announced that one of the murderers of the morning had been arrested, but had effected his escape the very next minute; that Commandant-General Lafayette had been fired upon; that the individual guilty of that crime had been arrested, but M. le Commandant-General had caused him to be set at liberty on the spot; that the two murders in the morning had been accompanied by very atrocious circumstances (the municipals might have known this, and we think must have known it, eight or nine hours earlier than half-past five in the evening); that the national guards had been insulted in the Palais Royal, and that one of their principal officers had narrowly escaped death; that they, the commissaries, had been at the altar of the country, and had found it covered by a multitude of citizens and citizenesses, who said that they had met quietly to sign a petition in a proper and legal manner; that, upon being commanded to disperse, they had insisted that a deputation of twelve persons should accompany them, the commissaries, to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand the liberation of some patriots who had been arrested without any offence; and finally, that this said deputation of twelve was outside the door of the Hôtel de Ville. It was now six o'clock. The municipals say that they were preparing to hear this deputation, but found that they had run away, no doubt to inform their friends in the Champ de Mars that martial law was proclaimed. But printer Prudhomme, who was one of the deputation, says, that they did not run away at all—says, they executed their mission and spoke with Mayor Bailly, who told them he was only going to march in order to introduce peace, *pour y mettre la paix*—says, that it was now for the first time that that signal of massacre, the red flag, was displayed from the window, and that the national guards in the Place de Grève, collected from the aristocratic and unpatriotic districts, set up a shout of joy at sight of the red flag, raised their muskets towards heaven, then grounded arms and loaded them. "We saw," adds Prudhomme, "a municipal officer go from rank to rank and whisper in the ears of the national guard officers. Frozen with horror, we then returned to the altar of the country to warn our brethren of all that we had witnessed." This printer is not to be believed implicitly; but no more is Mayor Bailly, or whatever municipal it was that drew up the *procès verbal*. But, according to this official document itself, it was considerably past six o'clock ere the municipal body, preceded by a detachment of cavalry, three cannons, and a blood-red flag, and followed by a very numerous detachment of national guards on foot, really began their march; and half-past seven ere they arrived at the Champ de Mars. They say that their intention was to march straight up to the altar of the country, but that they were scarcely at the entrance of the Champ de Mars when a number of people cried out furiously, "Down with the red flag! down with those bayonets!" that they nevertheless continued their march across the field, and were approaching the altar when the mob began to throw stones, and one of them fired a gun or pistol, the ball of which, passing pretty close to Mayor Bailly, lodged in the thick of the thigh of one of the mounted national guards; that the national guards then fired in the air or over the people's heads, and that thereupon a good many of the mob dispersed; but that the more desperate part of the rioters soon reunited on the flank of the procession or march, renewing their terrible cries and their pelting with stones; and that then at last, the national guards, using the right vested in them by the laws and decrees of the Assembly, and seeing that these acts of violence rendered it impossible for the municipal officers to summon the people to depart, fired in among them. Prudhomme and the rest of the republican journalists tell this part of the story also in a very different manner. They say that the people were perfectly quiet, and that the national guards entered the Champ de Mars from three different sides, as if to surround the altar of the country and massacre all upon it; that no fire-arm had been fired, nor a stone thrown, when a discharge of musketry was heard; that the patriots on the altar said, "Do not let us move! They are only firing blank cartridges! They must come up here and read the proclamation of martial law before they can do anything;" that the troops advanced; that there was a second discharge of musketry, and that the people on the altar—fifteen thousand at least—were as tranquil as before, and preserved just the same countenance. "Alas!" adds Prudhomme, "they paid dearly for their courage and their blind confidence in the law! Men, women, and children were massacred, massacred upon the very altar of the country!" The moment chosen for entering the Champ de Mars and firing upon the people was certainly that in which the place was most crowded, and crowded too by persons indifferent to the petition and to the other schemes of the hot republicans; for it was the cool of the evening, and many thousands of persons were merely taking their evening walk, or were come to see what was a-doing; and—as it never yet failed to happen in these popular mêlées—several of these inoffensive individuals were killed or wounded. The total number of victims is differently reported by Mayor Bailly and Lafayette, who wished it to appear as small as possible, and by the republicans and their journalists, who were eager to exaggerate the number in order to aug-

ment the fury of the people. The municipal *procès verbal* only admits eleven or twelve killed, and ten or a dozen wounded; and three or four national guardsmen that were assassinated by the people with knives, besides a good many more that were wounded by stones: but, according to the other party, more than sixty men, women, and children were killed or wounded by the national guards, who fired nearly point-blank more than once. A considerable number of the republicans were seized and committed to the prison of La Force, and by ten o'clock at night Bailly and Lafayette, who, by this day's work, had signed their own death-warrant or proscription for some no distant day, returned glorious and triumphant to the Hôtel de Ville. In the course of the night the rest of the journalists, and a swarm of scoundrels who had been so long preaching liberty or death, and urging on the people to every bloody excess, fled into the country or hid themselves in the most recondite parts of the faubourgs, thus showing what mettle was in them; and by the following morning there was not a newspaper-man to be seen in all Paris, and the offices of the journals were all shut.

On Monday morning, the 18th of July, the Assembly met at an early hour, and the Genlis's husband, Sillery, mounted the tribune to utter some commonplaces about the duty of being at one's post in the hour of danger, and of sacrificing oneself to one's country. "In all the countries of the world," cried Sillery, "when drums beat to arms every citizen repairs to his post. Yesterday the drums beat to arms in Paris, and we were not at ours. Our post as deputies is here in this hall, and I demand that henceforward every deputy repair hither as soon as he hears the call to arms!" Abbé Joubert, constitutional bishop of Angers, did not think that the deputies ought to be bound to assemble at a military signal, but that some mode of assembling, in case of riots and dangers, ought to be agreed upon; and on the Abbé's motion the matter was referred to the constitution committee. Anon the president announced that the mayor and municipals of Paris demanded to be admitted to the bar to give an account of yesterday's proceedings. Being admitted, Bailly made a pompous harangue. "Great crimes," said he, "have been committed, and justice and law have been exercised. We dare to assure you that what we did was very necessary. Public order was destroyed; leagues and conspiracies had been formed: we published the avenging law (martial law); the seditious provoked us to employ force; they fired upon the magistrates, and upon the national guard; but the chastisement of their crimes fell upon their culpable heads!" After these words, which so plainly indicated that the motive for attacking the people dated much earlier than the two murders they had committed in the morning—which made it transparent that Lafayette, Bailly, and their party had made up their minds for a coup d'état, which should terrify the republican clubs, and scare the journalists, and reduce the people to some submission to the respectabilities, the worshipful mayor read the *procès verbal*, or account of the whole transaction, which had been drawn up in the Hôtel de Ville during the night. As soon as this reading was over, without any examination as to the authenticity of the facts, the president of the Assembly told the mayor that his conduct met with their entire approbation, and that he and the national guards, "those soldiers of liberty and supporters of law," had justified the high esteem which their indefatigable zeal had already procured for them. Barnave then made an harangue on the hideousness of civil commotion and the beauty of peace and good order. "It is time," exclaimed this new defender of the untenable monarchy, "it is time, at last, that the laws should exercise an absolute power, and that the people should know that the character of a freeman is found in the worship he pays to the religion of the laws! The moment is come in which men, who have long been the curse and torment of their country, should be devoted to universal contempt; the moment is come in which those who, in riots and insurrections, would only have sought to gratify their personal spite and revenge should fall victims to the law, which will uncover and make public all their infamous underground workings! I demand, therefore, that the answer of our president to the mayor be printed and placarded in all the streets; and that our tribunals pursue the authors of these insurrections, the chiefs of these émeutes!" The côté gauche, which was very thin, seemed panic-stricken and dumb-founded: not a voice among them gave enunciation to the facts, that the Assembly before now had encouraged émeutes—that yesterday there had been in fact no insurrection at all! The resolution was carried unanimously, that the president's speech should be printed and placarded, and that the tribunals should, in a particular manner, pursue those who had attempted the life of Lafayette. This being done, Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely presented the report of the committees of constitution and criminal law, as to the best means of checking future émeutes. Their project of law was sufficiently stringent; and looked very much as if it had been made to meet the case of yesterday. It consisted of three articles:—1. That all persons that should provoke the people to murder, burning, pillaging, or to any disobedience of the law, whether by placards and handbills, or by public writings and discourses held in public places, should be regarded as seditious disturbers; and in consequence that all officers of police should be held bound to arrest them summarily, and deliver them over to the tribunals to be judged according to law. 2. That every man who in any crowd or émeute should utter a cry of provocation to murder, should be punished with three years in the galleys, in case the murder should not be committed, and should be capitally punished as an accomplice in the

crime if it was committed; and every citizen should be bound to arrest or assist in arresting on the spot any such offender. 3. That every cry against the national guards or the public force when on duty, tending to make them lower or surrender their arms, should be regarded as seditious, and punished with imprisonment not exceeding two years. Just as Regnaud had finished reading this peppery project, which showed very prettily the way which French liberty was going, Pétion, who had more personal courage than Robespierre and the rest of that clique, came into the House, and even approached the tribune to make a speech. The Assembly was much excited, and a great noise was made to prevent his speaking. But the demagogue rushed up the steps, and roared from the tribune, that all he wanted was to hear the report of the committees read. Regnaud read the report a second time. Pétion then demanded that he might be heard, and he boldly persisted, in spite of a roar of voices for putting the project of law to the vote. "It appears," cried Pétion, "that the moment in which I speak is not very favourable to the cause I would defend; but yet I will defend it, with the inward conviction that a part of the first article of your project is fatal to the liberty of the press." Fatal to Marat, Brissot, Laclos, Danton, shouted many voices; but the galleries and a portion of the côté gauche applauded Pétion, and he continued:—"I say the article contains expressions, by aid of which arbitrary judgments might be pronounced by the courts of law. I do not mean to condemn the whole of the article: no one respects the law more than I do. (Here there was a loud outcry against him.) These murmurs shall not prevent my continuing, for I defy any one to reproach me with a single action that an honest man ought to blush at. (The galleries applauded.) I respect the law, and engage to make other men respect it. I say that your article might give rise to a number of persecutions. You are going to kill the liberty of the press, without which there is no liberty." A voice exclaimed, "It is for Brissot that you are speaking!" And the majority did not permit him to say many more words, but voted the project of law, with an amendment making it still more severe, as it included all men that should formally advise or counsel the people to disobedience of the laws.*

Open war was thus declared between the Assembly and the ultra-Jacobins—between the moderates and the enraged revolutionists; and it only remained to see which should prove the stronger in a contest which was worse than a war to the knife. For a few days the Assembly and the moderates seemed all triumphant: many arrests were made, a great quantity of type was seized, and the worst of the journals were for a season suppressed. According to Brissot, whose journal, 'Le Patriote Français,' escaped the general doom, more than two hundred individuals were imprisoned, *au secret*, in the Abbaye. For five or six days the red flag was kept flying at the Hôtel de Ville, to inform the Parisians that the reign of martial law was not over. Some addresses were obtained from divers departments congratulating the Assembly, and Bailly, and Lafayette on the wisdom and energy they had displayed, and on the flight and confusion of the leading anarchists. Under the patronage of the Assembly and the municipality a new journal was started, called 'The Crowing of the Cock' (Le Chant du Coq). It was printed on broadsides, and pasted on all the walls of Paris, of which Bailly's bill-stickers now claimed the entire monopoly. It denounced every morning, by name, a certain number of plotters and republicans; and it described, with a broad, coarse pen, the personal history and appearance, the character and conversation of these individuals, who could not for the present answer for themselves, seeing that they were in prison, under hiding, or in flight, and that Bailly's police left them no press to print their responses, and his bill-stickers no space on the walls for their placards. The Cock crowed the most infamous details of the private life of these revolutionists: it was a preface to the great biographical combat which soon ensued at the elections for the New Assembly or Convention. In one of its earliest crowings Brissot's history was told in a manner which he could not bear. He responded in his own newspaper, crying out calumny, conspiracy, treason against the sovereignty of the people. "Patriots," cried this vain man of letters, "a frightful conspiracy is afoot against all those who have developed any energy in the defence of the people, who have unmasked the traitors and enemies of the constitution; it is wished to render them suspected to the people themselves, to deprive them of the esteem of the people: in a word, their ruin has been sworn; gold is flowing in torrents to pay the infamous libellers who have undertaken to discredit them in public opinion. . . . . But I will not abandon the cause for which I have fought! I will confound my adversaries or perish! I am writing a memoir of my own life; it will soon appear; and then the public will be convinced that I have always merited the title of *Patriote sans peur et sans reproche* (patriot without fear and without reproach)." Not satisfied with persecuting the ultra-Jacobin journalists, the committee of research and the municipality persecuted also the editors and writers of one or two royalist journals, alleging that their papers were as dangerous and as provocative of insurrection as the republican papers. Abbé Royou, editor of 'L'Ami du Roi,' was hunted for by armed national guards, but could not be found; but the municipal seal was put upon his door, and his papers were seized and carried to the Hôtel de Ville. Sulleau, another writer of the same politics, though the college companion of Robespierre and Camille Desmoulins, was not so fortunate as the abbé; for he was found and arrested, and carried to

* Hist. Parlement.

the crowded prison of La Force. For several days no newspapers appeared except such as spoke the sentiments of the majority of the Assembly; and continual arrests were seen going on in the streets and coffee-houses. It was a *little* Reign of Terror; but it could not last long. Marat, in a very few days, got type enough in his hiding-place to resume his journal; and there were plenty of people ready enough to hawk, and many more eager to read, 'L'Ami du Peuple.' From his Patmos he described his sufferings for liberty, and assured the people that he would not abandon them. "Through the trouble I am obliged to take," said he, "in order to conceal my subterranean retreat, I cannot write a number every day, but nothing shall prevent my watching over the salvation of my countrymen. Oppressed by the cruel malady that torments me, my meditations and dreams still tend to nothing but your happiness; and I shall still find the means of duping the criminal vigilance of the thirty-six thousand and one spies that are kept in pay by the municipality." Fréron's journal, 'L'Orateur du Peuple,' was taken up and continued with spirit by Labenette, editor of the 'Devil's Journal' (Journal du Diable). In some quarters of the town, and more particularly in the Faubourg St. Antoine, all the force and address of Bailly's policemen and bill-stickers was found insufficient to secure the monopoly of the walls for any length of time: republican placards began to re-appear, and the most exciting appeals were made by this means to the people. One affiche of the kind, which made a very great noise, was entitled, "Who is to be Believed?" It was signed, "Paul, Roland, Darmines, Moreau, Montbrun, active citizens," and it contained these few words:—"Celebrated writers, Marat, Carra, Fréron, Brissot, Andouin, and so many others, tell us that the laws are detestable, the Assembly corrupted, the magistrates perfidious, the constitution violated, and civil war imminent." Camille Desmoulins, who had fled with the rest, put forth from his solitude a terrible paper, describing, in his half-mad, half-eloquent manner, the massacre of the citizens on the altar of the country, and all the plots and intrigues which had preceded and the prosecutions which followed that black Sunday. The paper began with Lafayette, "the liberator of two worlds, flower of Janissary-aghas, phœnix of Alguazils, Don Quixote of the Capets and the two chambers, and constellation of the white horse;" and it held him up to the execration of the people as an ambitious conspirator, a tyrant insensible to blood. It related that Danton had accused Lafayette in the hall of the Jacobins of four or five capital crimes; and that, not being able to justify himself, the traitor had resolved to proscribe the patriot Danton, and get up a plot to massacre the people, who had every right to meet and sign a petition. Camille, with good proofs on his side, swore that the murder of the invalid and perruquier had nothing whatever to do with the sanguinary measures afterwards adopted; that in the morning the meeting might easily have been dispersed without any bloodshed; that Mayor Bailly proclaimed martial law incognito in places where few people were assembled; that it was half-past eight o'clock in the evening before the red flag was carried to the Champ de Mars; and that Lafayette and the rest waited so long in the hope of finding all the fraternal societies united on the altar, and thus taking a long draught of Jacobin blood. He asserted that the municipal officers dispatched by Bailly told the patriots that their petition was irreprehensible, and that they might continue their meeting without fear of consequences; that the man that had fired upon Lafayette, and that was instantly liberated by the general himself, was nothing but one of his own spies, instructed by himself to fire at him without a ball, in order to create a pretext for butchering the people. He said he had been assured by eye-witnesses that the number of killed, instead of twelve, as represented by the municipality, was *four hundred!* This frantic fellow was perfectly well informed of the manœuvres of Barnave; and he represented Barnave and the Lameths as being the chief managers of an extensive plot for restoring the old despotism of the court. Other journalists soon took up this story, and implicated by name nearly the whole côté droit of the Assembly.

In consequence of all that had happened, there was another scission in the Société Mère: all the deputies of the Assembly who sat on the côté droit, and a good many of those who sat on the côté gauche, took their leave of the Jacobins for ever, and united themselves with the Feuillant Club. Pétion, in the Jacobin Hall, exposed the enormities of the seceders. "We must take care of the powers of our club," said he, "or we shall find that we have made a revolution for nothing. These Feuillants, these base deserters, intend to detach from us, and rally round their own club, all our affiliated societies and clubs in Paris and in every part of France; and you cannot be blind to the importance of our affiliated societies! Let us hasten to send circular letters to our friends in all the clubs, to tell them that these deserters, these pretended friends of the constitution, are making a coalition with the worst enemies of liberty. If you can only preserve the clubs, our commonwealth is saved: if you lose them, you are undone, and despotism will raise its bold head in full security. It is only among us Jacobins that there is any free discussion: in the Assembly we are no longer allowed to speak our feelings and our wishes!" Feydel, a Jacobin of the Orleans party, maintained that, as the members who had retired to the Feuillants were the real founders of the Jacobin Club, they had an indisputable right to carry away with them the archives and books of the club; and Laclos, Orleans's secretary, strongly supported a motion to that effect. Here Robespierre rose to suggest, in a mild and plaintive tone of voice, that they had better, in the first place, draw up an ad-

dress to the National Assembly in refutation of the calumnies and evil reports which had been circulated about the Société Mère. He had an address ready (a paper of his own composition), and he read it to the remaining Jacobins, who unanimously adopted it. It began in the tone of injured

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innocence:—"We have been calumniated in the Assembly," said this address, "and the public peace and interest require that our reputation should be as pure as our conduct. We will reply to our detractors in presenting you the homage of our principles and sentiments. The principle which we have constantly propagated and religiously observed ourselves, is to obey the laws, and not to attempt to alter or reform them in any other way than by the exercise of the sacred right which belongs to every man of communicating his ideas to his fellow-citizens." The paper made a great merit of the club not having sent any petition to the Champ de Mars, and of their having withdrawn the petition which had been written as soon as they knew that the Assembly had decreed that the king should not be tried, but restored to the royal functions. It declared that the Jacobins were not factious, but only idolaters of liberty, and of the purest and sublimest of all the virtues—patriotism. It reminded Lafayette, Bailly, and their friends of the manner in which they had been obliged to return to the bosom of the bountiful mother; and it told the deputies, in very plain terms, that it was not they, but the clubs and the people of Paris, that had made this glorious revolution. It also reminded them that their political existence was running its last sands, and that they would presently be succeeded by a different set of men—by a convention that would consolidate, and *perhaps* modify, the constitution they were making. The society further decreed that this address should be printed in a very great number of copies, and with the utmost speed; and that it should be sent not merely to the National Assembly as a body, but also to every deputy individually, and to all the affiliated clubs, to the forty-eight sections of Paris, and to every battalion of the Paris national guards. They then returned to Feydel's motion about the books and papers, and presently quashed it. Feydel and Laclos thereupon withdrew from the society.* On the other hand, the Feuillant Club, where the seceders pretended that they were the true Jacobin Club, and that those they had left had no right to the name, drew up an address of their own to all the affiliated clubs, calling upon them for their sympathy and total adherence, and accusing their late brethren of the most iniquitous designs. This address was sent by the minister of the interior with the decrees passed by the Assembly, and it was distributed through the departments by the government authorities. Some of the affiliated societies in the provinces joined the Feuillants; a greater number remained attached to the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré; and some few dissolved themselves altogether, with the very wise but too-late declaration, that it was not by clubs and societies that the kingdom ought to be governed; and that, if this club-work was continued, France would soon be deluged with blood. The Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré sent a deputation to the seceders sitting in the Feuillant monastery, to invite them to return and put an end to a schism so dangerous to liberty; but the seceders informed the deputation that there could be no re-union unless the gentlemen sitting in the Hall of the Jacobins gave their assent, pure and simple, to certain articles; and the quarrel was made more bitter than before. The Rue St. Honoré men, who were the real Jacobins, as we understand the word, voted another tremendous address, solely and exclusively to the affiliated clubs, and agreed with Pétion that it would be folly and meanness to attempt any reconciliation with the Feuillants. In a very short time most of the affiliated, who had joined the Feuillants, changed sides and went over to the real Jacobins. It was this system of affiliation that drove on the terrible crisis. The people were everywhere heated by these societies, which received their impulse and movement from the one great centre in Paris. They were hothouses in which the ripening of the venomous plant was forced by an intensity of heat. From the beginning of the revolution any deputy, disappointed of obtaining weight and credit in the Assembly, had nothing to do but to exaggerate his democracy in the Jacobin Hall, being thereby sure to become a hero. The far greater number of persons who busied themselves with this revolution had no other scene for their action or their oratory, except, indeed, the Palais Royal and the open streets; and, heated by the atmosphere of the place, and maddened by the madness of the swarms of people who constantly attended, many of these orators uttered horrible things which they had no intention of saying when they went down to the club. An individual, who has had some experience in his time in these

* They also gave up writing in the Jacobin journal, which hitherto had been principally conducted by Laclos. It was bad enough in Laclos's hands, but now it soon became far worse.

Jacobin societies, tells us of the wonderful power that the passions of those who listen have over those who speak; and confesses that he himself, when first introduced to the Jacobins, used to feel himself carried away by the cries and applauses of the galleries, and to talk in a manner calculated to increase their excitement.* But everybody that knows anything of popular oratory is familiar with this perilous action and re-action, which gives to the orator inspiration or madness as the case may be.

The Assembly, meanwhile, occupied itself very successfully about the army, about the revision of the constitution not quite so successfully (for no revision could materially improve a thing that was a blunder from beginning to end), and about the trial of some of the men that had been arrested on the petition-Sunday in the Champ de Mars. But there is a little episode which happened a few days before that black Sunday, and which claims attention as being full of significance and of national character. The history of the French revolution is not to be understood without these episodes.

We have mentioned the honours decreed by the National Assembly to the mouldering remains of the patriarch Voltaire. Some people, called Jansenists by the journalists, had respect enough left for Christianity to doubt whether such honours could be properly paid by a legislature, who, as yet, called themselves Christians, to a man who had made a mockery of all revealed religion; and they stuck up in the streets a printed protest against the apotheosis of the impious unbeliever. But the vast majority of the people laughed at this paper, and considered the writers of it monstrous fools or vile hypocrites. The grand procession (the day for carrying the bones of Voltaire through the streets of Paris to the Pantheon) was fixed by the Assembly for the 10th of July; but that day the rain fell in torrents, and application was made to the august Assembly to put off the celebration till the morrow, or until finer weather. The departmental or municipal officer who delivered this message told the Assembly that it was the low jealousy of the aristocracy of Heaven that had brought about this deluge to retard the triumph of the great man; the great Voltaire, who had been the rival and the conqueror of the Divinity!† The Assembly postponed the celebration till the 11th of July, but that night and all the following morning it rained as if blasphemy had really provoked a second deluge. They were going to put it off again, but about two o'clock in the afternoon the weather cleared up, and the procession took place uncomfortably, going through the then muddy and filthy streets of Paris, and being dribbled upon by the still dripping roofs and eaves of the houses. The remains were received by a deputation of municipals at the barrier of Charenton. The coffin was placed in a sarcophagus, which was carried on a car of the antique form. Branches of laurel and of oak, entwined with roses, myrtle, and the wild flowers of the fields, shaded the car, which was also decorated with these two inscriptions:—"IF MAN IS BORN FREE, HE OUGHT TO GOVERN HIMSELF."—"IF MAN HAS TYRANTS PLACED OVER HIM, HE OUGHT TO DETHRONE THEM." A great many deputations from battalions of national guards, and more particularly from the patriotic clubs and societies, formed an immense retinue. In the first place they conducted the body of the patriarch, or what remained of it, to the spot where the Bastille had once stood; and they deposited it on a platform which had been erected over the site of the Bastille tower, in which Voltaire had at one time been confined by lettre-de-cachet. All round about they had covered the foundation-stones of the old fortress with green turf and shrubs and branches of trees; and they had piled up some of the stones in a great mound, on the summit and sides of which were seen pleasant devices and allegories; and on one great stone block was inscribed, in large letters—"RECEIVE, O VOLTAIRE! ON THIS SPOT WHERE DESPOTISM ONCE HELD THEE IN CHAINS, THE HONOURS THY COUNTRY RENDERS THEE." From the Bastille to the Pantheon the procession was immense. Learned bodies marched with military bodies; students in law and medicine with students of the art military, each body carrying some flag or device allusive to the man or to the occasion. The Faubourg St. Antoine men carried the flag of the old Bastille and a model of that fortress; and they had in the midst of them a citizeness, dressed like an Amazon, who had distinguished herself at the storming of that fortress. A group of citizens from the same quarter carried pikes in their hands, one of which was surmounted by the cap of liberty, and by a small flag bearing this device:—FROM THIS IRON LIBERTY WAS BORN." The workmen who had been employed in demolishing the Bastille carried fetters and chains, bullets, and cuirasses, which had been found at the taking of the Bastille. The bust of Voltaire, surrounded by the busts of Rousseau, Mirabeau, and Desilles, was carried by a deputation from the Paris theatres dressed in ancient costume. The learned academies and a crowd of poets, dramatists, and littérateurs of every colour, escorted a gilded chest, containing the seventy volumes of Voltaire's works, which had been presented by Beaumarchais. Then came a troop of singers and an ambulatory orchestra, and then the antique car, carrying the sarcophagus, which latter had received some fresh decorations; for there was on the top of it a wax statue of the philosopher, in a recumbent position, with Fame putting a crown upon his head; and on the sides of it were inscribed—"HE AVENGED CALAS, LA BARRE, SIRVEN, AND MONTBAILLY: POET, PHILOSOPHER, HISTORIAN, HE MADE THE HUMAN MIND TAKE A HIGH FLIGHT, AND PREPARED US TO BECOME FREE." The car was drawn by twelve light-grey

* Lucien Bonaparte, Mémoires écrites par lui-même.
† Hist. Parlement.

horses, going four abreast; and the coachman and the postilions were all dressed in the manner of the ancients. David, the republican painter, had attended to these classical matters, and had furnished the design for the antique car. Immediately after the car marched a deputation from the National Assembly, and then came the municipals, the Court of Cassation, the judges of the tribunals of Paris, the justices of the peace, and the battalion of veterans. The long line of march was headed and closed by national guards both on foot and on horseback. The cortège stopped in front of the Opera-house, where the actors and actresses presented a laurel crown, and sang a hymn. They stopped again at the house of M. Charles Villette, the ex-marquis, of whom mention has already been made. In the front of that house they had planted four tall poplars, which were tied together by their tops with garlands and crowns of oak-leaves; and, as the car passed under this verdant arch (*voûte de verdure*), a crown of roses was let fall from above upon the sarcophagus. On the walls of Villette's house was the inscription—"HIS GENIUS IS EVERYWHERE, AND HIS HEART IS HERE." For the heart had not yet been carried to Ferney to be put under the paltry pyramid of deal which stands, when the winds permit, in that garden.* Madame Villette, the *belle et bonne* of the patriarch, though apparently of no one else, came forth and placed another crown on the statue; and "tears were seen flowing from the eyes of that amiable citizeness." Besides the poplar-trees, there was erected near Villette's house an orchestra of an amphitheatrical shape; and thereupon sat, in rows rising one above the other, a great number of young citizenesses, dressed in pure white, with crowns of roses on their heads, with blue sashes round their waists, and civic crowns in their hands, who sang an ode, written for the occasion by Chenier and Gossec, whose poetry and patriotism were much admired in those days. On the lower part of this amphitheatre sat some male musicians, dressed *d l'antique*, and playing, some of them, upon the instruments of the ancients. After the car had rested for some time at this spot, Madame de Villette, and some of the members of the family of Calas, together with a number of citizenesses in white, formed in front of it, and the procession was continued to the Théâtre Français, where there was another halt. The columns in front of that edifice were decorated with garlands of real flowers, and with medallions, on which were inscribed the titles of Voltaire's dramatic works. There was another short halt on the spot where the old Comédie Française had once stood, and where people had set up a plaster statue of the poet, with Tragedy and Comedy putting a crown upon his head. Actors, actresses, and musicians executed a chorus from his opera of 'Samson;' and then the procession continued its course to the Pantheon, where the remains of Voltaire were deposited near to those of Mirabeau and Descartes. The whole thing was considered as a truly national festival. Nothing was seen that night but busts of the patriarch, in marble, Sèvres china, plaster of Paris, wax, wood, and sugar; and inscriptions selected out of his works, or such of them as most turned upon liberty and equality, and a derision of old usages and superstitions.

The Assembly itself had decreed that the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille should be for ever kept as a great national fête; but there was no federation this year, and the thing went off rather flatly and tamely, hardly any of the patriot journalists deigning to notice it. There was a Te Deum sung, and a sort of hierodrama performed in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame; and Bishop Gobel celebrated mass on the altar of the country in the Champ de Mars. This was on the 14th of July, just three days before Lafayette and his national guards fluttered the patriots there with musket-balls and bayonets.

Messieurs the deputies of the Assembly, wisely considering that a popular and constitutional education was very essential to one who was destined to be a constitutional king, determined to take the education of the young dauphin into their own hands, or, at least, to name his masters and preceptors. The list they drew up and decreed seemed to intimate that they intended the young prince's education to be of a very encyclopædical character. Among the preceptors named we find artillery officers and naval officers, professors of agriculture and professors of surgery and medicine, mathematicians and mechanicians, metaphysicians and poets, historians and novel-writers, civil engineers and lawyers, chemists and antiquaries, journalists, financiers and accountants, political economists and play-writers,—the total number named by the Assembly being *eighty-eight*. A priest or two were included in the list, but they were priests who had jacobinised their Christianity, or that were known to entertain a contempt for every kind of established religion. Among the men of most note that were named were Condorcet, the visionary and enthusiastic republican, Bernardin de St. Pierre, the author of 'Studies of Nature,' 'Paul and Virginia,' &c., a man of no belief and of no morals; Berquin, the author of 'The Children's Friend' (*L'Ami des Enfans*); Dacier, perpetual secretary of the Académie de Belles-Lettres; Ducis, who did into French, in a very French manner, some of the tragedies of Shakspeare, and wrote a good many plays and poems besides; Lacépède, the naturalist; Lacretelle, the historian; Malesherbes, the ancient prime minister; Quatremère de Quincy, the distinguished writer on arts and antiquities; Pieyres, author of 'The School of Fathers' (*L'Ecole des Pères*); Count Ségur, the diplomatist; and the Abbé Sicard,

* In the autumn of 1819 we chanced to visit Voltaire's famed château at Ferney—a most unpicturesque, mean, and commonplace house—at a very early hour in the morning, before any one was stirring. The preceding night, which we had spent at the inn in Ferney, had been very stormy; and we found the wooden pyramid, or obelisk, lying prostrate on the ground, thrown from its base, which has the heart within it and the inscription without. We raised it up and put it in its proper place. It was so light an affair that a London porter might have carried it under his arm from Ferney all the way to Geneva with very little fatigue.

who had invented or greatly improved the art of teaching the deaf and dumb. Among the men of blood, the scoundrels *par excellence*, included in the list were Herault-de-Sechelles, Noel, and Hom. Louis XVI. could scarcely approve of this list, and he complained in secret of the cruelty of depriving the father of the direction of the education of his only son, and the absurdity of appointing eighty-eight preceptors for a child not yet eight years old. On the other side the extreme patriots denounced nearly every one of the preceptors as a slavish flatterer of the court, hinting that the proper preceptors of the dauphin would be Robespierre and Marat, and true men of the people like them.

The revision of the constitution began on the 3rd of August, when Thouret presented a report of great length from the constitution committee. That committee was originally composed of Thouret, Target, Chapelier, Sièyes, Talleyrand, Rabaud St. Etienne, and Desmeuniers; but for the revision there had been added Barnave, Duport, Alexandre Lameth, Clermont-Tonnère, Baumetz, Buzot, and Pétion: but Clermont-Tonnère did not sign the present report or project, having ceased attending the committee from the moment the Assembly had suspended the executive functions of the king. Although they all had subscribed their names to the present project, Sièyes had taken little part in drawing it up, because he considered that the whole thing was defective, and that France must soon apply to him to make an entirely new constitution; and Buzot and Pétion had had little to do with it, because they were anxious not to mend or patch up this constitution, which recognised the shadow of a king, but to have an entirely new one constructed according to the principles of their own republicanism. The discussions on the report of the committee lasted till the 1st of September. Barnave and the Lameths had secretly engaged to the court to get rid of some of the restrictions on the royal prerogative, and to propose articles proper to give more dignity and stability to the throne. It is said that they even undertook to recommend a House of Peers, or a second separate chamber of some sort. As they had always acted in the strongest opposition to any such measures as these, it was agreed among them, and with Malouet, who had always been an enthusiastic royalist, and was now admitted into their confidence and into their plan, that he (Malouet) should put himself forward in the debate and call for extensive alterations in the constitution; and that then Barnave and the Lameths, in pretending to answer and refute him, should admit that here and there something might be altered for the better, and that certain restrictions on the prerogative were unwise, and calculated to embarrass and endanger the constitution when it should come into full action. Malouet did his part pretty well, and Barnave acquitted himself with considerable address; but, as the greater part of the côté droit had seceded from the House or declared that they would no longer vote because the royal powers of Louis had been suspended, there was no chance of the scheme succeeding, no possibility of introducing any important change. Malouet, who was frequently hooted and interrupted, boldly attempted to induce them to reject the declaration of the Rights of Man, which they had placed at the head and front of the constitution. "The abuse of these words, 'liberty and equality,' 'sovereignty of the people,' and 'general will,' have," said he, "already so completely turned the heads of the people, that it will be very cruel in our constitution to prolong such a delirium." He told them that they had so pared down the royal power, that the king would be but a political nullity, and that they, and circumstances, had utterly destroyed the moral influence of the sovereign over the people: that they had taken all the powers of the state from the executive, to vest them in the legislative; that the suspensive veto was a prerogative the king would find it impossible to exercise; and that they had placed so many stumbling-blocks in the path of the sovereign, that he could not take a step without difficulty and danger. Thouret told Malouet that without the declaration of the Rights of Man the constitution would be without a base; and that, the Assembly having decreed that declaration, the committee had not thought themselves competent either to reject it or to alter it. "And how could we alter it," exclaimed Thouret, "now that that declaration of the Rights of Man has acquired a religious and sacred character; now that it has become the symbol of our political faith, now that it is inscribed in all our public places, and even pasted up in the cottage of every peasant; now that children learn to read from it? We believe that it contains the germs of everything that is useful and conducive to the happiness of society." Pétion spoke rather frequently, and every time to recommend some extension of the popular power. Robespierre, in an early part of the discussions, nakedly recommended universal suffrage as a thing essential to the existence of any rational liberty. They had in vain destroyed the distinctions of nobility, if they were to leave the distinction of property and money. According to the money qualification required in an elector, Jean Jacques Rousseau, himself the most philosophic and greatest of all legislators, would not have had a vote. The revolution that had been made was dearest to the people, who had in fact made it; and artisans, mechanics, agricultural labourers, were men far more independent than the rich, because their wants were still more limited than their fortunes. He was much applauded by the galleries. Several days after this Robespierre still further endeared himself to the mob by recommending that the initiative, and the right of instituting prosecutions against conspirators, &c., should be taken from the king's ministers and vested in the representatives of the people; and he reminded his admirers of the late conduct of de Bouillé, who had so long been conspiring

against the nation, and who, instead of being prosecuted, was protected by ministers. The Duke of Orleans spoke once upon that part of the constitution which deprived every member of the royal family of the right of voting in elections. He said he thought it cruel, and in direct contradiction to other parts of the constitution, to deprive the king's relations of this right of active citizens. "You have declared," said he, "that all are French citizens who are born in France of a French father. Now, the individuals for whom I speak were all born in France of French fathers. You have resolved that by means of conditions easy to accomplish, every man in the world may become a French citizen. Now, I ask, are not the king's relations *men?* You have said that the quality of French citizen can only be lost by a voluntary renunciation, or by a sentence of condemnation for crimes committed. If, then, it is no crime in me to have been born a relation of the king, I can only lose my quality of citizen by an act of my own free will. ..... I cannot believe that your committees intend to deprive any one of the king's relations of the right of choosing between the quality of French citizen and any expectation he may have, near or remote, of ascending the throne. I conclude that you ought to reject this article purely and simply; but if you adopt it, I declare that I will lay upon your table my formal renunciation of my rights as a member of the reigning dynasty, in order to hold fast my rights as a French citizen!" He descended from the tribune in the midst of tremendous applauses, which were continued for some time both by the galleries and the majority. Dupont observed that the House had nothing to do with these renunciations, and that the patriotic act of M. d'Orleans ought to have no influence on the matter under deliberation. The unroyal Bourbon said, with a smile, that a personal renunciation was always worth something. Bonneville, one of the duke's creatures, said that the renunciation of M. d'Orleans was the effect of a pure patriotism; that it was an act of civism of which history furnished few examples. D'André said that M. d'Orleans had no right to renounce the crown either for himself or for his children, or on account of his *creditors;* and this produced some laughter. Sillery, in a very long speech, supported the proposition of his friend and master, declaring that the question was really settled from the moment that they had deprived all the princes of the royal family of their titles and distinctions, and classed them as simple citizens. Sillery further said that it was dangerous to degrade men who might possibly succeed to the crown; that the best education a prince could receive would be in the exercise of his rights as an active citizen; and that, if the present excluding article passed, the nation could never expect from that degraded and civilly proscribed family anything but ambitious regents, imbecile kings, and tyrants. Robespierre remarked that the Assembly were occupying themselves too much about private individuals, and too little about the nation. He said it was not the intention of the article to degrade the king's relations, or to intimate any fear of their dangerous influence; that nothing was intended but to mark the honorary distance which separated the family of the king from all other families. He thought, however, that it would be advantageous to give all the rights of active citizens to the king's male relations, to allow them to vote, and even to sit as members in the legislature. This, he said, would contribute very materially to democratise them and make them real patriots. "If," said he, "we exclude them, that family will remain among us as the only indestructible root of aristocracy; the late noblesse will rally round them, flattering their pride and making alliances with them; and we shall soon see a formidable league against liberty and equality, and the true principles of our constitution, formed by all the families that regret the loss of their ancient privileges and distinctions." With a most unlucky and inexact application, he spoke of England, where the sons and relations of the king sat in the House of Lords as peers. This gave great offence, and several voices cried out against upper chambers and English aristocracy. Scared out of his English examples, Robespierre took a flight into Hungary and Bohemia, and spoke some miserable nonsense about the constitutions of those countries, which allowed princes of the blood-royal to sit in diets, &c. His eagerness, and the length at which he spoke, seem to prove that, at this time at least, he was in a friendly understanding with the Duke of Orleans. At last he was interrupted by loud murmurs. He turned very yellow, and said that he would give up the attempt to explain his opinions. This provoked laughter and some louder murmurs. "I am grieved," said he, "to see that I have not the liberty of speaking ....." A voice roared, "You have been speaking an hour—finish!" "It grieves me, I say," continued Robespierre, "that I should have attempted to develope my opinion so as to give offence to anybody; but I beg the Assembly to consider under what disadvantages those who maintain the principles which I have defended declare their opinions in this tribune. I believe that the love of peace, that motive so often introduced for the purpose of working upon our feelings, ought to induce those who have adopted opinions contrary to mine and those of my friends to leave off continually representing our opinions as tending to degrade royalty and injure the public weal; as if we were not permitted to profess the opinions which our very adversaries themselves have often maintained in this Assembly." He descended from the tribune loudly applauded by the côté gauche; and after some more tumultuous debating it was carried that the article should be omitted, and that the relations of the king should exercise all the rights of active citizens. But it was voted immediately after, by 267 against 180, that no member of the royal family should ever be eligible

to places in the nomination of the people. In the course of these stormy discussions the president completely lost the command of his temper, and jangled and quarrelled with a part of the Assembly. Sillery, on one occasion, cried out that the president ought to be called to order.

As a very important part of their proceedings, the Assembly or the constitution committee thought proper to lay it down as an unalterable law that no changes or modifications should be made in the present constitution by any national convention or legislature whatsoever previously to the year 1800! Malouet, who lived to see heaven knows how many constitutions made and unmade before that fixed term, harangued against this arrogant prohibition. "Remark, I pray you," said he, "in what a season and under what circumstances we are to be prohibited from altering our new laws. You only know the wishes and opinions of those classes of men whose interests and passions have been gratified and promoted. All contrary opinions are subjugated by terror or by force. France has hitherto been heard only through the organ of the clubs; and at present every public functionary that exists has either sprung from those societies or has become subjected to them. [*Loud murmurs.*] And let nobody say that the constitution, founded upon the unchangeable principles of liberty and justice, ought to have the assent of all good citizens; for what signifies the purity of your theory, if the modes of government to which it is united perpetuate among us those disorders under which we groan? Have you taken any measures for making that multitude of tyrannical clubs which corrupt and subdue public opinion, which exercise an entire influence over elections, which domineer over all the authorities, give back to us that liberty and peace which they have torn from us? The tyranny and insolence of certain clubs, the presumptuous pretensions of all of them, are enough, if not repressed in time, to bring about a civil war. Have you taken any measures in order that those masses of armed men who cover the whole of France as national guards may be restrained within the limits which the laws prescribe? [*Laughter and murmurs.*] If, then, your constitution does not tend to check the abuses of the *extraordinary means* that have been made use of to establish it, how can you propose to us a long interval, a considerable space of time, before any alterations or reforms in it shall be permitted? ..... Are we to remain till the year 1800 in the horrible state we now live in? In this very moment when, to make use of the phrases most in mode, the most holy and the most free of constitutions is proclaimed, the most horrible assaults are committed against liberty, against property, against humanity, and the consciences of men! Deceived yourselves as to the mechanism of political society, you have endeavoured to regenerate it without any regard to its dissolution, and, taking effects for causes, you have considered as obstacles the discontents of one part of the nation, and as an excellent means of doing your work the enthusiasm and exaltation of another part of the nation; and in believing that you only put down obstacles, and favour your means of action, you are daily overthrowing your own principles, and teaching the people to set them at defiance: you knock down with one hand what you build up with the other. It is in this manner that you, on the point of your dissolution, leave your constitution without support between these obstacles and these means, which are nothing but the convulsive movements of the revolution; and, still farther to augment the activity of this hurricane, it is proposed that you should decree universal suffrage, that you should introduce the additional tempest of a new constitutive power! Nothing but the work of destruction can be well done in the heat and fury of a revolution. We ought now to be calm and to judge deliberately. We ought, if it be yet possible, to restore some tranquillity to the country, to stop the popular fermentation, in order that the king and all classes of Frenchmen may be in a condition to judge of the constitution you are presenting, without uneasiness and without danger. We ought, in short, to put an end to the state of revolution; that is to say, you ought to begin to annihilate all plans, proceedings, and violent acts that are contrary to the principles of your constitution; for no reasonable man can place any confidence in its promises and assurances of personal liberty and security, of freedom of conscience, of respect for property, while he sees all these things openly violated, and no power among us strong enough to prevent that violation! [*Here he was interrupted and hooted, but he continued.*] Gentlemen, you must put down your inquisitorial committees of research, your laws against the emigrants, your multiplied oaths and the deeds of violence which accompany them, the persecution of priests, arbitrary imprisonments of all kinds of individuals, your criminal procedures without evidence, the fanaticism and dominion of the clubs—all these things must disappear in the moment you are presenting your constitution, if you wish it to be freely accepted and executed afterwards..... But even this is not enough for public tranquillity; licentiousness has committed such ravages, the dregs of the nation still boil up so violently, that ..... [*Here he was again interrupted by outcries and menaces.*] Yes! I say the dregs of the nation ..... [*He was once more interrupted by the tumultuous galleries and called to order by the côté gauche: for, for a very long time, it had been a rule in this Assembly that kings and princes might be abused, that the aristocracy and church might be vituperated, but that not a breath of reproach might be uttered against any portion or member of the sovereign people.*] I do not mean an insult; we should be the first nation in the world that ever pretended it contained no dregs." ("*The dregs are the nobles and the priests,*" *roared a voice from the côté*

gauche, which was loudly applauded by the galleries.) "The frightful insubordination of the troops, our religious troubles, the discontents and insurrections of our colonies, which are sadly felt in all our sea-ports, the unsettled, embarrassing state of our finances, becoming worse and worse every day, are motives which ought to induce you to adopt some general arrangements for rendering government as imposing and repressive as it is now powerless and contemptible; and, if some such arrangements are not adopted on the instant, France will long remain a prey to this frightful anarchy!" Malouet finished by moving twenty-seven resolutions, which were all rejected with contempt. He, however, made the same proposition a few days later, when Chapélier accused him of a design to make a counter-revolution. On the same day Lafayette made one of his feeble speeches: he thought that the same Assembly which had recognised the sovereignty of the French people, and their right of making their own government, could not, consistently, deny the people the right of modifying their government. "I think," said he, "that every good constitution, as I had the honour to tell you on the 11th of July, 1789, when we were engaged upon the declaration of the Rights of Man, ought to offer constitutional and peaceable means of revising and modifying the form of government. I think that it would be an attack upon the sovereign right of the French people to adopt a proposition which would absolutely deprive them of that right for thirty years, that is to say, during a whole generation." At length these Medes and Persians magnanimously and finally resolved that their constitution might be revised a little sooner than the year 1800. They inserted in their constitution an article to this effect:—The constituent National Assembly declare that the nation has the imprescriptible right to change the constitution; but, nevertheless, considering that it is most conformable to the national interest only to use that right through means afforded by the constitution itself, in reforming any articles which experience shall prove to require reform, the Assembly decree that future legislatures shall proceed in the form following:—1. When three consecutive legislatures shall have expressed a uniform desire for the altering of any article of the constitution, the revision shall take place. 2. But the two next following legislatures are not to propose the form of any constitutional article. 3. Of three legislatures which may subsequently propose any changes, the two first are not to engage in that matter until the two last months of their last session, and the third is not to engage in it until the end of their first annual session, or until the beginning of their second annual session. Their deliberations and reforms are to be regulated by the same forms as their legislative acts; *but their decrees, making the alterations proposed in the constitution, are not to be subject to the approval or sanction of the king.* 4. The fourth legislature, augmented by two hundred and forty-nine members elected in the departments, shall form the Assembly of revision and modification: these two hundred and forty-nine members are to be elected after the other representatives to the Assembly have been chosen; and this Assembly of revision *must only be composed of one chamber.* 5. The members of the third legislature who may have demanded any changes in the constitution must not be elected to the Assembly of revision. 6. The members of the Assembly of revision, after having pronounced together (*tous ensemble*) the oath to live free or die, will take, one by one, the oath to confine themselves to alter or reform only such articles as have been submitted to them by the uniform wish of three preceding legislatures; and to maintain, moreover, with all their power, the constitution of the kingdom as decreed by the constituent National Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to be in all things faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king. 7. The Assembly of revision shall afterwards occupy itself with the ordinary parliamentary business; but, as soon as the revision of the constitution shall be finished, the two hundred and forty-nine extra members shall retire without taking any part in the legislative acts.—And thus these madmen fancied that, at a time when the revolution was in full progress, and when they had not the power to stop it, or retard it, they could tie up the hands of their successors by their mathematical, precise ordinances and regulations. We shall presently see how these successors respected their decrees.

It would be a mere waste of time to describe all the clauses of a constitution which was strangled in its birth by these political man-midwives. The number of representatives was fixed at 745; and these were to be elected every two years, in a roundabout manner, by means of primary and electoral assemblies, who were to be chosen by the active citizens, and who were then to choose the deputies or members. Although universal suffrage was rejected for the present, a very near approach was made to it: for to be an active or voting citizen nothing more was required than to be aged twenty-five years, to have a fixed domicile in some town, village, or canton, to pay a direct contribution equal to the value of three days' labour, not to be a footman or valet—or, as these constitution-mongers expressed it, "not to be in a state of domesticity, that is to say, a servant on wages;"—to be inscribed on the roll of national guards, and to have taken the *serment civique.*

On the 3rd of September the National Assembly, after hearing it all read over article by article, voted and declared that the constitution was *finished*, and that they themselves could no longer make any alterations in it. And, having made this declaration with proper solemnity and emphasis, they named a committee of sixty members to offer it that very day to the king for his pure and simple acceptation. The poor prisoner in the Tuileries was allowed a week to make up his

mind, the Assembly having the gratuitous impudence to assert that there was nothing to force his sanction from him, nothing to prevent that sanction having the character of a free and deliberate act. To give some colour of truth to these assertions, they, on this said 3rd of September, granted the king a little more personal liberty, or at least the appearance of it: the inner guard and bedroom sentinels were removed from the palace, and he was told that he might go to St. Cloud or wherever he liked in order to study the constitutional charter, and accept it freely. Even Thiers says—"But what could Louis XVI. do? To have refused the constitution would have been to abdicate in favour of the republic. The safest thing he could do, even according to his own system, was to accept, and to await from time the restitution of those powers which he believed to be his due." But there was more than this—there was more than a mere abdication attached to a refusal of this crude and inexecutable constitution;—there was a horrible captivity, and there was a certain death at the end of it—and this Thiers must have known, though he does not choose to say it, though he has not the courage and the moral honesty to make any strictures unfavourable to the national honour or hurtful to the susceptible pride of his countrymen. The only honourable path the king could pursue was assuredly that of abdication; but Louis could not but know that abdication would not give him the liberty of quitting France or of sending his wife and children out of it—that he would only step from the throne to the state prison and the block—and he was destitute of that exalted and rare heroism which can brave perils even great as this. Louis, though a slow, was not a dull man: he had read much, he had attentively studied the spirit and forms of constitutions, and appears really to have possessed more information about them than all the fluent and precipitate men in the Assembly put together: he said secretly to those in his confidence that the thing would never do, that this constitution could never march; but, yielding to circumstances and to the force of the people, and faintly hoping in the chances of the future, he gave, on the 13th of September, his acceptation pure and simple. It is said that all his ministers, with the single exception of Montmorin, insisted on the necessity of his accepting without making any objections; and that this was also the opinion of Prince Kaunitz, the Austrian ambassador, who was frequently consulted, as his knowledge, ability, and address were highly prized, and the sincerity of his desire to be useful to the queen and her family was indisputable. It is also said that Malouet, taking a contrary view, wished the king to explain frankly to the Assembly the vices and dangers which he had discovered in their constitution; but that Barnave and Duport, alarmed at the spirit which reigned in the Jacobin Club, and even in the Assembly, and fearing some frightful excesses, united in opinion with the majority of the king's ministers and with Prince Kaunitz, and urged the king to accept without offering either objections or criticisms.*

When the acceptation pure and simple was announced to the Assembly, there was a hollow show of great joy and jubilation. The letter announcing the great fact was honoured with tremendous applauses; but sharp eyes that looked along the côté gauche saw little but sneers and contemptuous smiles; and the "Vive le Roi" of the galleries sounded like a mockery. Lafayette, taking advantage of this seeming return of kind and generous feelings, proposed a general amnesty for all political acts or offences since the beginning of the Revolution, and the cessation of the legal proceedings already instituted against those who had been concerned in the flight to Varennes; and the Assembly immediately passed a decree to this effect. On the next day, the 14th of September, a discharge of cannon announced that the king was coming down in person to the Salle de Manège, to give his assent *vivâ voce*, and to swear; for more swearing was exacted from the hapless and already perjured man. Before Louis arrived, the Assembly vehemently discussed the question whether they should receive the king sitting or standing, and whether he should sit or stand while he pronounced his oath. A great number of voices cried out that of course they were all to be seated, and the king to stand with his hat off! Malouet observed that in all circumstances the Assembly, in presence of the sovereign, ought to recognise him as their chief; that it would be insulting the nation as much as the monarch, not to treat the chief of the state with the respect which was due to him. And Malouet demanded that, as the king would pronounce his oath standing, the Assembly ought to hear him in the same attitude. This seemed to make some impression on the house; but a rustic Breton deputy spoiled the effect by crying out in his sharp provincial voice—"I have an amendment to propose, which will suit all of us. Let us decree that it shall be permitted to M. Malouet, and to whosoever else is anxious for it, to receive the king on their knees; but let us maintain our dignity!" The Assembly thereupon decreed that they should be seated, and that the king should stand; because the king was only the chief functionary of the state, and because the deputies represented the state itself and the sovereignty of the people. Upon entering the hall

* "Those," says Madame Campan, "who honestly wished that the constitution should be maintained advised him not to accept purely and simply; and of this number were Montmorin and Malouet. The king seemed strongly to relish their advice; and this is one of the greatest proofs of the sincerity of the unfortunate monarch."

The American, Gouverneur Morris, thought that the king ought not to give his acceptation without honestly stating his objections; and he even prepared a memoir or the sketch of a paper to be read by Louis to the Assembly. The minister Montmorin said that this paper was too forcible, and that the temper of the people would not bear it. Montmorin, however, carried the paper to the king, who admired it, and said that it was only defective because he (the king) had not the command of a hundred and fifty thousand men. But another paper which Morris wrote, and gave to Montmorin for the king, was not delivered by the minister until after Louis had signed and sworn to the whole of the constitution.

the king was hailed with a few vivats, and was then conducted to a chair by the side of the president, and on the same line with it—for the Assembly had legislated about these matters of chairs and stools. The queen was conducted to a private box, which had been prepared for her. Louis naturally rose from his seat to pronounce his discourse, but, perceiving that the president and all the deputies, except a very few, whose coat-tails were not safe, remained seated, he sat down also. In concluding, he said, with a desperate and most painful effort to look happy and in earnest:—"I thus solemnly consecrate the acceptation I have given to the constitutional act; and in consequence I *swear* to be faithful to the nation and the law, and to employ all the power which is delegated to me in maintaining the constitution and causing the laws to be executed. May this great and memorable epoch re-establish peace and union among us, and become the pledge of the happiness of the people and of the prosperity of the empire!" Then the president rose to deliver his obligato harangue; but, seeing that the king did not rise, he sat down also, and spoke sitting. What he delivered only a Frenchman could have spoken. "Sire," said he, "how great in our eyes and dear to our hearts, how sublime in our history ought to be the epoch of this regeneration, which gives to France free citizens, to the French a country, and to you, as king, a new title of grandeur and of glory; to you again, as a man, a new source of enjoyments and new sensations!" And this vapid nonsense was applauded to the skies by the house and by the galleries; and in their admiration of it men cried "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" with their loudest voice. Having signed and sworn, and having nothing more to do in that place, poor Louis was reconducted to the gate of the Tuileries by the whole Assembly in a body, by military bands, by detachments of national guardsmen, and by crowds of the sovereign people. Once within that palace, he let his forced disguise drop from him, and revealed his real feeling as a man and as a king. He rushed after the queen into her apartment; he was pale, and his countenance almost convulsed; he threw himself into a chair, and putting his handkerchief to his eyes, he muttered in an agony, "Ah! madame, why did you go to witness my humiliation? How! You came into France to see . . . ." His words were stopped by his sobs and tears. The queen threw herself on her knees before him, and threw her arms round him. This touching scene, which will touch the hearts of all whose feelings have not been deadened and effaced by the pedantry and bigotry of politics, was witnessed by the faithful woman who describes it, and who found herself in the queen's apartment when the king entered it so abruptly. "I remained," continues Madame Campan, "not through a blamable curiosity, but through a stupor which rendered me incapable of judging what I ought to do. The queen said hastily, 'Go out! quit the room!' with an accent which plainly said, 'Do not remain to be a witness of the weakness and despair of your sovereign!'"* And, while the king and queen were weeping and in despair within the Tuileries, the mob without kept shouting, "Vive la Nation!" "Vive le Roi!" and the bands of music kept playing the 'Ca Ira,' and the other most approved airs; and the big, lying cannon kept telling heaven and earth that the constitution was finished, that the king had signed it and sworn to it, and that, from henceforth and for evermore, there would be nothing but liberty, and equality, and virtue, and happiness in France! And this National Assembly, these pretended constitutional monarchy-men, who were still numerous enough to form an overwhelming majority in the House on any question that they had at heart, and upon which they did not stand in fear of the clubs and the mobs, had prepared and decreed these unmannerly, ungenerous, unmanly insults to the king, as an essential part of their triumph over him, and almost as a part and parcel of their *constitution*, which was to be in this manner completed! And these mendacious drivellers, and the worse drivellers that support their cause and defend their conduct even in our own days, had and have the face to assert that *they* never degraded royalty or acted ungenerously or unfeelingly towards the sovereign; that *they* left the king and the constitution possessed of all the respect due to each of them; and that it was their ill-bred fanatic successors in the legislature that made the degradation, that destroyed in the people the last respect for royalty and the lingering feelings of humanity; that did all the mischief; that both began and ended the destruction of constitutional monarchy, to try a republic which the vast majority of the National Assembly had never dreamed of!

During the rest of the day the gardens and the palace of the Tuileries were crowded by multitudes of people of all classes, except perhaps of that class which usually frequents courts and palaces; and at night all Paris was illuminated. But the enlightened legislature were determined to celebrate the glorious epoch with infinitely more preparation and pomp; and they decreed that there should be a national festival on Sunday, the 18th of September, and that the king and the royal family should be invited to attend. On the appointed day, a vast deal of gunpowder was burnt in firing salvos in various parts of Paris, and more particularly in the Champ de Mars, the grand centre and scene of all national fêtes. Bailly in his gilded coach, and Lafayette on his white horse, were the most conspicuous objects in the celebration; and the two silly men had apparently no foresight or forethought of their fast-approaching doom. At the hour of noon they entered into the Champ de Mars, and Mayor Bailly, preceded by heralds-at-arms, and surrounded by his municipals and a strong guard of grenadiers, ascended the altar of the

* MS. note of Madame Campan, given as a note in the edition of her Mémoires, by Baudouin Frères.

country, held up in his hands the blessed constitutional charter, and said:—"Citizens, the constituent National Assembly, having commenced the work of the constitution on the 17th of June, 1789, have happily finished it on the 3rd of September, 1791. The constitutional act has been solemnly accepted and signed by the king on the 14th of the same month. The constituent National Assembly remits the sacred deposit to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the king, and of the judges, to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives, and mothers; to the affection of young citizens, and to the courage of all the French." One hundred big guns were then fired off, and a patriotic hymn was executed by an immense orchestra and a countless chorus; and then all the people sang 'Ca Ira.' At five o'clock in the evening the eyes of the patriots were rejoiced by the ascent of a magnificent balloon, and later in the evening there were illuminations, and inscriptions, and transparencies, with all manner of ingenious points and devices. A shoemaker in the Rue St. Honoré set up in front of his house, in transparent letters, "VIVE LE ROI, S'IL EST DE BONNE FOI" (Long live the king, if he is sincere); and other means were adopted to express the very general doubt as to the king's good faith. The powers potential invited the king and queen to ride out to see the sight, escorted by Lafayette's aides-de-camp and the chief officers of the national guards. There were a good many "Vive le Rois!" but, every time those acclamations ceased, a man of the people, who never for a moment quitted the side of the royal carriage, bawled into the window—"No! do not believe them: Vive la Nation!" This sinister voice, heard so often, struck the queen with terror. A vast deal of oil and wax was consumed, the spectacle was superb, and there was a vast deal of music and dancing; but it was observed that there was not that cordiality, that unanimity of sentiment, and that noble enthusiasm, that so eminently characterised the fête of the Federation.* Madame de Staël, who witnessed the scene, and so many other portions of the rapid drama, says:—"They gave fêtes, as if they fancied themselves happy; they commanded rejoicings, to persuade themselves that the danger was over; the words 'king', 'representative assembly,' 'constitutional monarchy,' gratified the ears of the French, who believed they had obtained the reality, whereas they had got nothing but names. The king and queen were requested to go to the Opera. They gave the ballet of 'Psyche.' At the moment when the Furies were dancing on the stage and shaking their torches, and when the coloured light of those torches spread all over the theatre, I saw the faces of the king and queen by that ghastly light, meant to imitate the light of the infernal regions, and sad presentiments of the future rushed upon me. The queen made an effort to appear cheerful, but a profound sadness was perceptible through all her obliging smiles. The king, as usual, appeared more occupied with what he saw than with what he felt: he looked on every side of the house with calmness, and, one might have even thought, with indifference. ..... After the opera, they drove to the Champs Elysées, which are only separated from the palace and the garden of the Tuileries by the fatal Place de la Révolution. They went slowly in their carriage through an immense crowd, and there were cries of 'Vive le Roi!' but these were the same people that had insulted the king on his return from Varennes, and their applauses were founded upon as little reason as their outrages. I met, in my walk, several members of the National Assembly. They looked like dethroned sovereigns, very uneasy about their successors. Assuredly every one ought to have wished, as they did, that they could have continued to take charge of the constitution they had made; for enough was already known of the spirit of the people and of the turn the next elections would take, to destroy all hope of getting a *better* set of men. But one was stupified by the noise heard on every side: the people singing, the hawkers of newspapers shouting, 'Grand acceptation of the king! monarchic constitution!' &c. &c. It seemed as if the revolution was finished and liberty established. Yet people looked at one another as if every man wished to see in his neighbour that confidence and security he did not feel himself."*

Some of the last debates in the Assembly were about the finances of the country, the wretched state of which, without any other active cause, would have proved quite enough to hurry on other convulsions. All that the Assembly could do was to condemn all that had been done by Necker and by every other minister of finance, and to decree the fabrication of fresh assignats. In one of these debates—on the 28th of September, only ten days after the public rejoicings for the completion of the constitution—there was a scene as violent and disgraceful as any that could take place in the very lowest of the clubs. Abbé Maury, who remained at his post till the last, was grossly insulted, and, losing his ordinary command of temper, he exclaimed, "Monsieur le president, make those barkers be silent! Call to order that ecclesiastic there who has had the impudence to call me an insolent fellow!" Lavie, one of the côté gauche men, hereupon cried out to Maury, "Ah, we will give you a good recommendation in the departments!" Here several members of the côté droit started up and threatened the côté gauche man with their doubled fists; and d'Espréménil, the ex-parlementer, roared out, "Justice on the infamous threat held out by M. Lavie!" To which Lavie responded, "There is nothing infamous in this Assembly except those men that are now

* Dulaure.

* Considérations sur la Révolution Française.—We learn from Governeur Morris, as well as from other sources, that this eloquent and romantic lady did not think so ill of the constitution at the time as she thought afterwards, years after its overthrow, and when its absurdities were made manifest to all the world. At the moment she went along with the rest of the hair-brained enthusiasts and her extravagant eulogiums of the revolution, and of this very constitution, seem occasionally to have provoked the plain-speaking American to breaches of politeness.

speaking!" And this so provoked M. Guilhermy, that he called M. Lavie a lousy beggar.* Even such was the decorum of this Assembly in its last days—even such that dignity which Thiers cannot sufficiently applaud. There were other stormy discussions about the army; for they all seemed to feel that the king's acceptation, pure and simple as it was, would prevent neither a civil nor a foreign war; and all such efforts as they could make, in their poverty and embarrassment, were made to increase the land forces, and to put the navy on a respectable footing. Lafayette spoke confidently of the valour and fidelity to the constitution of the national guards, and announced that the zealous Parisians had already formed several new battalions that were all under arms and encamped near the capital. The Assembly decreed that henceforward all the national guards should receive the same pay as the troops of the line. Chabroud made a startling report on the insubordination and the mutinous spirit of a great many regiments, and proposed decreeing instantly a rigorous code of discipline, establishing the punishment of death for all officers and all non-commissioned officers, and twenty years in the galleys for all soldiers that, after a third proclamation, should persist in their sedition. Pétion, who was among those who had helped to create this seditious spirit, instantly demanded an adjournment. Alexandre Lameth rose and said:—"I declare that it is the opinions which have been pronounced in the clubs, and particularly in the National Assembly itself, by Pétion and Robespierre, that have produced the greater part of this evil! They have been eternally arguing upon the declaration of the Rights of Man, and upon the doctrine of equality, as if there could possibly be equality in an army. The common soldiers have been taught to defy their officers. I have seen a soldier applauded for saying that some fortifications were not properly constructed, and that he would denounce the minister-at-war to one of the Paris sections. I ask, can subordination and discipline exist with such denunciations, and such encouragement given to them? At this very moment the peaceable citizens of France are groaning and trembling at the excesses of the troops, and regiments are threatening to burn and pillage whole towns; and yet this is the moment in which M. Pétion chooses to stand up in defence of the soldiery! All our generals are writing that they cannot answer for their troops, nor foresee or prevent what they may do next." Robespierre, after making several useless efforts to obtain a hearing, was allowed, at last, to ascend the tribune and speak. He said that he could prove to all the world that his opinions had no tendency to excite discord or trouble; that he always preferred the arm of reason to the base weapon of calumny; that he thought that the state of the army ought not to be judged of by the terrors which some persons were endeavouring to excite, but by real facts. "I know not," he concluded, "whether the facts which have just been cited to you are false, but I swear there is a great deal of exaggeration in them." A member of the côté droit put the question to him point-blank:—"Is it not true that you keep up a correspondence with the army?" To this Robespierre replied, as he replied to every accusation, "I will not answer an inculpation which is either a ridiculous assertion or an atrocious calumny!" Charles Lameth gave Robespierre the lie direct, and begged the Assembly never to believe him. Estourmel said it was high time to put down the intrigues and delusions of a horrible faction. Robespierre rejoined, that, if there was any discontent among the troops, it was the fault of the Assembly; that some of the regiments had been excited by being told that they must lay aside the tricolor cockade; that there was no necessity for being severe against the poor soldiers, who were very excellent patriots; that it was very dangerous for the Assembly to be always threatening that they would send out the national guards against the troops of the line, and that it was very unwise and inhuman to think of making a sanguinary military code. The majority, however, rejected Pétion's motion for an adjournment, and the decree which Chabroud had proposed was passed.

On the 29th of September, Chapelier, who was attempting to do now what ought to have been done a year and a half earlier, presented a report on political clubs and societies, and the perilous Jacobin system of affiliation. Robespierre, who now well knew his force, and who derived boldness from the conviction of the weakness of his enemies, vigorously defended the clubs against this attack, which was chiefly directed by the Feuillants and the members of that club who had seceded from the Société Mère. He greatly embarrassed Chapelier and his friends by reminding them of the time when they too were among the hottest of the clubists and Jacobins—when they too counted on the clubs as the best weapon to be employed in working out the revolution and forming the public mind: He threw in their teeth the illimitable liberty accorded by their own laws and decrees; and he was at no loss to find good logical arguments for the support of the affiliating system. "The constitution," said he, "guarantees to the French people the right of assembling peaceably and without arms; the constitution guarantees to the French people the free communication of their ideas, provided only no injury is done to any one. Upon the ground of these principles, I ask, how can any man dare to tell you that the correspondence of a club, or the union of men peaceable and without arms with other societies of the same nature, can be proscribed by the principles of the constitution? If these assemblies of men without arms are lawful—if the free communication of ideas is consecrated by the constitution, how shall any man dare to maintain to me that those societies are prohibited from corresponding with one an-

* Hist. Parlement.

other? Are you not entertaining an odious design against liberty? How, and with what face, will you send into the departments an instruction pretending to persuade citizens that it is not permitted to the societies of the friends of the constitution to have correspondence or to have affiliations? And what is there unconstitutional in an affiliation? The affiliation is nothing but the close relation between one lawful society and another lawful society, by means of which they agree to correspond with one another on subjects of general interest. . . . . High eulogiums have been passed in this House on the Jacobin clubs. Those societies have rendered the greatest services to liberty and the nation ever since the beginning of our revolution; and this consideration alone ought to have been sufficient to prevent your committee from hurrying to injure and hamper those societies. But it is said, *we have no longer any need of those clubs, for the revolution is finished, and it is time to break in pieces the instruments which have served us so well!* We shall see! For my part, when I see on one side a constitution only just born beset by enemies interior and exterior; when I see that discourses and external signs are changed, but that actions are still the same, and that men's hearts can only be changed by a miracle; when I see intrigue, falsehood, and calumny studiously spreading alarms, and sowing the seeds of future troubles and discord; when I see the chiefs of opposite factions fighting less for the cause of the revolution than for the power of domineering in the name of the monarch; when, on the other side, I see the exaggerated zeal with which they are prescribing blind obedience, and proscribing the very name of liberty; when I see the extraordinary means they are now endeavouring to employ in order to kill public spirit and bring about the resurrection of prejudices, and trivialities, and the old idolatries, *I do not believe that the revolution is finished yet!*"* In these speeches Robespierre was sowing the seeds of his own future greatness, and keeping alive that spirit which would render it impossible that the revolution should not go a great deal farther. He went on to declare that all kinds of paltry means had been employed by little men, "the opprobrium and curse of revolutions," to discredit the patriotic clubs; and that they had made converts to their opinions of all the rogues and fools in France—"*tout ce qu'il y a en France de méchans et de sots.*" He told the Assembly, and he would tell the people, that, if the ever-wakeful patriotic clubs were hoodwinked or put down, the clubs of royalists, of enemies to the constitution, and of all manner of conspirators against liberty, would rise and be rampant, and never cease their machinations until some horrible counter-revolution was effected. He said that the present project of law against the clubs arose principally out of the personal quarrel of certain individuals with the Société Mère—certain individuals who had once exercised too great an influence over public opinion, but who were now spiteful because they had lost their popularity in the clubs and everywhere else. He concluded his long harangue by saying, "If there is a truly hideous spectacle, it will be seen in the Assembly sacrificing the clubs, and the security of the constitution, for the interests of a few individuals devoured by passions and full of dangerous ambition! I demand the previous question." But he was beaten on a division, and a large majority carried a law against the clubs:—considering, said the preamble, that no society, club, or association of citizens can have, under any form, a political existence, or exercise any influence or inspection over the acts of the constituted powers and legal authorities; that, under no pretext, these societies or clubs can appear under a collective name to draw up petitions or appoint deputations, to assist at public ceremonies, or to carry any other object, the National Assembly decrees, &c. The penalties were not very severe, and it was very soon evident that they could not be enforced.

The Assembly decreed that the Jews settled in France, having the other necessary qualifications, should enjoy all the rights of active citizens; and that whatsoever negro slave touched the soil of France should be from that moment free. We believe there was a law under the old monarchy to precisely the same effect. The present law was proposed by that humane revolutionist, Dubois-Crancé, who in 1793 butchered the people of Lyons as if they had been sheep, who was accustomed to judge of men's patriotism and political competency by the quantity of blood they had shed, and to ask every candidate for revolutionary honours or places, "*What have you done to be hanged in case of a counter-revolution?*" In the course of some debates on St. Domingo and the other French colonies in the West Indies, which were all in a blaze, Robespierre and the Jacobins were again accused of being the *causa malorum;* and for some time the high-priest of Jacobinism was kept out of the tribune and prevented from being heard. At last, however, and evidently through the exertion of the lungs of his sympathisers and disciples in the galleries, he obtained a hearing, and was enabled to retort and accuse the Feuillant club of almost every imaginable crime and horror. "If," cried he, "in order to be heard it is enough to give vent to personalities, I will tell you that those who have allowed themselves to scatter suspicions and doubts are the men that ought to be suspected—I will tell you that those are the men that are betraying their country! If some individuals, if some section of the Assembly, are to be permitted to impose silence on myself and other members, I will tell you that the traitors to their country are those men that are endeavouring to make you revoke your former rules and decrees; and if, in order to have the right of being heard in this Assembly, one must attack individuals, I will tell you that I personally attack Barnave and the Lameths!" ..... He

* Hist. Parlement.

was interrupted by thunders of applause from the galleries and the côté gauche; and the côté droit roared out, "To the Abbaye! to the Abbaye!" The terrible hubbub lasted many minutes, being increased rather than diminished by the ringing of the president's hand-bell; and when it subsided Robespierre continued:—"I defend all patriot citizens; and, if I make reflections upon certain members of this Assembly, it is because they are guilty. I defy them to answer me!" The galleries renewed their applauses, and the poor president nearly worked his arm off, and cracked his voice in ringing his hand-bell and in shouting out a useless order to the galleries to be silent. When this fresh tumult had exhausted itself by its own violence, Barnave ascended the tribune to accept Robespierre's challenge; but he looked like a man that knew his dangerous secret was known: he seemed to quail before the galleries and the spectrum of his intrigues with the court; he spoke coldly and languidly, and not without visible embarrassment. He quitted his own defence and his attack on Robespierre to assail Brissot, who was not a member of the House, but whom he very correctly described as being a principal author of the troubles in the colonies. Some little heat was, however, put into him by the insulting laughter of the côté gauche and the galleries; and he exclaimed, "Honest men must not be the dupes of a cabal!" But Robespierre instantly responded, "Honest men must not be the dupes of traitors!" And Rœderer said that it was not from the tribune that Barnave ought to retaliate for the flagellations which Brissot was constantly giving him in the newspapers.

One of the last things announced in the National Assembly was that the whole of La Vendée was in a state of insurrection on account of religion and priests; and the Assembly, considering that the laws they had already passed were not sufficiently severe, made some new laws against refractory unsworn priests. At the same time, however, terrible accusations were brought against the sworn and constitutional priests, some of whom were driving might and main for a fresh revolution and a republic, while others of them were only striving to drive moderate men who had taken the *serment civique* out of their livings and places, in order to obtain them for themselves or their friends. Vieillart, a learned law-professor and member of the côté droit, presented a petition from the municipality of Bayeux against Abbé Fauchet, constitutional bishop of that diocese, and his vicar Etampes. The municipality accused the founder of the social circle, the teacher and preacher of a new system of universal truth, peace, and love, of nothing less than preaching anarchy and insurrection, and of having set the whole province on fire; and Etampes was represented as a fitting vicar for such a bishop. The petitioners announced that the local tribunal was proceeding with an examination into the crimes of these unapostolic preachers. Joubert, one of the constitutional bishops, recommended the Assembly to order the immediate arrest both of Fauchet and his vicar; but Pétion strongly reprobated this proposition; and the Assembly contented themselves with ordering that the minister of justice should attend to the business and make a report to the House. On the 14th of September the Assembly pronounced, in the midst of enthusiastic applauses, the incorporation of Avignon with France. This ancient romantic town, the birthplace of Petrarca's Laura, and which contains her tomb, though included within its natural limits, had never belonged to the French kingdom. In the dark ages it had been held alternately by the Counts of Provence and the Counts of Toulouse, whose power and wealth were at one time greater than those of the French kings. Through the dissensions and wars which raged in those southern regions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and through the exhaustion of the rival princes of Provence and Toulouse, the people of Avignon had been enabled to acquire a kind of independence, and to govern themselves with free republican laws, some traces of which were still discernible at the end of the eighteenth century. In the year 1251 the Counts of Provence recovered the dominion of the city, and the neighbouring district which lies upon the road, and extends in one direction almost to Vaucluse (or the "close valley"), where Petrarca indulged his Platonic passion and poetical vein, and where the river Sorga wells, with a clear and most copious stream, from a hollow in the base of a lofty rock. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Pope Clement V., a native of France, removed his court and residence from Rome to Avignon, which continued to be the papal residence, and the capital of the Christian world, till 1376, when Gregory XI. left it to return to the eternal city. In the year 1348, during the period of the papal residence, Pope Clement VI. purchased Avignon from the beautiful and unfortunate Joan or Jane I., Queen of Naples and Sicily, and Countess of Provence; and the sovereignty of the city and district had been quietly retained by the popes ever since, or for nearly four centuries and a half. The inhabitants, however, though subject to the pope, were naturalized in France, and were eligible to offices and to ecclesiastical appointments in that kingdom. The isolated possession was governed, not badly, and certainly not tyrannically, by a papal legate, or vice-legate, who maintained a garrison of about one hundred and eighty men, and left most of the duties of administration and police to the people themselves. No doubt, though there were instances of the same kind in other countries, it was anomalous and unseemly that a foreign sovereign should occupy a dominion within the limits of the French frontiers, and at so great a distance from his own frontier; but the popes held possession by an ancient and indefeasible right, and the least that the French could do in justice and decency was to offer an equivalent or a compensation. But these two

words were utterly obliterated from the revolutionary vocabulary; and, only feeling that they had the power to do it, and that the doing of it would be advantageous, they seized upon Avignon without offering any compensation or equivalent whatsoever; and, as they paid no more respect to the ancient rights of some of the German princes who had possessions or property in Alsace, they surely deprived themselves of the right of saying that they were attacked by a league of tyrants and despots, and by the arms of the church, without provocation given on their part. Abbé Maury stood almost alone in defending the rights of the pope to Avignon; for both sides of the Assembly, and every party and faction in it, treated with contempt the rights of a poor old priest, who could not maintain them in France either by spiritual or by temporal arms. If the policy of Europe had been directed as it ought to have been some generations earlier, neither Avignon nor Alsace would ever have been included as parts of France: that kingdom would have had a very different line of frontier, and have been kept to a size and figure more consistent with the tranquillity of Europe than those we now see. The most turbulent nation of Europe should never have been allowed to become possessed of territories at once so extensive and so perfectly compact.

On the 30th of September Louis XVI. went to the Assembly, which was that day to dissolve itself. The king made another hollow speech, in which he said that it might perhaps have been desirable that they should not have dissolved so soon, but have continued to sit a little longer in order to give stability to their work. He told them that he had announced to the foreign powers of Europe his acceptance of the constitution, and that he would constantly occupy himself in causing that constitution to be respected both abroad and at home. In concluding, he eulogised the indefatigable zeal they had displayed in their career, and said, "You are now going to return to your homes, where you will set an example to your fellow-citizens of order and submission to the laws. I count upon your being the interpreters of my sentiments. Tell them that the king will ever be their first and most faithful friend. I feel the necessity of being beloved by them." When the king had withdrawn, Thouret, its last president, solemnly declared that the constituent National Assembly had fulfilled its mission, and that its session was at an end. A great many of the new deputies that were to succeed the members of this Assembly were present, and were radiant with joy and with hope at this dissolution. The elections had been finished before the dissolution, for the Jacobin clubs had attached great importance to this mode of proceeding; and the Assembly, where the great majority seem to have considered it as a matter of no importance, had decreed in conformity with the wishes of the clubs. By Robespierre's law none of the deputies nor members of the present Assembly could be re-elected. The same great Incorruptible had, by another decree, excluded all members of the Assembly from the ministry; and he tells us that he had once intended to extend the prohibition to the acceptance of any public office whatsoever, but was dissuaded from this last piece of rigour by the influence of his private and political friend Pétion. But not only did Pétion presently obtain Bailly's appointment of mayor of Paris, but Robespierre himself obtained a place of equal, or perhaps superior power, namely, the post of *public accuser*; and it is pretty certain that these appointments were foreseen and arranged some months before the dissolution of the Assembly.* It has been surmised too, that, by the double effect of these decrees, Robespierre may have intended to place himself in one of the departments of the ministry; and it is even said that he aimed at being minister of justice.† A great deal has been said about the motives of Robespierre in urging on the self-denying ordinances, and about the mischief produced by them. As for *his* motives, they were no doubt complex; but, as for the mischief wrought by his excluding decrees, we cannot attach so much importance to it or to them as most writers have done. We trust we have shown what the National Assembly was worth when opposed to the clubs and the mobs; we hope we have shown how little reliance could be placed on the political wisdom and the political courage of the moderate party, who retained a majority to the last, but who could never be styled or esteemed moderate, except as being contrasted with the fanatics of the côté gauche of their own body, or with the madmen who succeeded them as members of the Convention. We have entirely failed in one of our great objects if we have not demonstrated that this said moderate party had made a kind of revolution which could not possibly stop where it was—if we have not demonstrated that the declaration of the Rights of Man, and the other popular gospels, and the subversion of all order and of the respect for all order, had made the bloody progress of the revolution as inevitable as it might be deplorable. In the last hours of their political existence, these moderates, these pretended wise and great men, were humiliated and brow-beaten by Robespierre and Pétion; and Barnave, the cleverest and most eloquent of all that party that had bound themselves to check the march of a rabid democracy, and to restore respect and some degree of power to the crown, had been unable to do anything—had been compelled to quail before Robespierre. We cannot believe that, if the entire côté droit of this Assembly had been re-eligible, and had been re-elected, they could have done more good, or

* Pétion's first appointment was president of the Criminal Tribunal of Paris, to which Robespierre was public accuser. Pétion, being elected mayor on the 18th of November following, was succeeded by Treilhard—a very different man, and belonging to a different party. As the tribunal did not hold a sitting till the month of April following, Pétion could hardly have done anything as president of it; and his removal from that post may go very far to account for the inactivity of Robespierre in his post of public accuser. With Pétion for a president, instead of Treilhard, Robespierre no doubt would have been active enough.

† Article in Quarterly Review, on Certain Forged Mémoires of Robespierre.

prevented more mischief in 1792 and 1793, than they had been able to do or to prevent in 1790 and 1791. But, as it has been well observed, there was not the remotest chance of these moderate men being re-elected if they had been re-eligible. If Robespierre had never made his self-denying ordinances or excluding decrees, still none but violent demagogues, and men determined to carry the revolution further, could possibly have been re-elected. "As it was, not one person who had belonged to the privileged orders was chosen, nor more than half a dozen *constitutionalists* of any note; the rest were selected from amongst those who, in the different districts, had exhibited the greatest revolutionary zeal—factious lawyers—infidel sophists—club orators—newspaper writers—and unprincipled adventurers of all disreputable classes and characters. In times of such popular excitement every new election must always make matters worse; moderate men either retire or are displaced—only the most violent of the former body are re-chosen—and the new men, eager for distinction, seek it in exaggeration. The non-election of the Constituents was, therefore, in no degree the cause of the anarchy and horrors which ensued. All the men of rank, property, and experience would have equally been swept into oblivion, and replaced by the Brissots, Louvets, Rolands, Gorsas, Carras, Guadets, Garats, and hundreds of other names, till then wholly obscure—but soon to have such a momentary importance, and such eternal infamy."* As to the exclusion of the privileged orders from the next Assembly, there were two or three exceptions, but such as scarcely merited to be called exceptions. Thus, Condorcet, who had belonged to a noble family, and who had been a marquis, was elected by the city of Paris; but Condorcet, who had taken the earliest opportunity of renouncing his title, who had always been poor and laborious, and much more of a philosophe and a littérateur than of a marquis, had declared himself the great champion of republicanism, and was ready to go any lengths with his party. The disproportionate multitude of journalists, pamphleteers, and writers of all kinds that were thrust into this new legislature, presented a very alarming symptom: for the worst of them were needy, desperate rogues, ready to look any enormity in the face; and the best of them were distraught with theories and vanities, and a fanaticism which might have stood up and measured stature and strength with the religious fanaticism of the old times, against which there was now such an incessant railing.

Condorcet, who takes a foremost place among these new legislators, was, like Bailly, a man of science as well as of literature. He first distinguished himself as a mathematician; and his development of the differential and integral calculus will preserve his name in connection with the history of that science, although he is now never classed in the first order of mathematicians.

* Quarterly Review, ibid.

The work which first made him much known, which obtained for him the perpetual secretaryship of the Academy of Sciences, and furthered his election to the French Academy, was a series of *Eloges* on the academicians that had died since the

Condorcet.

year 1699. Although educated by his uncle, the Bishop of Lisieux, Condorcet attached himself betimes to the new philosophy; becoming the close personal friend of d'Alembert, and one of the most devoted of the disciples of Voltaire. He, however, rejected Voltaire's fatalism, and built up or sketched out a more cheerful system of his own—for he was naturally a cheerful man and amiably disposed—which was founded on the assumption that not merely the human intellect, but the human body also might, by force of education and of time, attain to absolute perfection. Condorcet was, in fact, a sort of father of the perfectibility school of philosophy. Rejecting all belief in religion, and in all those things which mankind had believed for some thousands of years, he believed in things far more difficult to believe in; and it was the object and scope of his life, conversation, and writings, to make men throw off their old creeds and believe as he did. He boldly proclaimed that his system entirely dispensed with the obligations of religion and morality, or, at least, that kind of morality to which the world had hitherto rendered homage. We may have some idea of the extent of his philosophical faith if we consider that he and his school had come to the positive conclusion that the life, strength, and health of man might be prolonged by science to an indefinite extent, and that death, after all, was not inevitable, inasmuch as the necessity of dying only arose out of man's defective knowledge. In their own way, these French philosophes could positively believe more than the alchymists and Rosicrucians of the dark ages. Condorcet was not, at starting, a republican: that conversion proceeded from Thomas Paine, and the circumstances and accidents of the time. But when he was converted, he set up a newspaper of his own—'La

Chronique de Paris'—to convert others, and to cover all royalty with ridicule and abuse; and, in order to work out his system, this born gentleman, this man of science and letters, who had frequented the best, did not hesitate to frequent the coarsest and worst society in revolutionized Paris.

Brissot had the necessary or valuable qualification of being *of* the people. He was the son of a poor pastrycook of Ouarville, near Chartres, and his first and highest promotion before the revolution was to the post of editor of 'Le Courrier de l'Europe,' a newspaper of some repute, which was published at Boulogne. He had made himself acquainted with the English language; and, having paid more than one visit to England, he devoted himself to the study of our economists and political writers. His first work was entitled 'Rome Unmasked;' and his next, 'Philosophical Letters on the Life and Writings of St. Paul,' which professed to be a translation from the English. He afterwards published his 'Theory of Criminal Laws;' which was followed by the plan of a grand philosophical work, to be entitled 'Universal Pyrrhonism.' He addressed an 'Essay on Metaphysics' to d'Alembert, and an 'Essay on Legislation' to Voltaire, in the hope of being enrolled among the *encyclopédistes;* but he could not succeed in gaining admittance to the presence of the great patriarch, who at the moment of his applying for that honour was giving audience to Madame du Barry, the most profligate and vulgar of all the mistresses of Louis XV. All these performances, as well as a terrible pamphlet against England, published at the breaking out of the American war, had appeared before he had become connected with the Boulogne newspaper. That paper, soon after his connection with it, was arbitrarily suppressed by the French ministry, and Brissot was thrown adrift upon the world without any other resources than such as he might find in his pen. Although he had drawn up the last will and testament of England, and had told the world in his pamphlet that her greatness and wealth were gone, he came over to London, and took a house in Newman Street, Oxford Street, in the intention of establishing a central academy, or Lyceum, where the physics and metaphysics, the politics and the philosophy, of the whole civilized world were to be discussed, and taught, and disseminated. As a part of the great plan, he published in London a periodical work entitled 'The Journal of the Lyceum; or, Universal Correspondence on all that Concerns the Happiness of Men and Society,' which was sent over to France, and, it is said, widely circulated. It undertook to teach the French people the constitutional laws and usages of England; and the old arbitrary government of France presently prohibited its circulation. Even before the revolution began there was a strange and not very reputable set of Frenchmen who had fixed their residence in London, and who had secured the sympathy and countenance of many liberal Englishmen by representing themselves as victims of arbitrary power, as men exiled from their homes for political opinions. Real victims and exiles of this kind there might be; but some of these individuals had in truth merely fled from their troublesome creditors at home, and some of them were as great rogues as any that appeared at the bar of the Old Bailey. More than one of them were paid spies of the French ministers. With two men of this set Brissot became more particularly connected during his sojourn in our metropolis: one was Morande, who had been by turns the libeller and the spy of French ministers, a blackleg and a journalist; and the other, the Marquis de Pelleport, whose moral reputation appears to have been not much brighter than Morande's, and whose literary talent exercised itself, by preference, in obscenity and blasphemy. This Pelleport wrote a thing called 'The Devil in the Holy Water' (*Le Diable dans un Bénitier*), which was sent over to Paris for circulation, together with some of Brissot's journals. Brissot soon left London without beat of drum, leaving behind him debts to a considerable amount. Returning to Paris, he was arrested by lettre-de-cachet, and was thrown into the Bastille for a short time. He was accused not merely of writing 'Le Diable dans un Bénitier,' which had given very great offence to Vergennes, the minister of the day, but of being the author of other libels and satires; and as he had quarrelled with Morande and other Frenchmen of that set in London, they publicly proclaimed him as a cheat and swindler, and the worst of libellers. No great reliance is to be placed on such testimony; but a M. d'Aspremont, when applied to by Brissot to clear his character, confirmed all that Morande had charged him with, declaring in the most positive manner that the Lyceum in Newman Street was a mere scheme of Brissot's to get lodging and trust for himself, and to dupe a M. Desforges, a money-lender, to advance money; that this Desforges, dazzled and seduced by the brilliant prospectus, lent Brissot more than 13,000 livres, taking as his only security some of Brissot's manuscripts; that it could be proved that Brissot was a thousand times more guilty than M. de Pelleport; that he was the propagator of that infamous libel, 'Le Diable dans un Bénitier;' and that he (D'Aspremont) had proofs in his hands, which he would deliver himself to M. de Vergennes if Brissot provoked him any further. At a more favourable season—at the beginning of the revolution—Morande set up in Paris as a journalist; and in his paper, called 'The Patriot Argus,' he repeated all these stories, and published not merely D'Aspremont's letter, but a good many letters which Brissot had written to Desforges the money-lender. It was not difficult for Brissot to prove that Morande was a very great rascal; but it is said that he neither disproved, nor even attempted to disprove, the charges about the Lyceum in Newman Street, the 13,000 livres, and the propagation of 'Le Diable dans un Bénitier.'*

* Hist. Parlement.

On his enlargement from the Bastille, in 1785, Brissot resumed the pen, and, as the emperor Joseph's subjects in various parts were in a state of insurrection, he addressed two letters to that sovereign, one on 'The Right of Insurrection,' and the other on 'The Right of Emigration.' The freedom of his pen soon brought him into fresh difficulties, and the life of an author in France was at best but an hungry, uneasy existence. He says himself, in his Mémoires, that he was privately warned that there was another lettre-de-cachet out against him; but his enemies say that he was more afraid of his creditors when he fled a second time to London. After a very short stay in our capital, he went over to the United States of America, to write a book in three volumes about that country and its republican institutions. This said work, which was not published until the present year (1791), produced a great effect in Paris, where Thomas Paine responded for its strict accuracy

Thomas Paine.

and impartiality. Brissot became thoroughly enamoured of the republican form of government, and he was not the man to dwell upon the vast difference between Anglo-Americans and Frenchmen, or upon any other of the great physical as well as great moral differences between the two countries. He returned to France in 1789, when the formation of the National Assembly and the rapid progress of the revolution enabled him to use his pen without any fear of the Bastille. He indisputably possessed more knowledge of foreign countries and governments, and of the relative strength of foreign powers, than any man that entered this new legislature; and he was industrious and capable of extraordinary exertions: indeed, ever since his last return to France, he seems to have allowed himself scarcely any rest; for when he was not writing his journal, 'Le Patriote Français,' he was debating in the Jacobin Club, or attending political meetings of a more private kind at Bidermann the banker's, at Condorcet's, &c.; or doing business in the municipality, which had more business on its hands than all the departments of the ministry put together, and of which he had been elected a member immediately after his return from America. There is little doubt that he contributed very materially to the republican petitioning which was so roughly interrupted by Bailly and Lafayette in the Champ de Mars. His whole character will soon develope itself in action; but we may mention a few traits which struck Dumont, who knew the man well. "Brissot was one of those men in whom the spirit of party was stronger than all moral feeling, or, rather, he saw no morals except in his party. He had more of the zeal of the cloisters than any one—more of the esprit du corps: if he had been a Capuchin, he would have loved his vermin and his stick; if he had been a Dominican, he would have burned heretics; if his fate had fallen among the ancient Romans, he would not have been unworthy of following Cato and Regulus: as a French republican, he wanted to destroy the monarchy, and he was quite ready to calumniate, to persecute, and to perish on a scaffold to carry his point." At first Dumont took this frank republican for a man of simple manners, and of a candid and generous character; but, as soon as Brissot rose in influence and power, he found out his mistake. On one occasion, when Brissot was making up his mind to pursue an innocent man to destruction, the Genevese presumed to offer some remarks in defence of innocence, and on the danger there always was of exciting the public hatred by violent and extravagant accusations of individuals. Brissot put on a Sardonic smile, and mocked Dumont for his simplicity. "It is," said he, "only a party *coup!* We must absolutely send de Lessart to his trial before the criminal tribunal, for otherwise the king, who is much attached to him, might replace him in the ministry. Besides, we must manage to go faster than the Jacobins, and this act of accusation will give us the merit of doing what they would have done themselves. This will be so much that we shall take from them. I know very well that these accusations are multiplied without cause, but that is very necessary to make the trial last a long time. It will take de Lessart a good six months before he can get out of this affair. I know very well he will be acquitted, for we have only suspicions, and no proofs against him. But we shall have gained our object of keeping him away from the ministry." Dumont was horrified. He tells us, that, confounded by this odious légèreté, he exclaimed—"Before God, here you are in the Machiavellism of parties to the very bottom of your heart! Are you the man I knew such an enemy to all cunning and manœuvre? Is it Brissot who would thus oppress an innocent man?" Rather disconcerted, Brissot replied that Dumont was not aware of the real situation of affairs; that France must be saved; that it could not be saved without sacrificing de Lessart, &c. "From that moment," adds Dumont, "I no longer regarded Brissot as I had done. I thought I had known him to be candid and generous, but I now saw that he was insidious and a persecutor. If his conscience made him any re-

proaches, he deadened it by the pretended necessity of saving the state. Brissot was faithful to his party and unfaithful to probity. He acted with and by a certain enthusiasm to which he was ready to sacrifice himself; and, because he felt within himself no greed for money, nor ambition for place, he believed himself a pure and virtuous citizen. 'Look at my house, more than simple, less than homely; see my table, worthy of a Spartan; watch my domestic morals, try if you can reproach me with any dissipation, with any frivolity; for two years I have never put my foot within a theatre.'—Such was the basis of his confidence and self-approbation. He did not perceive that the fury of party, the love of power, hatred, self-love, and conceit, are corrupters as dangerous as thirst for gold, ambition for place, or taste for pleasure." As was Brissot, so were many of his party, and so was the great Incorruptible himself, who did not long remain with that party, if, indeed, Robespierre can be properly said ever to have belonged to it.

Louvet, another distinguished member of the new legislature, was another man of letters who had also the essential quality of being *of* the people, and not merely a friend *to* the people. He was the author of a most licentious and most popular novel—'Faublas'—which had met with such an extraordinary sale as to have laid for him the foundation of a small fortune. He had written various other tales of the same kind, and was living quietly enough at some twenty leagues from Paris when he received the news of the capture of the Bastille, and with it the exciting present of a tri-colored cockade. He boasts that he was the first man who sported that cockade in the provincial town where he resided, and which was so much infested with aristocrats, that he did not wear the cockade the first day without personal danger. "Such," says he, "was my painful entrance into the career of liberty. For a long time I was only a spectator. I promised myself always to remain so. There were plenty of men defending the dear interests of the people, and I was very busy in making love."* He was, however, very soon something more than a spectator. He went to Paris immediately. All men of letters hurried to that capital at the breaking out of the revolution, from poor M. Piton, who, when he was there, decided whither he should go to seek food and lodging by putting his cocked hat on the top of his cane, turning it round, and then trotting down the street towards which the right flap of his hat pointed, to men of greater name and higher ambition, including Thomas Paine, who had to traverse the ocean. Not the American vultures can gather thicker round the carcass of a dead buffalo, deer, horse, or ass, than these littérateurs and scribblers gathered round the infant revolution. They came from all parts of France, mostly without a sous in their pockets, but with their heads stuffed full of theories, and projects, and extravagancies, upon which they confidently counted for fame and fortune. After the affair of October—that is to say, the mob march to Versailles with its concomitant enormities—Louvet took up the pen political to reply to Mounier, who had published a pamphlet taxing the pure patriots of Paris with their crimes and brutality. In his answer, entitled 'Paris Justified,' Louvet proved, in his way, that all the guilt of that transaction belonged to the Duke of Orleans, and that the good people of Paris were wholly innocent, or only chargeable with a little patriotic indiscretion. "This pamphlet," says he, "procured me my entrance into the Jacobin Club, where none were *then* admitted except such as could show titles of true civism and of some talent. From this time all my works were written to support the revolution. This was the case with 'Emilie de Varmont,' a romance undertaken in the intention of proving the general utility, and at times absolute necessity, of divorce, as also the necessity of the marriage of priests. And this was also the case with two comedies, and a farce—'The Ennobled Conspirator, or the Bourgeois Gentilhomme of the Eighteenth Century'—'The Election and the Audience of the Grand Llama'—and 'The Grand Review of the Black and White Armies.' In the first of these pieces I attacked, with the sarcasm of comedy, the ridiculous prejudices of nobility, old and new; and that two or three months before the decree for abolishing nobility: the second was a bitter and a very gay satire on the mummeries of the court of Rome; and in the third I threw ridicule on the emigrant army of Coblentz. I attended in my section on all important occasions; and I even spoke there sometimes, for the aristocrats often mustered in force, and the patriots were at a loss for subjects. I was one of the very first to inscribe my name on the registers of the national guards; among the first I furnished my patriotic contribution; and I was one of the first to be denounced and accused by the enemies of liberty. Thus I fulfilled all the obscure duties of the revolution, constantly withdrawing myself from its honours and benefits. Never did any one see me seeking the triumphs of the tribune or the sweets of popularity! At last the moment came, in spite of *myself*, when I was obliged to take the field. A great part of the defenders of the popular cause had been successively torn from it, some by death, some by corruption. The court was openly conspiring against the constitution which had just been accepted. All the parties that were labouring to destroy it were assured of the support of the king. They were encouraged, at one and the same time by the distribution of money, by journals well paid, by official vetos, by all the most detestable manœuvres of Machiavellism, and, in fine, by the half-courtiers of Lafayette, by the priests of Abbé Maury, and by the nobles of the army of Condé. I was of the small number of bold philosophers who deplored the fate of a great nation obliged to

* Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire, et le Récit de mes Périls depuis le 31 Mai, 1793. Par Jean-Baptiste Louvet, l'un des Representans proscrits en 1793.

stop midway on the road of liberty, and to call itself free while it still was cursed with a court and a king. And yet, too happy at seeing so many ancient abuses reformed, I had, like so many others, promised with good faith to be faithful to that mutilated constitution, hoping that time, without a shock, without blood-letting, might cure our remaining political evils. Yes! by that heaven which reads men's hearts, I swear that, if the court had not a thousand times and continually attempted to ravish from us our half-liberty, I never would have looked to anything but time for our entire liberty—*notre liberté tout entière*. But it became incontestible that the court was conspiring against us; that, not satisfied with fomenting all the internal revolts, it was calling foreign armies into France. A traitorous king, in violating all his oaths, freed us from the obligation of ours. It was the ancient despotism that he wanted to give us back: well, then, we will give him the republic. From that moment I entered into the terrible lists."* It will be understood from this short sketch that Louvet was not likely to stop at anything. He classed himself with the disinterested Brissot, the enlightened Condorcet, and the virtuous Roland, whom he calls the true Jacobins, and chiefs of the true republicans. He says, it is to be observed that scarcely any Jacobins were Cordeliers, but that all the Cordeliers were Jacobins, and were continually carrying on an open war against the true Jacobins in their own hall in the Rue St. Honoré—Robespierre nearly always speaking for the Cordeliers. It is Louvet's wish and plan, as it is also the plan and wish of Madame Roland and others, to prove that, up to a certain point, including the trial and execution of the king, the revolution was stained with no serious crimes, and that most things were admirably well done, and all things nobly meant, until Robespierre and his party crushed the Girondists, and usurped the direction of affairs; that it was not the Jacobins—the pure Jacobins—but the terrible Cordeliers, that gave the revolution its character of blood and treachery. The reader will soon be enabled, by a plain statement of facts and occurrences, to judge of the relative virtues of the Rolandists and Robespierrists. As for the character of Jacobinism, it is somewhat difficult to fix who were the real or *pure* Jacobins: Lafayette and his friends, who had first made the society, claimed that honour for themselves; the Girondists, who went so much farther than they, claimed it for themselves; and the Robespierrists, who went farthest of all, always maintained that they had the best title to it. Louvet asserts that he, with Roland, Brissot, and the rest of that party, wished for nothing but a republic; that the Cordeliers, whose evident chiefs were Danton and Robespierre, but whose secret chief was Marat, wanted to overthrow Louis XVI. only in order to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne; and that the Feuillants, headed by Lafayette, were still dreaming about a constitutional monarchy. He gives no proof whatever of the guilt or ambition of Orleans; nor can we anywhere else discover reliable, indisputable evidence of that prince's intrigues with the great anarchists. We see nothing but broad and bold assertions, and absolute conclusions, not justified by the premises, in many or most cases. The most curious thing observable in Louvet's autobiography is the very early period at which jealousy and deadly hatred broke out between the different factions that were driving with whips of iron for the destruction of the monarchy. Even before the National Assembly was dissolved, it must have been evident not merely that the republican party would scourge and butcher the constitutionalists, but that one faction of the republicans would very soon make the fiercest of wars on the other.

Gorsas was another littérateur, originally from Limoges. Previously to the year 1788 he had kept a school at Versailles, and, for some foul offences committed in that establishment, he underwent imprisonment in the Bicêtre. At the dawn of liberty he began to edit a newspaper called 'Courier des Départemens,' one of the worst of a villainous congeries of journals, and one which recommended some of the most terrible émeutes that were made He was not elected to the National Assembly till the following year, but he exercised very great influence, and was identified with the party of the Rolands, Brissots, and Condorcets, and of the rest who styled themselves the only true Jacobins and only true republicans.

Guadet, a very young man, had been a provincial lawyer. He was frantic with republican enthusiasm, and gifted with a commanding sort of revolutionary eloquence. In private life and in quieter times he had been an amiable and kind-hearted man; but, like Brissot, he believed that almost any crime might be committed for the sake of liberty. Carra was another littérateur that had led a very vagabond life, not without imputations which would have qualified him for the galleys, or, in a country where the penal laws were more severe, for the gallows. He had travelled through Germany and other countries, and is said at one time to have been secretary to an Hospodar of Moldavia, who was afterwards strangled by order of the Sultan. Returning into France, Carra was engaged as a sort of secretary and factotum by that very vicious prince of the church, the Cardinal de Rohan, who, by his madness, vices, and intrigues, had contributed to blacken the fame of Marie Antoinette. By means of de Rohan, Carra obtained an appointment in the Bibliothéque Royale. Subsequently he became well known to Loménie de Brienne, and did some pamphleteering work for that fatal prime minister. No man was more active at the beginning of the revolution: it was Carra who was the very first to recommend the formation of the Paris municipality, with its very

* Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire et le Récit de mes Périls depuis le 31 Mai, 1793. Par Jean-Baptiste Louvet, l'un des Représentans proscrits en 1793.

extra-municipal powers and offices, and the creation of the Paris national guard. The honour of introducing the fashion of pikes is also attributed to him. He was one of the loudest and most frequent speakers in the Jacobin club, and the journal which he edited—'Annales Patriotiques,'—advocated revolutionary principles in their full extent.

Garat was a man of letters before the revolution, "*était homme de lettres avant la révolution*," (the frequent recurrence of these words in the revolutionary biography is very striking!) and had written several books, the very titles of which seem now to be forgotten. He had been elected to the States-General, and had sat in the National Assembly, although he had seldom spoken there. He was closely connected with Roland and the rest of the Girondists, and disseminated their opinions and his own by writing copiously in the 'Journal de Paris.' He was less of an enthusiast, and more a man of the world and a man of business, than any of his party, and thus he was enabled to survive them all, and to live to be a well-pensioned senator and count under Napoleon Bonaparte. Though he had none of that exaltation and enthusiasm which makes men hazard their own lives, he had no great aversion to shed the blood of others, so long as it went to work out his ends.

Of Condorcet we have already spoken. Through the influence of the Jacobin club he had been appointed a commissioner of the treasury; as he had formerly received some benefactions from the court—for, though a marquis, Condorcet was very poor—he was taxed with ingratitude and duplicity; and his strong turn to republicanism was further attributed to his wife, who fancied she had received some slight from the queen. But Dumont, who knew both husband and wife very intimately, denies the truth of this last story, and describes Madame la Marquise as a serious enthusiast, fond of philosophical meditation and republican reading, whose head had been inflamed by the writings of Rousseau; and M. le Marquis as a man acting upon honest conviction, and with a subdued enthusiasm. He adds, that they were both fully persuaded that liberty could not exist in France by the side of the throne; that Thomas Paine had given them the most incorrect notions about England, which he (Dumont) vainly laboured to remove; that the government of the United States seemed to them the perfect model of a good government; and that it seemed very feasible to both of them to transplant into France the American system of federalism. Condorcet, though a Frenchman, was very little given to talk, being rather a silent and meditative man, even in private society. His voice, his deportment, his whole manner, were quiet and retiring, and almost timid; but great theoretical heat and political passion lay hid under that cool and calm surface. He was happily described as being the enraged lamb or sheep (*le mouton enragé*) of his party. He, too, wrote a newspaper, which was anything but cool. "Condorcet," adds Dumont, "was no chief of his party; his name carried a great weight with it, but he never seemed to me to be more than the approver and defender of the measures of his party. His 'Chronique de Paris' was written with a great deal of art. The court had no enemy sharper than he; and his attacks were so much the more dangerous, as they had a tone of finesse, of propriety, and of calmness, which made more impression in decent society than the virulent insults of Brissot and the Jacobins." He was elected to the National Convention by the city of Paris; and this mild philosopher had scarcely taken his seat in that hothouse than he recommended sanguinary decrees. Believing in his own theory of the moral and physical perfectibility of man, as the disciples of Christ believed in the spoken Word, Condorcet regarded all those that opposed his system as enemies to the human race; and this intimate belief frequently hardened a heart which appears to have been by nature kind and generous.

Not one of the Girondists we have hitherto named was an efficient popular orator or good debater: in these respects they all fell far short of the loud-tongued Danton and the adroit Robespierre. But Gensonné and Vergniaud, two chiefs of that party, were eloquent men. Gensonné, who was in his thirty-third year, was an advocate at Bordeaux when the States-General were assembled. He too was a mild and amiable being, apart from his politics; and, like Condorcet, with whom, as with Brissot, Guadet, and Roland, he very closely connected himself, he was only enthusiastic and enraged as a perfectibilian and republican. Vergniaud, who was about the same age, was also an advocate of Bordeaux, and in the enjoyment of an honourable reputation. As a republican, he was still hotter than Gensonné, and he was esteemed as by far the more eloquent man of the two—indeed, the most eloquent man, not merely of his party, but of his day. Like his friends and brethren, he only became sensible to the evils of the revolution, and the iniquity of blood-shedding, when the direction of affairs was snatched out of his and their hands.

As for honest citizen Roland, "with ribands in his shoes," he would never have been the chief of the Girondists or of any other party, nay, he would probably never have been a revolutionist at all, but for his graceful, eloquent, and enthusiastic wife, who filled him with a republican devotion, wrote his speeches, presided at his political dinners, and, on his becoming minister, transacted nearly all the business of the office for him. He was a native of Villefranche, near Lyons, and the son of a lawyer, who died young and left to his family the bitter inheritance of poverty. In his early youth, it is said, in order to avoid being made a priest, he left the place of his birth, travelled on foot, and without a sous in his pocket, to the maritime town of Nantes, and was on the point of embarking for India as a ship-boy, when a merchant of the place, interested by his appearance

and the delicate state of his health, took charge of him, and obtained him employment as a clerk in a government board or administration of manufactures which existed at Rouen. By industry, intelligence, and excellent moral conduct, he rose slowly to high and profitable appointments. In 1780, when he married his memorable wife, who was twenty years younger than himself, he held the office of inspector-general of manufactures.

Roland.

They resided at Amiens and afterwards at Lyons; but they made, professionally, or with an eye to trade and manufactures, some interesting journeys, visiting Switzerland and England. Wherever they went the very graceful, lively, enthusiastic young wife excited much more interest than the sober, sedate, and rather commonplace husband. Madame Roland, too, acquired some useful information in her travels, and, on witnessing the comforts enjoyed by the English cottagers, she made reflections on the wretched state of the cabanes and huts of the French peasantry, which were almost inevitable in a mind of any generosity and enlightenment, and which appear to have tended, together with her passionate admiration of Rousseau, to make her sigh for a revolution in her own country. It was then, as since, a fashion in France among writing people to turn England into ridicule—for the Anglomania which raged in France just before the revolution did not infect the philosophes—but Madame exclaimed in one of her letters, "Let fools cry out and slaves laugh and sing; but, believe me, there are in England men who have a right to laugh at us." At this period, too, Madame Roland was full of admiration of the British constitution, as described in Delolme's book: but she did not stay long enough in England to learn anything about the working or the practical part of that system; and then the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the enchanting abstract doctrine of liberty and equality, the tuition of Thomas Paine, and the whirlwind rush of events, and the classicalities of the day about the Greeks and the Romans, converted her to a republicanism which scorned the very name of king, and pitied as slaves the people who could keep a king as a third part of their constitution. She was the daughter of Philipon, an engraver and a painter in enamel, but not distinguished by much ability in either branch of the arts, and very deficient in worldly wisdom or prudence. "It cannot be said," says his famed daughter, who imitates in her Mémoires the naïf style of Rousseau's 'Confessions,' "that he was a virtuous man, but he had a great deal of what is called honour: he was very capable of making people pay more money for a thing than it was worth; but he would have died rather than not have paid for whatever he bought himself." But the wife of the artist was a woman of superior understanding and energy, united with the kindest of tempers. Little Manon,—for such was the Roland's homely Christian name,—says that she learned to read so early and so easily as not to be able to recollect how she learned; that at four years old she could read any book; and that from that time forward she read every book of whatsoever kind that fell in her way. Nothing could engage her attention from her books except flowers —"sweet flowers, that caressed her imagination, flattered her senses to an unspeakable degree, and awakened voluptuously the sentiment of her existence." In the horrid gaol of Sainte-Pelagie, where she wrote her Mémoires, shortly before going to the guillotine, she says in a sentence which might almost be mistaken for one of Rousseau's, "Under the tranquil shelter of the paternal roof I was happy from my infancy with flowers and with books: in the close confinement of a prison, in the midst of chains imposed by the most revolting tyranny, I forget the injustice of men, their follies and my miseries, with books and with flowers." Her mother, who had a brother a priest and curé, brought her up as a good Catholic, for the new philosophy had not yet permeated the whole Parisian society. In her youngest day Manon, whose temperament was always enthusiastic, was exceedingly devout, and a year she passed at her own earnest request in a convent made quite a little Lamothe Guyon of her. But she was now twelve years old, and her constant and miscellaneous reading soon drove out the religious fervour to make room for other enthusiasms. She studied Mallebranche and Locke; she read Scarron's very *leste* 'Roman Comique,' Voltaire's 'Candide,' and history, and romances, and poetry, and voyages, and travels, and all kinds of literature that existed in French, not excepting even politics and law, if they chanced to fall under her hand. Even before this time she had been a diligent student of Plutarch's Lives as translated by Dacier. "But Plutarch," says the enthusiast, when her foot was almost on the scaffold, "Plutarch seemed to be the very pasture which suited me. I shall never forget the Lent of 1763 (I was then nine years old), when I carried my Plutarch to church as if it had been a prayer-book. It is perhaps from that moment I may date the impressions and the ideas which rendered me a repub-

lican, without my ever dreaming of becoming one." Her father attempted to teach her the art of engraving, but she had no taste for it, nor, although she learned a little music, not much taste for anything but for reading. Abbé Morel, her parish priest, fearing that there was something heretical and unsound in her readings and opinions, put into her hands the orthodox works of several of the defenders of Christianity; but she says that it was through these very books that she first obtained a knowledge of the existence of the sceptical works they *pretended* to refute, and that, copying out the titles from them, she afterwards procured the works themselves. In this manner, she adds, she first procured and studied Bayle's Philosophical Dictionary, the Encyclopedists' Controversies, the works of d'Argens, Spinosa, Helvetius, Diderot, d'Alembert, and Raynal; as also that noted abstract of pure atheism the 'Système de la Nature,' into which the Baron d'Holbach, a philosophe himself, and a great entertainer of philosophes, put all his own dogmatical atheism and all the extravagant unbelief of the philosophes he fed at his table. At the commencement of the war between the parlemens and the court this young philosophess and politician embraced with ardour the cause of the parlementers: she procured all their remonstrances and protests, and was best pleased with those that were written in the boldest style. Her early passion for the republican heroes of antiquity was fostered by all she saw and heard of the French court. It was towards the end of the reign of Louis XV. that she began to reflect upon these matters; and the court had never been in a more degraded and repulsive state. "The dissoluteness of the court," she says, "that contempt for morality which was reaching all classes, those orgies and excesses which formed the subject of all private conversations, filled me with indignation and astonishment. Not yet perceiving in these things the germs of our revolution, I asked myself how they could remain as they were? I saw in history that every empire that reached this degree of corruption reeled and fell, and I heard the French people laughing and singing at their own miseries; and I found that their neighbours the English had good reason to regard them as a set of children. ..... Thus everything combined to inspire me with the republican enthusiasm, making me feel the absurdity or the injustice of pre-eminence, rank, and distinctions. And thus in my reading I became passionately attached to all the reformers of inequality, and identified myself with them: I was Agis and Cleomenes at Sparta; I was one of the Gracchi at Rome. I retired with the people to the Aventine Mount, and voted for the tribunes." According to her own account she was precocious in everything except in the tender passion, and was marvellously innocent or ignorant of certain matters which a young lady living in Paris and reading such books as she read might be supposed to know pretty well. She tells us that admirers and pretenders to her hand presented themselves very early. These admirers, however, were not of a very elevated or refined condition; and it appears that, with the exception of a neighbouring butcher, to whose shop she used to go to buy meat, and who had made a fortune of 50,000 crowns, none of them were well to do in the world, and some of them were ugly fellows. She admits that she herself had no pretensions to beauty, but only to that expression and vivacity which is often more charming than beauty. "My portrait," she says, "has been painted and engraved a good many times; but none of those imitations give the idea of my person: it is difficult to catch, because I have more soul than form of face (*figure*), more expression than feature. An ordinary artist cannot design this: it is even probable that he cannot see it. My physiognomy becomes animated in proportion to the interest with which I am inspired, just as my wit develops itself in proportion to the wit employed by others in conversing with me." She assures us that she had never loved or seriously cared for any man, when, in her twenty-fifth year, she met M. Roland, who was quite old enough to be her father. Roland was introduced to her by a

MADAME ROLAND.

young lady as "an enlightened man of pure morals, who could be reproached with nothing except his great admiration of the ancients at the expense of the moderns, and *a little foible he had of speaking rather too much about himself*." Roland was no Adonis; he was tall and thin, and negligent in his attire; his complexion was yellow, his forehead very bald; but he had an agreeable smile, a fine voice, and the "politeness of a well-bred man united to the gravity of a philosopher;" and, altogether, she thought him, if not very seducing, a very respectable person. The philosophic director-general of manufactures repeated his visits very frequently, and talked about ethics and the ancients with the enthusiastic Manon. He had just returned from Germany, and was now going to Italy. On the eve of his departure he confided his manuscripts to the keeping of Mademoiselle, telling

her that she was to keep them for good if he should chance to die upon his journey. Nay, the philosopher even begged for a parting kiss, and the favour was granted him. He was absent nearly two years, but before setting out he had introduced to M. Philipon and his daughter one of his brothers, who is described as a man of wit and very amiable, although he was only a Benedictine monk, then acting as prior in the college of Clugny at Paris. This Benedictine monk waited regularly upon Manon to show her the charming notes, observations, and letters which the philosopher wrote from Italy; and this correspondence appears to have done for Roland what his *vivâ voce* narrations of dangers and troubles did for Othello, although, in truth, Mademoiselle Manon never pretended to feel the passionate love of Desdemona. "On the return of M. Roland," she adds, "I found a real friend in him: his gravity, his morality, his habits of life wholly devoted to intellectual labour, made me consider him, so to speak, as a being without sex—*me le faisoient considérer, pour ainsi dire, sans sexe*—or as a philosopher who had no other existence than the intellectual one. A sort of confidence was established between us, and, through the pleasure he found in being near me, he contracted by degrees the necessity of coming more and more frequently. I had known him about five years when he first declared his tender sentiments. I was not insensible to them, for I esteemed him more than anybody I had ever known; but I had perceived that he was ignorant of the real state of our external circumstances. I told him frankly that his proposals did me honour, and that I would accept them with pleasure if I could believe myself a good match for him; and I then disclosed to him, without reserve, the real situation of our house—it was ruined. I had succeeded in securing to myself, from my father, and at the risk of losing his affection, an annuity of about 500 livres per annum; and this, with my wardrobe, formed all my fortune. My father was still young: his follies might lead him to contract debts, and he might make a second marriage, and have children that might bear my name in indigence and misery, &c. &c. I was too proud to enter into a family that might consider themselves dishonoured by my alliance, or to throw myself solely on the generosity of a husband (it has always been considered very dishonourable in France for a young woman to marry without a portion); and I advised M. Roland, even as a third party might have advised him, not to think any more about me. But he persisted, I was touched, and at length I consented that he should take the necessary steps with my father." Roland, who liked to do things deliberately, went away to Amiens, and from that town wrote a letter to M. Philipon, to explain his wishes and intentions. The engraver and painter in enamel, who was nothing of a philosophe, but a merry, life-enjoying Frenchman, did not like the stiff cold manners and rigid morals of the director of manufactures, who appeared in his eyes as an austere censor: he also found his letter very dry, and he replied to it by one which was almost insolent, and which declined the connexion. Mademoiselle wrote a generous note to the disappointed lover, to console him and to intreat him again to think no more of her—that sort of letter which, whether meant or not, always produces the very opposite effect; and she then retired into a convent, to live upon her little annuity. She says, "I rigidly calculated my expenses so as to make them square with my very small income. Potatoes, rice, haricots boiled in a pot, with a little salt and butter, varied my repasts, and were cooked without occupying much of my time. Twice a-week I went out to visit my relations, or to look over my father's linen, and mend what wanted mending. The rest of my time, shut up in my garret, I devoted to study; and thus I fortified my heart against hardships and adversity." The phlegmatic lover, who had so considerably passed the *mezzo cammin*, allowed five or six months to pass in this manner, only writing occasionally to the recluse, like one that still loved, but that was mortally offended at the conduct of the father. But at last he came to Paris, and to the convent. "He became inflamed," says Madame, "on seeing me through the convent-grating; he was eager to get me out of those cloisters; he again offered me his hand, and pressed me to accept it by means of his brother the Benedictine. I reflected profoundly on what I ought to do. I did not conceal from myself that a man not so old as forty-five would not have waited so many months; and I confess that this conviction reduced my sentiments to a point at which there was no illusion or romance. But, on the other side, I considered that this perseverance, so calm and calculated, was a proof of the estimation in which he held me; and then, if he had been able to conquer his susceptibility to the disagreeable external circumstances which my alliance might offer, I might be the more assured of an esteem which it would not be difficult for me to justify afterwards. In fine, if marriage was, as I then thought, a severe tie, a partnership, in which the wife takes charge of the happiness of two individuals, was it not better to exercise my faculties, my courage, in these honourable duties, than in the state of isolation in which I was living? . . . . In short, I became the wife of a truly good man, who loved me more and more as he knew me better." She confessed she married upon cool calculation—*dans tout le serieux de la raison*—but she adds, that she devoted herself to the duties of her new station "with a plenitude of enthusiasm." She prided herself in her upright philosophical husband, but could not help frequently feeling that there was a disparity between them, and that the ascendancy of a commanding character, joined to Roland's twenty years of seniority, rendered his superiority rather too great. "If," says she, "we lived in solitude, I had many painful hours to pass; if we went into society, I found I was admired and loved, and I

perceived that there were some men that might possibly touch my heart too much; I therefore plunged into hard work and constant occupation with my husband, as any other resource might have had its inconveniences: I accustomed him not to be able to do without me in any matter or at any moment whatsoever." She became, in fact, the dictator and guide of her husband; and it was her conversation, her wit, and enthusiam that turned a plodding piece of mediocrity into the chief of a party. To have a complete notion of this rare woman, her memoirs or confessions must be read at length. They contain avowals and details of a physical nature that make an Englishman marvel how they could ever have been written by a female. Allowances are of course to be made for the manners and customs of the country and times in which she lived, and for the bold, brazen philosophy which she had taught herself; but we hope that the day is far distant in which English people shall peruse these tales without disgust, although there be men so affected by her enthusiasm and the tragical fate in which it ended, as to hold up Madame Roland as the noblest of her sex. But, even in other particulars, we cannot for the life of us admire this woman, who seems to us 'a reasoning self-sufficient thing,' a dogmatist, and little short of a fury in revolutionism, so long as the progress of the revolution corresponded with her own views. The society in which she lived when the revolution began, and the men whom she brought about her, were, indeed, sufficient to unwoman the best of women. It is strange that such a philosophess should ever have been a mother, but she bore one daughter, whom she appears to have loved very tenderly. With the single exception of Madame de Staël, Madame Roland is said to have been the greatest talker of modern times; but, like the daughter of Necker, she talked well and eloquently; and one that knew her said that no woman, nor even any man, of the day had so great a talent for conversation. Among her *habitués*, was Lanthenas, a young doctor, who was introduced to her by her husband, and who for a long time lived in the house like one of the family, before the dawn of liberty. This Lanthenas, who afterwards betrayed his party and Roland his patron, professed a republicanism of the very fiercest kind: he, too, became a member of the National Convention, and bore a part in some of the worst measures voted by that body. The Rolands, who had made a precipitate retreat from Paris after that black petition Sunday, now returned and kept open house for all the republicans of the day, not excepting even some of those men who were so soon to set their teeth in the Gironde party. Pache, who was one of the meanest hypocrites, and one of the most sanguinary scoundrels, of the time, was one of Madame's especial favourites, because he ranted about liberty, and equality, and republics. The same reasons endeared to her the vicious Louvet, and the atrabilarious Servan. "Louvet," says Dumont, "became her hero: he had a good deal of wit, courage, and vivacity; but I was astonished how a virtuous woman could regard the frivolous author of 'Faublas,' the very professor of vice, as a severe republican.* But Madame Roland could pardon everything in those men who declaimed against courtiers, and believed that virtue was only to be found in thatched cottages. She exalted to the skies very mediocre persons, like Lanthenas and Pache, solely because they saw or pretended to see things as she saw them. . . . . There was wanting for the proper intellectual developement of this lady a greater knowledge of the world, and an intimacy with men of a sounder judgment than her own. Her husband's intellect was very limited. All the men that frequented their house were incapable of rising above the vulgar prejudices of the day. Madame never believed it possible to ally liberty with monarchy, and she looked upon a king with the same horror as Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, whom she regarded as a being above her sex. If she could have communicated her force of soul and intrepidity to her party, royalty would have been knocked down, but the Jacobins would never have triumphed over the Gironde." At her table, even when her husband was one of the king's ministers, one of the most frequent subjects of conversation was the moral weakness and physical awkwardness of poor Louis XVI.; and one of the republicans rose in Madame's favour by putting on a red night-cap and imitating the king. The perfectibilian Condorcet could join in the laugh at this vile buffoonery, and enjoy the society of men of the coarsest and most disgusting manners, because they professed themselves republicans, and because he thought they might be of use in working out his system. "This," says Dumont, "was the début of that sansculottisme which has so dishonoured France: politeness and gentlemanly behaviour were considered as aristocratic distinctions, which must be trampled under foot in order to *rise* to equality with the lowest mob." Champfort, another littérateur, who did not enter any of the legislatures, but who had been connected with Mirabeau, and who aided the cause of the revolution by his writings and by his bon-mots in society, was another of Madame Roland's favourite guests. He

* We are not much astonished that a woman, who could write what Madame Roland has written, should overlook the obscenities of Louvet and his 'Faublas.' She speaks of Louvet with transport:—"I knew him," she says, "during the first ministry of M. Roland, and I always afterwards sought his agreeable society. Like Philopœmen, he had qualities that made amends for his ugly countenance, his mean figure, his short sight, and his slovenly dress: he had a noble forehead, his eyes were full of fire, and his whole countenance lighted up at the expression of any grand truth, or beautiful sentiment, or ingenious sally, or piquant wit. Men of letters and persons of taste know his pretty romances (*ses jolis romans*) where the graces of the imagination are united with lightness of style, with philosophy, and with the salt of criticism. Politics owe to him works of a more solid nature, the principles and the manner of which bear testimony equally in favour of his heart and of his head. Louvet has proved that his able hand could alternately shake the rattle of folly, hold the pen of history, and lauch the thunderbolts of eloquence: it was impossible to unite more wit with less vanity and more simplicity: courageous as a lion, simple as a child, a man of feeling, a good citizen, a vigorous writer; he might make Catiline tremble in the tribune, dine with the Graces, and sup with Bachaumont."

Louvet, who escaped the guillotine, and became a bookseller in the Palais-Royal, after the downfall of his party and the murder of most of them, first published Madame Roland's Mémoires: is it not possible that he may have put in or touched up some of these traits in his own character?

was both brilliant and bitter, and his caustic, pointed sayings circulated through all Paris. He was a cynic and a coward, and his perpetual dread of conspiracies and counter-revolutionary vengeances prevented his sleeping by night. Abbé Sièyes, it is said, was agitated by the same terrors, and, in his sinister dreams, was constantly seeing his head rolling on the carpet of his room. Fabre d'Eglantine, Danton, and Robespierre himself partook for a time in Roland's hospitality and in Madame's flattering caresses; and Fabre, that hissed actor, generally went to visit them with a murderous-looking long dagger under his waistcoat. On the 3rd of September, 1792, when the streets of Paris were wet with the blood of the priests who had been dragged out of the Abbaye prison and massacred by the Paris mob, one of Roland's old comrades, who was invited to dine at the house, brought with him Anacharsis Clootz, the orator of mankind. A friend of Madame's whispered in her ear, "This is an insupportable parasite, that I am sorry to see in your house." The philosophess treats Clootz, in her Memoirs, with due severity; but it cannot be proved that even he was hated or condemned until after he had identified himself with the party that overthrew Roland and the Gironde. "At dinner," says Madame (they must have had strong stomachs to be able to eat in the midst of the horrors that were perpetrating*), "the events of the day formed the topic of conversation. Clootz undertook to prove that the massacre was indispensable and salutary; he poured forth a deal of commonplace about the rights of the people, the justice of their vengeance, and the benefit it would render to the happiness of the human race. He talked a great deal, ate still more, and wearied more than one of the company. He afterwards returned to our house of himself, seeking, *sans gêne*, the best place at the dinner-table, and the best dish on it. An extreme and cold politeness on my part, together with the care to help everybody else before him, was enough to tell him the opinion I entertained of him: he felt it, left off coming to our dinners, and took his vengeance by heaping calumnies upon us." Even the execrable Marat was invited by this virtuous woman. This friend of the people had begun to tear the character and the political performances of Roland to shreds and tatters, because, as minister of the interior, Roland had refused to give him (Marat) fifteen thousand livres, for which sum he offered to write and publish things very useful to the Gironde party. She says, she had sometimes doubted whether this Marat was a real existing creature, or an imaginary monster, and that it was merely from motives of curiosity that she wished to see him. "I spoke about it," she says, "to Danton, expressing to him my desire to see him; and I told Danton to bring him to our house, *for one ought to know monsters*, and I was curious to know whether he was a madman or a mountebank; but Danton excused himself by saying that such an introduction would not be useful and might be disagreeable." But Marat, on his side, told the world that Roland had offered a large sum of money to corrupt his vigilant patriotism; that Madame, who, besides being as a woman no better than she should be, was a dangerous intriguer in politics, and the absolute dictatress of her imbecile husband, had attempted to win him over to her party, even as she had cajoled and seduced so many other patriots. Buzot, who had distinguished himself as a deputy of the National Assembly by his ultra-revolutionism, and still more as a member and leader of the Jacobin Club, who was destined soon to be a member of the National Convention, and who, *en attendant*, had got the post of vice-president to that criminal tribunal of which Pétion was president and Robespierre public accuser, was another of Madame Roland's constant guests. This dark, gloomy fanatic, who had obtained in the Assembly the nickname of "The Prophet of Woe," was one of Madame's republican idols; and she draws a striking and most flattering portrait of him, as she does of every man that remained true and steady to Roland and the Gironde party. All the dark parts of the man's character disappear under her pencil; his fierce pride becomes magnanimity and superhuman elevation of spirit, his cruelty becomes republican severity, and his rage nothing but an indignation against injustice and an inability in his noble character to enter into any compromise with crime. Pétion, of whose brutality we have already given some indisputable proofs, was another of Madame's idols. "Pétion," she says, "is the best of men, *véritable homme de bien et homme bon;* he is incapable of doing the least thing contrary to probity, or of committing the slightest injury or inflicting the least pain upon any person whatsoever. . . . . The serenity of a good conscience, the gentleness of an easy disposition, frankness and gaiety, are expressed in his physiognomy. He was a prudent mayor, a faithful deputy; but he is too confiding and too peaceable to foresee storms and conjure them. A sound judgment and pure intentions characterise his opinions and his writings, which, however, show more good sense than talent. He is a cold orator, and slovenly in his style as a writer. An equitable administrator, and a good citizen, he was formed to practise virtues in a republic, but not to found such a government among a corrupted people, who, after worshipping him for some time, rejoiced at his proscription as at that of an enemy." Carra, whose journal we have repeatedly quoted, and whose life we have sketched, was also among Madame Roland's honoured guests; and, as he did not join Robespierre, but had his head taken off by that dictator, she speaks of him with affection and respect in her Memoirs. "Carra seemed

* The massacres of the Septembrizers continued from Sunday evening the 3rd of September till the evening of Wednesday the 6th. M. Roland, too, as minister of the interior, was particularly called upon to exert himself at such a moment. On the 22nd of September, when the massacres were all over, he presented a long-winded report on the state of Paris, and its police; but we cannot discover that he made any extraordinary exertions to stop the massacres when in progress.

to me," she says, "a very good man with a very bad head. None were more enthusiastic for the revolution, for the republic, and for liberty; but he judged badly of men and public matters. Entirely given up to his imagination, he calculated by it rather than by facts, arranging in his head the views and interests of factions and powers, just as suited the success of our party; seeing everything *couleur de rose*, he dreamed the happiness of his own country, and the enfranchisement of all Europe with an inexpressible complaisance. It cannot be denied that he contributed a great deal to our political movement, and to the insurrections which had for their object the overthrow of tyranny. His 'Annales Patriotiques' succeeded marvellously with the people by means of a certain prophetic tone, always imposing to the vulgar."—Having thus introduced the reader to Madame Roland, her society, and her house (which was the head-quarters of Girondism), we may pass to the Salle de Manège.

The new legislature opened their session on the 1st of October (1791), and instantly named themselves the National Legislative Assembly. The book of the constitution was solemnly presented to them by starch Camus, who had been named archivist or keeper of the papers. They received the constitutional act standing and uncovered, and all present swore to observe it and to live free or die. Cerutti, who had been a Jesuit long before he turned philosophe, and republican, and man of letters by profession, who had pronounced the funeral oration on Mirabeau, and who before that time had been the panegyrist of Necker and of Abbé Fauchet, whose Gazette, addressed to the country people, and entitled 'Feuille Villageoise,' had essentially contributed to propagate revolutionary principles in the rural districts, and who, though an Italian by birth and an ex-Jesuit, had been elected a member of this Assembly, then rose, and said, in that panegyrical style that was familiar to him by force of long practice, "Four hundred and ninety-two deputies, their hands on the Evangil of the constitution, have just rendered the solemn homage of their fidelity; and now it seems to be proper that we should offer a sincere sentiment of gratitude to the late constituent Assembly from whom we have received this immortal work! Nothing is more common than to enjoy with a proud ingratitude the fruit of the services rendered to the state by some citizens. People fear to look like idolaters of men invested with power; but, when those men have no longer any power, it is beautiful to honour the virtuous use they made of their powers when they had them. When for the first time we entered to take our places in this holy house, I perceived that the people directed their looks of veneration towards our predecessors dispersed in the galleries, and their looks of hope on their new legislators. We must participate in the general feeling, and enounce it in a precise manner by passing a vote of thanks to the late National Assembly, which represented, saved, and regenerated the French empire. The more troubles and factions there were, the more are we bound to render thanks to those who so gloriously combated them. Besieged in their own house, they dispersed the army that environed them; plunged in obscurity, they made light out of darkness; surrounded by ruins, they raised the superb edifice which is now confided to our protecting care. What Roman senate, what British parliament, what American congress ever did such great things in so short a time and with such defective means? In three years they destroyed fourteen centuries of slavery, and prepared for France long centuries of future happiness!" For this and for much more of the same sort of matter Cerutti was enthusiastically applauded by House and galleries. Chabot, an ex-Capuchin friar, and now grand vicar to Abbé Gregoire, constitutional Bishop of Blois—a rogue or a madman, capable of any excesses, and deep in all the plots or schemes of Danton and Robespierre—interrupted the seemingly unanimous enthusiasm by saying he had an amendment to propose on Cerutti's motion. "Without doubt," said the ex-Capuchin, "we owe a debt of gratitude to the late constituent body; but perhaps it is not safe to say that the constitution they made is the best possible of constitutions; and ....." Here he was interrupted by the indignant House, who would not permit him to resume, but adopted unanimously Cerutti's motion, and decreed that his speech should be printed and sent to all of the eighty-three departments. An unnamed deputy then proposed, as an additional sign of their respect and gratitude, that a place of honour should be reserved in the House for all that had been members of the late Assembly, in order that they might be eye and ear witnesses of the progress of public spirit; but his motion was not seconded. Next, M. Chaudron, one of the Robespierre faction, said that there had been deposited in the House a certain stone or marble bearing the effigies of the king and of M. Bailly, mayor of Paris, and that he wished to know whether the Assembly meant to decide that that monument should remain where it was; but no notice was taken of this cauldron speech. As only four hundred and ninety-two out of seven hundred and forty-five deputies had sworn to the constitution, to live free or die, &c., one of the deputies begged to remark that none of those who had not individually taken the oaths could be entitled to vote. A deputation of sixty members was then appointed to wait upon the king, and inform him that the new National Legislative Assembly was definitively constituted. This deputation did not present itself at the Tuileries till six o'clock in the evening of the 4th of October. The king, by means of the minister of justice, told the members composing it that it was late, and that he would receive them on the morrow at one o'clock. The deputies, indignant and furious at this royal impertinence, insisted upon being received, vowed that they would not

leave the palace without executing their mission; and poor Louis was obliged to admit them at nine o'clock that evening. Then Duchastel, who had been appointed orator of the deputation, told the king in a menacing tone of voice that the new Assembly was constituted. Louis asked him the names of the deputies who accompanied him, and Duchastel, telling a lie, said he did not know their names. The deputation was going to retire, when the king stopped them and said in a cordial manner, "I cannot see you in your House until Friday next." "I did not believe," adds Duchastel, "that I was obliged to return the king any answer to this; so we saluted again, and separated fraternally."* When, on the morrow, the behaviour of the king was reported to the House, there was much agitation and objurgation. One member quoted the decree of the late Assembly that the legislative should always communicate directly with the king; pointed out the monstrous insolence of the king in sending a message to the deputation by one of his ministers; and insisted that the decrees and laws should be executed to the letter. Another member, who was loudly applauded by five or six members, exclaimed against the baseness of using, even in that House, the title "your majesty." Another deputy proposed the following new decree: "This National Assembly, considering that the code of etiquette cannot suit a free people, decrees that the legislative body, notwithstanding the evidence of the pre-eminence of their rights, will treat the executive power on the footing of equality: that they will send deputations to the king at whatever hour they think proper, and that the king may come into their House whenever he thinks fit." This orator, however, was silenced and his motion set aside by a loud call for the order of the day. Nevertheless, they unanimously thanked Duchastel for the dignified, laconic manner in which he had addressed the king; and they then debated, as if the salvation of their souls depended upon the result, in what manner they should receive the king on Friday, or, in other words, in what manner they should chastise him for his behaviour towards their deputation. Becquet introduced the subject as something more important and essential than people might believe. "This deliberation," said he, "is an object in your interior régime which the constitution gives you the right to settle as you think proper. I demand that you do not sit or stand as it pleases the king to be sitting or standing!" The late Assembly had decreed and practised the rule that whenever the king sat down they were to sit down, and whenever he stood up they were to stand up. This was now declared to be very vile automaton-work, and altogether unsuitable to the dignity of the nation. Couthon, a little lawyer of Clermont, before the revolution, and who was destined to be one of a bloody triumvirate with Robespierre, made his maiden speech on this occasion; and, not contented with discussing the standing up and the sitting down, he thundered against the practice of the late Assembly in allowing the king to have a seat somewhat different in form and colour from that of their president. "The National Assembly which preceded us," said Couthon, "decided that, as to etiquette, the actions of the king should be their rule, as if, in the presence of the first functionary of the people, the representatives of the people were to transform themselves into automata that could only move as he moved. They also decided that he should have for his seat a fine gilded fauteuil, as if a fauteuil like the president's was not good enough for him. And, the last time he came down here, was not the president of the late Assembly heard to style him your majesty?—as if there was any majesty in France except that of the laws and the majesty of the people. I demand that these things cease, and that the proper ceremonial be regulated before we adjourn this day. I propose that we decree that when the king enters this hall the members shall stand up with their hats off, but that, as soon as he reaches the table, we shall all sit down and put our hats on. We must also avoid the scandalous spectacle of this gilded fauteuil, and hope that the king will feel himself honoured in being allowed a seat exactly like that of the president of the representatives of a great people. It is also to be hoped that there will be no more about sire and your majesty, and that he will remain satisfied with being called King of the French." This début of Couthon was most triumphant. His maiden speech was long and loudly applauded by House and galleries; and his future pre-eminence might have been predicted from this hour. Couthon was, indeed, one of the *âmes perdues*—one of the *bêtes noires*—of the revolution; but the gentle and philosophic Girondists were not less eager than Couthon in these debates. Vergniaud, the greatest orator of that party, and the idol and beau-ideal of it, said that the words "sire" and "your majesty" recalled the barbarous times of feudality; and that the king would be but too much honoured by being styled simply "King of the French." Guadet, another chief of the Gironde, said emphatically, "I love to believe that the French people will always venerate the plain chair on which the president of the representatives of the nation seats himself, a great deal more than the gilded fauteuil on which the chief of the executive power may be seated. I will not speak of the titles of Sire and Majesty. I am astonished that this Assembly should hesitate one moment in abolishing them. The word sire signifies seigneur; it appertained to the feudal régime, which no longer exists. As for the term majesty, it ought never more to be employed, except in speaking of God or of the people!" The galleries took an active part in all this business, shouting and expressing their opinions, as they were wont to do. While Vergniaud was speaking he was irritated by their indecent clamour, which prevented his being well

* Report of Duchastel to the Legislative Assembly, as given in Hist. Parlement.

heard; and he cried out, "Silence there in the galleries!" This call was seconded by another member, who begged the president to impose silence on the people. Garan-Coulon, at that time an out-and-out Robespierrist or Dantonist, exclaimed that the president had no right to do any such thing. Whatever was the right, there was certainly not the power, either in the president or in any one else; and the gallery mobs continued to behave as they had all along done. Several members, anxious to avoid attacking and insulting the king at the very commencement of their career, called loudly for the order of the day, or for an adjournment. But the republicans, of all colours and parties, including the Girondists, would not be disappointed of the pleasure they had promised themselves in humiliating their shadow of a king; and it was decreed—1. That the king's fauteuil should be made exactly like the president's, placed on the same line, and at the president's left hand; 2. That henceforward the king should only be called King of the French; 3. That, when the king should be in the act of retiring from the Assembly, the members should stand up uncovered, as at his arrival; 4. That the deputation of members appointed to receive the king at the door, and to conduct him back to it, should not consist of more than twelve. On the following day those who had resisted these decrees demanded that they should be re-considered more coolly and abandoned. Duchastel, who now seemed determined to forget the insult he fancied he had received at the Tuileries, spoke against the decrees, although he allowed that the Assembly had indisputably the right to regulate the ceremonials of their own House, and to receive the *sovereign* as they thought proper. He was called to order by Lacroix, who sharply reprehended him for saying *sovereign*—"a word contrary to the constitution, and reprobated by it." The president, Pastoret, also thought it necessary to call Duchastel back to the principles of the constitution, and to remind him that he had applied a term to the king which properly belonged to the people. Duchastel, somewhat disconcerted, said that, though it was true they had a right to regulate their own ceremonials or "interior police," it might happen that the King of the French would believe himself insulted, and avoid submitting to their regulations by keeping away from the Assembly altogether. He ventured to add that this might produce disagreeable consequences, since the powers of government resided in the legislative body and in the king jointly. He was called to order, as if he had uttered some political heresy or flat blasphemy. "I tell you," continued Duchastel, "that you will be suspected of bad feelings against the person of the king. You cannot prevent public prejudice. There will never be any order in France so long as the people think that there is no good intelligence between the legislative body and the king!" He was assailed by the House, hooted by the galleries, and another scene of the most disgraceful violence ensued. This was no new scene, as some of the deputies of the late Assembly seemed to intimate by their shrugs and expressions of astonishment: it was only a repetition of what had occurred a hundred times at least in the National Constituent Assembly. An anonymous deputy, blushing at what he saw, exclaimed, "You wish to assume an imposing attitude with the king, and yet you know not how to be calm and dignified among yourselves!" Nevertheless some continued to shout for the previous question, and some for the revision of the ceremonial decrees, the number of the latter being comparatively very small. Poor president Pastoret, a man of science and letters, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and Historiographer of France, who did not altogether merit the hard fate of presiding over such demoniacs, worked hard with his hand-bell, and then put it to the vote whether the decrees should be maintained or revoked. The hall was shaken by fresh shouts of "Previous question! Order of the day!" &c. The president said, "I have put the question in the manner which seemed to me most just. If the Assembly wish to go to the vote on another question, I will take their opinion." Here an honourable member roared, "Are you deaf, Monsieur le President? 'The previous question!' The previous question!" Poor Pastoret endeavoured to explain; but the majority were in too great a fury to listen. At last it was put to the vote whether the decrees of the preceding day should be re-reported or not; and, after a complete riot, the affirmative was carried by a considerable majority. When the result of the division was known, the members of the late Assembly applauded; and this provoked Chabot and another deputy to cry out against the great number of ex-deputies that were present, and acting as if they were members of that House;* for this party disapproved of all such interferences when they were not in their own favour. Bazire then demanded that the consideration of the decrees should be adjourned till that day week; but

* Although Cerutti's proposition for giving the members of the late Assembly seats of honour had not been adopted, those ex-deputies continued to meet in great numbers and to sit together in a body, or rather in two bodies, republicans and constitutionalists, in the new Assembly. From their post in the House they communicated with their successors, advising them in many cases what they ought to say and do, and acting in other cases like regular foglemen. Nothing could well be more gross and indecent than this conduct; and, if the clubs and the journals, which soon denounced the practice, had always attacked things as bad, their fury might have been more excusable. They said that in this manner a second chamber was really established, or that two distinct bodies sat together in one and the same chamber. Even the 'Moniteur,' which was official, and moderate and decorous, inveighed vehemently against the practice. It asked, who had given the order for erecting these two *tribunes* in the body of the House;—by what right those ex-deputies acted as they did? It was quite sure their presence did not tend to purify the atmosphere of the place. "But alas!" continued the 'Moniteur,' "after having been something, it is so difficult to resign oneself to be nothing. Neither the great nor the little personages of the late Assembly can be either ministers or representatives *en titre*. Well, then, they must become one or the other *incognito!* They have arranged to get stools in the privy council, and separate benches in the legislative body; they preserve their consultative voice *in utroque;* and thus they flatter themselves that they may still govern in the Council and domineer in the Assembly. From their elevated benches, as from a signal-house, they give their signs to their friends that are deputies. . . . . Those benches, where they are found day after day, constitute a sort of permanent committee. They concert their measures together; they coalesce; they are for ever in sight."

it was decided that it should only be adjourned till the next meeting. That night the Jacobin club took up the subject, and cried havoc against the traitors that were attempting to make the Assembly revoke the decrees of the 5th. Ballet, a deputy of the new National Legislative Assembly, introduced the subject in a terrible speech. He declared that the decrees had been passed with proper spirit and unanimity, but that on the night of the 5th all kinds of intrigues had been resorted to in order to bring about the call for their revocation on the 6th; that he saw a great number of the deputies of the late Assembly intriguing in the very House itself with members of the new Assembly; that, after the debates were over, these ex-deputies went to the Palais-Royal, spread themselves among the crowds collected there, and propagated fears and alarms, saying that the decrees which had been passed would keep the king away from the legislative body, diminish confidence, and seriously affect the public funds, &c. Ballet further said, that on the 6th, when he went into the Assembly, he found that many members had got their speeches ready written against the decrees, and were saying in their places that they were quite sure of a majority. "Gentlemen," said Ballet to the Jacobins, in conclusion, "it is proper you should know that the very men who solicited and tore from us the revocation of the decrees are now the first to laugh at our weakness and versatility. They argue, from this first act of weakness, that it is quite clear the present Assembly will be incapable of doing anything. What they are aiming at is to render the present Assembly ridiculous, in order that they may themselves preserve or get back that public favour and confidence which their last transactions as a legislative body justly made them lose! But why, gentlemen, has this disgraceful revocation happened? It is because a great many of the patriotic members of the new legislature do not know one another, and do not know you! It is true you have invited them to unite in your hall; but that is not enough. There ought to be a printed list of all these patriotic members, giving their addresses in Paris, and the names of the departments which have elected them, so that in a moment of crisis, or whenever it may be necessary, we may be able to meet and rally at the shortest notice. But, gentlemen, you have your enemies even in the midst of this club! There are men belonging to affiliated societies in the departments, who have presented their diplomas of affiliation, and yet have not joined you as members and brothers. These men only come here to examine your countenance, to sound the depths of your influence, in order to see which party is the stronger, and to join the stronger party, whatever it may be."* In this manner, all who were not for them were declared to be against them; and there was soon no hope for a public man of any sort, unless he joined the Jacobins, and distinguished himself by his violence in their hall.

* Journal of the club, as quoted in Hist. Parlement.

Among the journalists who attacked president Pastoret for having favoured those who demanded the revocation, was Prudhomme, who called him an intriguer, a valet of the court, a slave, and, what was most perilous of all, *a rich man*. "And yet this is the man," added the socialist printer, "that our new National Assembly have elected for their president; this is the man they have preferred to that patriot, M. Garan-Coulon. Alas! we were wrong to expect any revolutionary energy from an Assembly capable of choosing a slave of a courtier for their chief."* In spite, however, of the newspapers and the clubs, the majority of the Assembly either annulled the decrees of the 5th, or prevented the execution of them; and the constitutionalists, as they were called, immoderately proud of their victory, provoked by their imprudent exultation all those who had differed from them. But no party in France could on any occasion behave moderately or like men in their senses; all parties seemed labouring to prove that there was a natural incompatibility between the national character and a free form of government. Goupilleau, a Jacobin of the deepest dye, and at this time the sworn friend of Danton and Robespierre, complained in the Jacobin club that he, though a member of the Assembly, had not been allowed the liberty of speech; and that an officer of the national guard had threatened, within the very walls of the Assembly, to cut him to pieces if he did not change his tone and sentiments about the king. He named Dermigni as this truculent national-guard officer; and Couthon and Barrère assisted him in calling upon the Jacobins for vengeance or for satisfaction. Dermigni was summoned by the club to *their bar* (*fut cité à la barre*), and, being evidently in a great fright, Dermigni lost no time in going to the hall, and in making a speech, so extravagant about liberty, &c., that his offence was overlooked. "If," cried he, "I thought that our constitution could not last, I would go this instant and bury myself under a stone!" Goupilleau himself declared that he was satisfied.

On the appointed Friday Louis XVI. repaired to the Assembly, and was received with great marks of respect. Some of the people in the galleries not merely applauded the king, but also applauded his gilded fauteuil, which seemed to accuse the Assembly of contradiction and weakness. The principal object of the speech the king read was to recommend harmony and confidence in one another; but it also dwelt upon the state of the finances, of the army, and of the diplomatic relations of France with foreign countries. It said that he (the king) would employ his best efforts in bringing back order and discipline among the troops, in putting the kingdom in the best possible state of defence, and in giving foreign powers such notions of the French revolution as would be most proper to re-establish a good understanding with them. [He and the queen had just written to tell

* Journal des Révolutions, in Hist. Parlement.

the Emperor Leopold and others that, if this revolution were not unmade or stopped, not only they themselves but all the crowned heads of Europe would be undone.] The speech concluded with these words:—"Gentlemen, in order that your important labours and patriotic zeal shall produce all the good that ought to be expected from them, it is absolutely necessary that a constant harmony and an unvarying confidence exist between the legislative body and the king. The enemies of our peace will but too much endeavour to disunite us; but let the love of our country rally us, and the public interest render us inseparable! In this manner the public power will display itself without any obstacle, the administration will not be tormented by vain terrors, the property and the religious belief of every man will be equally protected, and nobody will have a pretext for emigrating or living out of a country where the laws are in vigour and where all rights are respected." The applauses were loud and long; but there is evidence to show that they had been in good part bought—that Louis's ministers had hired *claqueurs*, fellows with hard, resounding palms and Stentorian voices. On the very same day Couthon moved for some fresh exterminating laws against the refractory or unsworn priests. "We are sent here," he exclaimed, "to establish peace and tranquillity in France, but how can we do it unless we adopt vigorous measures against these refractory priests? There are in the country unsworn curés that remain in their parishes, although constitutional priests have been sent to succeed them, and there is no calculating the mischief produced by their mere presence! There are places where the constitutional priests have been cudgelled by day and shot at by night. These refractory priests continue their functions: they say mass, they confess, they make holy-water in their own houses. (*Here there was loud laughter.*) It is impossible to obtain proofs against them, for none witness their doings except their own partisans. But I can tell you one certain fact. A refractory priest was saying mass in a church when a constitutional priest, properly appointed to that church, entered it: the refractory threw off his canonicals in the middle of the mass, and ran away, crying, 'This church is polluted!'" Ramond, a Feuillant constitutionalist, thought that the present Assembly would make a bad beginning, if they commenced by making a war upon priests. Another honourable deputy, who said that, in his parish, the country-people would not have their children baptized by the constitutional curés, thought that these religious quarrels were very serious, and that strong means ought to be adopted in order to put an end to them. The Assembly voted that, within eight days, proper measures should be taken against the refractory. Two days after this debate a report was submitted to the Assembly by Gallois and Gensonné, upon the state of the departments of La Vendée and Deux-Sèvres. These two commissioners, who had visited the troubled districts by order of the preceding Assembly, drew but a miserable picture of them, making, of course, but little allowance for the ignorance, the prejudices, the old habits and feelings, and the passions of the people. "The epoch of the enforcing the *serment civique*," said they, "has been, for the department of La Vendée, the first epoch of its troubles. Down to that moment the people had enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity. Remotely situated, and far away from the common centre of political action and ferment, disposed by their natural dispositions to a love of peace, to the feeling of order, to respect for the laws, they received the benefits of the revolution without experiencing its storms. The absence of roads, the difficulty of communicating with the other parts of the kingdom, the simplicity of their life (which was wholly pastoral or agricultural), the lessons of their childhood, and the force of religious emblems or images that are never out of their sight, have opened their souls to a crowd of superstitious impressions, which, in the actual state of things, no new light can destroy or moderate. Their religion is the strongest and almost the only moral habit of their life: the most essential objects with them are their images and their priests. The constant devotion of these people to their religious duties, and their unlimited confidence in their priests, are the principal elements of the troubles which agitate, and which may long continue to agitate, La Vendée. It is easy to conceive with what activity the priests have turned to their own profit this disposition and these prejudices of the people: they have neglected nothing to inflame this zeal, to alarm consciences, to fortify the weak, to sustain the strong and bold: to some they have given spiritual uneasiness, terror, and remorse; to others they have given transcendant hopes of happiness and salvation: they have tried upon almost every man, and with success, the mighty influence of hope or of fear. Some of these ecclesiastics act in conviction and in good faith; but others of them are accused of making their religious zeal a cloak to their ambition, or a pretext for pursuing interests much nearer their hearts than any religion. There is a powerful coalition formed between the ex-bishop of Luçon and a part of the ex-clergy of his diocese; they have settled a regular plan of opposition to the decrees of the legislature; pastoral letters and inflammatory writings have been sent from Paris to all the country curés, to encourage them in their opposition to the Assembly."* Gallois and Gensonné further reported that every district in the Vendée and Deux-Sèvres was overrun with secret missionaries, sent out by a society of secular priests, which had been established about sixty years before at Saint-Laurent, and which had lived ever since upon the devotion and the alms of the people; that this society was united, by the nature and spirit of its institution, to an establishment of Grey Sisters (*Sœurs-Grises*), founded also in Saint-Laurent, and known more

* Report in Hist. Parlement.

particularly by the name of the Daughters of Wisdom (*Filles de la Sagesse*); that these Sœurs-Grises or Filles de la Sagesse, who devoted themselves to the poor and afflicted, and travelled from hospital to hospital, assisted the missionaries in carrying on an active correspondence with all parts of the kingdom; and that, although the constitutional municipals had chastised these missionaries, broken open their house at Saint-Laurent, and seized their papers, and the administrators of the hospitals had driven away the Sœurs-Grises, the zeal of both bodies continued in the same fervour, and their correspondence was carried on as actively as ever. To give a notion of the principles inculcated by these missionaries, Gallois and Gensonné presented to the Assembly an abstract of some of their manuscripts which had been seized at Saint-Laurent. These papers, drawn up as a form of instructions for the country-people, told the peasants of La Vendée, and all good Christians, that the constitutional or *sermentés* priests could not administer the sacrament, and that all such persons as took the sacrament from their hands, or were even present when they administered it, were guilty of a mortal sin; that, in having the marriage-ceremony performed by these intrusive and schismatical priests, they would draw down the malediction of heaven upon themselves and upon their children, who would all be bastards in the eye of God; and that they ought on no account to permit these intrusive priests to bury their dead, but rather, if they could not obtain the services of their old curés, to do the duties themselves. The instructions also imported that the people were to shun all communication with the new clergy; that the municipalities which installed these intruders were to be considered as apostates like themselves; and that, at the moment of such instalment, the sacristans, the singers, and the bell-ringers were to abandon the church as a place polluted and filled with a spiritual pestilence. The two commissioners stated that, in consequence of all these things, the unsworn priests remained in their churches in a great part of the country, the municipal authorities being unwilling or afraid to interfere; that the far greater part of the citizens had renounced the service of the national guard, and those who remained incorporated were far more likely to fight for their priests than to employ their arms to enforce the decrees of the Assembly; and that every judge, every servant of government, every military officer that attempted to carry these decrees into execution, was held up to the execration of the people, and either compelled to withdraw, or condemned to an unquiet, unsafe life. Gallois and Gensonné had been charged by the late National Assembly not merely to make a report, but also to employ active coercive measures: they assured the present Assembly that they had done all that could be done with the very small military force at their disposal; and they applauded the zeal and active co-operation of Dumouriez, who had at last obtained one of the great objects of his ambition, the rank of general, and had been sent into La Vendée. They related how they had threatened the people with martial law, and ordered all the unsworn priests out of the country; and how the people had defied their threats, and how the unsworn priests had remained where they were. The two commissioners frankly declared their conviction that any bold attempt to enforce the decrees would spread the flames of civil war all over that part of France. They said that it was the unanimous opinion of the inhabitants of the larger towns, who were more civilised and consequently more attached to the new system, that the only means of quieting the peasantry would be to withdraw the constitutional clergy, and leave them their old curés. Gallois and Gensonné did not venture to recommend, on their own part, any system or measures whatsoever;* but they quoted a letter from one of the new clergy in the Vendée, who said that the best course to pursue would be to humour the people, and endeavour to cure them of their prejudices by slow degrees and with a prudent gentleness. "It is to be feared," added this sworn priest, "that all measures of rigour will appear in the light of a religious persecution. Time, gentleness, and education are the arms of truth, and are those which ought to be employed!" But the vast majority of this Legislative Assembly were utterly incapable of employing any such arms: the commissioners and the military officers they sent into the disturbed districts were mostly men of their own temper, and the democrats and revolutionists of the larger towns within La Vendée, or on the borders of it, were just as fanatic in one way as the peasantry were in the other. Dumouriez states the temper of men's minds in those parts very fairly: he says he found the whole of La Vendée agitated by the furies of persecution and fanaticism, the nobility being very unquiet, the priests much irritated, and the democrats excessively intolerant. He speaks favourably of the character of the old clergy, many of whom were friendly to the revolution and to reform until the National Assembly imposed the *serment civique*, which subjected them to an oath by which they were to submit to all the constitutional decrees then or afterwards to be enacted. "The lower clergy," he says, "were respectable men: irreproachable manners, more virtue than knowledge, and a patriarchal simplicity, had procured them a paternal authority in their parishes. Where they were turned out, their livings were filled by apostate monks and priests equally destitute of religion and morality. The greater part of these villages shunned their new pastors, concealed their venerable priests, and soon began to assemble in the woods to receive spiritual assistance, while in the parish-churches divine service,

* "Dumouriez had accompanied them for the space of a month throughout the department, and had presented them with a memorial containing his own observations. Gensonné was elected a member of the National Assembly, and that circumstance proved his ruin: he was instructed to deliver in an account of this mission. He engrafted the whole of Dumouriez's memorial on his own report, but he dared not to insert the plan of the decree drawn up by that general, containing a modification of the oath. His report did not contain any conclusions whatever."—*Dumouriez's own Memoirs.*

by the assistance of fixed bayonets, was performed to empty seats and stools." He found the peasantry naturally good and kind-hearted, simple, and devout in the extreme. He says that he quitted the country with regret; and that any man, endowed with prudence and sagacity, might have preserved tranquillity throughout the whole of it. The greatest trouble he himself met with was from the Jacobin clubs in the large towns, who were in constant excitement, and who pretended to direct or control all his movements and measures. Dumouriez was of course a Jacobin himself, for otherwise he would never have obtained rank and employment; but he says—and we do not on this point question his veracity—that he was anxious to moderate the republican fury of these provincial societies. He could do nothing with the Jacobins of Nantes, who were rabid and remorseless; but with the club at Niort, the little capital of the department of Deux-Sèvres, he had better success, for these clubists elected him their president, and listened to his suggestions. He prevailed on them to give up those debates and harangues by which men were accustomed to inflame one another, and to occupy their time in useful matters, such as drawing plans of new roads and canals, making gunpowder, and forming charitable establishments, of which the want was cruelly felt in many parts of the kingdom from the moment the revolution suppressed the monastic orders and swallowed up all their property. And he says that these useful occupations prevented the Jacobins of Niort from delivering themselves over to that frenzy which rendered most of those clubs so dangerous. *

Towards the end of October Abbé Fauchet of the Social Circle, and now constitutional bishop of Calvados, rose in the Assembly to call for a definitive law to repress the revolt of the unsworn priests against the constitution. "Fanaticism," said he, "is the greatest scourge of the universe; and we must root it out. Liberty is not compatible with this brute subjection to priests and tyrants. See what horrors are committed in the name of God by these detestable arbiters of men's consciences! See how they are inoculating the people of La Vendée with their infernal rage against their countrymen and brethren! They would swim in the blood of the patriots: this is their familiar expression. Compared with these priests atheists are angels. But still let us tolerate them, only do not let us give them any money or pensions." He thought that the best way of putting an end to the troubles would be to starve out the priests by stopping the pittances allowed them, and by condemning to five years' close imprisonment every one of them that might be caught exciting the people to sedition. Torné, constitutional bishop of Bourges, said that all the troubles arose out of the affected somnolence of the executive power, and the consequences of it—the cowardly inactivity of the public accusers, the indolent march of the tribunals, the apathy of the administrative bodies; in a word, the general weakness and craziness of the interior government. He thought that the best mode of reducing the country to order was to blow a few trumpet-notes in the ears of the king and his ministers, to rouse them from their lethargy and make them exercise the ample powers intrusted to them by the constitution; but he proposed to allow such as preferred unsworn priests to sworn ones to have them and keep them without molestation. He even thought that the unsworn and the sworn priests might very well say mass in the same church, one after the other; and he quoted the example of some churches in Germany and some places of worship in Virginia, where opposite sects succeeded one another at different hours of the same day. Ducos, a young man of letters before the revolution, a member of the Gironde party, exclaimed that the tolerant discourse of the Bishop of Bourges ought to be printed, as a proper answer to the intolerance and cruelty of the Bishop of Calvados, who had proposed nothing less than starving the unsworn priests. Ducos was called to order in a most disorderly manner by the friends of Fauchet. Ramond, another Girondist, said that two-thirds of the Assembly agreed with Ducos—and then followed what can only be designated correctly by our vulgar word, a row. Fauchet said that he had not proposed measures of intolerance; that he did not mean to condemn people to die of hunger; but the House listened to him with impatience, and he was obliged to put off a long harangue till another day. On the 3rd of November he spoke at great length. "To tolerate the pests and poisons of society," said he, "is the worst kind of intolerance we can be guilty of against society. It is impossible to live fraternally with these unsworn priests, who brandish the torches of fanaticism: they will not live with us as friends or even as quiet enemies; they have hatred in their hearts, and the torch of discord in their hands! If you let these priests use the same churches as the constitutional ecclesiastics, the latter will be torn to pieces, the wolves will devour the peaceful lambs, unless indeed the lion of the national guard keep incessant watch over them. I tell you that our sworn priests have already been stoned and butchered. Will you know of what furious excesses the nonconformists are capable in the departments? Two or three hundred women of a parish in the city of Caen lately fell upon their constitutional curé, the most peaceful of men, beat him, stoned him, drove him into his church, followed him thither, and took down the lamp-post of the choir to hang him on it before his own altar!" He concluded by again recommending that the sworn priests should be well and regularly paid, and that not a livre, not a sous, should be allowed to reach the pockets of the unsworn. Gensonné then rose to suggest a better course. He honestly confessed that these religious troubles had been imprudently provoked by the late Assembly and

* Mémoires.

the friends of the revolution, who had led the peasantry to believe that the constitution called upon them to sacrifice their religious opinions; that no tolerance nor patience had been exercised; that the men who, through ignorance and error, or a timorous conscience, had remained faithfully attached to their old curés, had been regarded as public enemies, had been persecuted and tormented, until, preferring their religion to their country, they had become inimical to the constitution and furious against the new priests. He thought it would be cruel to starve out the unsworn as Fauchet proposed, and yet unwise to pay them and the priests of all other religions as was proposed by Ramond. Some men, whose patriotism he honoured, had proposed to seize and carry off all the unconstitutional priests; but this, Gensonné thought, would be as bad as starving them, would be a measure far too arbitrary and despotic ever to be adopted by an Assembly so humane and enlightened, and in the reign of liberty and equality. He proposed that all civil power should be taken from the church; that marriages should be made valid without the intervention of any priest; that the registers should be taken from the priests, and put into the hands of laymen attached to the municipalities; that the schools, the management of the hospitals and poor-houses, should also be taken from the clergy and given to laymen; that all corporations of secular priests, like the society at Saint-Laurent, or like others equally useless, should instantly be destroyed; and that those clouds of Sœurs-Grises, who occupied themselves less in succouring the sick and the afflicted than in spreading the poison of fanaticism, should be dispersed and prohibited. As a completion to this healing system Gensonné further proposed that the inhabitants of parishes should be allowed to concur directly in the nomination or election of their curés:—but, as none but the sworn constitutional part of the clergy were to be eligible, this last proposition was a mere quibble. These debates occupied many days. While they were in progress the violent party were made still more furious by intelligence of insurrections in La Vendée and in the neighbouring department of Maine-et-Loire. In the latter department three or four thousand men were up in arms. The local administration wrote to the Assembly that pilgrimages and processions were the pretexts for these great gatherings; that it was easy to disperse them so long as the pilgrims had only chaplets and rosaries in their hands, but that the case was otherwise now that they were armed with muskets, pikes, scythes, and axes, and had sustained several actions with the national guards. "See where your tolerance leads you!" exclaimed Isnard: "Systems of toleration may do very well for tranquil times; but are we to tolerate those who will tolerate neither the constitution nor the law? Can we have any more indulgence for men who are setting the kingdom in a blaze? Is it only to be when the ocean shall be discoloured by the blood of Frenchmen that you will feel the danger of this indulgence? It is time that everything be subjected to the will of the nation; that tiaras, diadems, incense-pots yield to the sceptre of the laws." The Assembly decreed that their committee of legislation should on that day week present a report as to the measures proper to be taken at this crisis; and that, as soon as the report should be presented, the Assembly, leaving all other business whatsoever, would occupy itself exclusively with this subject until a definitive decree should be settled. On the 14th of November the committee of legislation made their report, and presented a project of a decree, which so little satisfied the majority that it was rejected as soon as read. Then Isnard delivered a tremendous oration against the refractory priests, and indeed against all priests whatsoever, whom he described as bloodthirsty fanatics and vindictive cowards. He declared that the aristocrats, wherever they existed, were just as bad as the unsworn priests, with whom they were closely united. His recommendation was, that every priest should take the oath and conform to the constitution, or be driven out of France. "We must be severe (*il faut être tranchant*)," exclaimed Isnard; "we must crush these priests and put down these insurrections at once. If we permit them to gather together and make converts and partisans, they will sweep through France like a torrent, and we shall be undone. Despotism always uses prompt and vigorous measures; and it is by these means that a single individual may keep a whole nation in subjection. *If Louis XVI. had employed these great means when our revolution was only in our heads, we should not be here, and France would still be under the yoke!*" A great number of members demanded that Isnard's oration should be printed and sent to all the departments. Lecoz, bishop of the department of Ille-et-Vilaine, endeavoured to remonstrate; but, though sworn and constitutional, the House was not disposed to listen to him; and from a part of the hall there proceeded loud cries of "No priests! no priests!" Upon this Bishop Lecoz said in a passion that to order the printing of Isnard's discourse would be to order the printing of a code of atheism. He was put down by a roar of angry voices. The president said that the bishop had a right to speak his opinions, and that he would support him in that right. Garan-Coulon told the president that he ought to do no such thing; that M. Lecoz had demanded to speak as a priest, and that he ought not to be heard in that quality. Several minutes were passed in great agitation, or, to speak plainer English, there was another great row. The constitutional bishop, at last, was enabled to say, "I do not believe that this Assembly, which represents all the citizens and all the believers of this empire, should decree what tends to destroy public tranquillity more and more. We found our hopes of this regeneration of the French people on the purity of their morals. Now, I maintain, and I will prove, that the discourse of M. Isnard tends

to destroy all religious and social morality." He was interrupted by murmurs and exclamations, and by angry appeals to the president to call him to order. He added, "It is impossible for any society to exist if it has not in it a fixed and eternal code of morality!" Loud peals of laughter from the House and galleries stopped the constitutional prelate; and he descended from the tribune in despair. The printing of Isnard's speech was, however, rejected by a small majority, and the orator afterwards thought it necessary to exculpate himself from the charge of atheism: for the majority of the nation were not yet considered quite ripe enough for that; and he wrote a letter to a newspaper stating that, as he was not a madman, he really believed in a God. In the course of the next stormy debate on this subject letters were read from the administrators and municipals in Calvados, who represented their department as becoming as hot and seditious as La Vendée itself, and detailed several insurrections in which lives had been lost on account of the perverse unconstitutional clergy. Cambon, a Protestant deputy from the south, and one of the fiercest enemies the old Catholic clergy met with, proposed that the Assembly should make themselves the accusers of the refractory priests and of all who conspired against the tranquillity and safety of the state; and that the high national court destined to try cases of treason against the nation should be assembled forthwith, and ordered to proceed with speed and rigour. There was another scene of confusion and uproar. "Gentlemen," cried the president, after ringing his hand-bell, "this is a serious matter and you ought to be tranquil and decide calmly." Duchastel said that, before issuing a decree of accusation, and convoking the high national court, it might be proper to obtain written evidence of what had passed in Calvados; and, as soon as the House grew cool enough, this proposition was adopted. On the very next debate on the question Gensonné informed the Assembly that fresh insurrections had broken out in La Vendée; that even the municipalities there were declaring for the unsworn priests and the people; and that the boldness of the people and the priests was greater than ever. Goupilleau added some particulars, as that the refractory priests had raised the inhabitants of the forest of Gené, who had beaten and disarmed both the national guards and the troops of the line. A few days after this, on the 29th of November, the Assembly passed their decree "relative to troubles excited under pretext of religion." After a preamble reciting that the greatest benefits had been conferred upon society by the constitution; that the social contract ought to bind, as it protected, every individual member of the state; that a difference of religious opinions ought not to prevent men from taking the *serment civique*, inasmuch as the constitution assured to every citizen full liberty of conscience; that all enlightened citizens were convinced of this great truth that religion was for the enemies of the constitution nothing but a pretext and an instrument for troubling the earth in the name of heaven, &c., they enacted, among other clauses too numerous to be described, 1. That within a week every priest who had not taken the *serment civique*, and conformed to other regulations, must present himself to his municipality and publicly take the oath. 2. That every municipality in the kingdom should send lists to the Assembly of such as had taken the oath, and of such as still refused to take it, which lists would serve as a basis for after measures to be adopted by the Assembly. 3. That all such ecclesiastics as continued refractory should not receive any pay, or pension, or allowance whatsoever; and that the treasurers or receivers that should dare to pay them anything should be deprived of their places and made to pay the money back to the state out of their own pockets. 4. That, besides losing their pay or allowances, all refractory priests, or all priests *suspected* of evil intentions against the country, should be subjected to the strict surveillance of the police and of all the constituted authorities, or be seized and removed from their homes and districts if considered necessary. 5. That every priest that should be convicted of having provoked the people to any infringement of the laws should suffer a close imprisonment of two years. 6. That, in case of any religious troubles in any town or district requiring the armed force to put them down, the people of the said town or district should be made to pay all the expenses, excepting only such of them as should inform against the chief instigators and accomplices of the émeute. 7. That the directory of every department should also draw up two lists, one containing the names and abodes of all the priests that had sworn, the other the names and abodes of all who had not sworn. The decree contained terrible menaces against all such municipals or employés as should in any manner favour the unconstitutional clergy, or even fail in rigorously executing the law against them; and it concluded with this significant clause: "As it is important above everything to enlighten the people in order that they may avoid the snares laid for them by these pretended religious opinions, the National Assembly exhorts all good spirits to renew their efforts and multiply their instructions against fanaticism: it declares that it will regard as a public benefit works and books written to the level of the country people and upon this important matter; and the Assembly will cause these works to be printed and distributed at the expense of the state, and will recompense the writers of them."* It will be understood that the swarms of writers who took the field on this invitation and promise did not rest satisfied with condemning or ridiculing the priests of La Vendée, but extended their ridicule to all priests and to all religions. The press was marvellously active, and, besides original works, cheap reprints were made of sundry of the most telling works of Voltaire, Diderot, &c.

* Hist. Parlement.

In other parts of France this writing and printing was attended by important results; but it produced little effect in La Vendée, not so much perhaps because the orthodox clergy prohibited and anathematised the books, as because the mass of the people could not read. The Assembly soon thought that laws more rigorous than any contained in their late decree must be resorted to in this part of the kingdom.

The debates about the refractory priests were intermingled with discussions about the emigrants and the emigration, which was still going on very rapidly; and many separate days, in the months of October and November, were devoted to these subjects. On the 13th of October the king was made to write a letter to all the commandants of seaports, expressing his deep regret at the continued and multiplied emigration of naval officers, and enjoining them to use all their efforts to prevent it, and bring the officers of the navy to a proper sense of what they owed to the constitution and their country. And the next day a proclamation concerning emigrations was issued in the name of the king. It stated that, as some men might have been seduced into the notion that by emigrating they would give a proof of their attachment to their king, he must inform them that he considered as his true and only friends the men that remained in the country and at their posts; that when he accepted the constitution he wished to put an end to all civil discords, and hoped that every Frenchman would remain quiet and satisfied; that it was deplorable to see a crowd of emigrants carrying their *riches* into foreign countries; and that he must beg them all to return to their country, to the only post of honour, as there was no honour except in serving one's country and defending its laws. The proclamation admitted that there had been times when flight was excusable, and when men of property had not been able to find that protection from the law which they ought to have found; but it assured the emigrants that these times were gone by, and that now the laws were in full force—which last assurance was about as true as that Louis was sincere in putting his signature to this proclamation. On the 20th of October, Brissot, who had taken the emigrant law into his own hands, produced his project to the Assembly. He denounced all preceding regulations on this head as being too meek and mild, as being mere cowardly acts, meant to wear the appearance of mercy and magnanimity. He proclaimed that it was necessary to pursue the great offenders, the princely emigrants; to strike a blow where it would be felt and be made visible to the whole world. "Punish the chiefs," cried Brissot, "and these emigrations and revolts will cease! The late Assembly constantly amused the patriots with laws about emigration, with vain palliatives or subterfuges. This is the reason why you saw the very partisans of the court recommending these laws in order to play with the credulity of the people: this is why you heard a celebrated orator (Mirabeau), at a time when he was still counted among the number of patriots, declare that their laws would never be executed or be capable of execution, because the members of the Assembly would never pursue their own friends and families. Ah! if there had then existed a thoroughly plebeian Assembly (*une assemblée toute plébéienne*), we should never have seen these emigrant gatherings at Coblentz! Three years of ill success, three years of a miserable vagabond life, the failure of their conspiracies and the exposure of their intrigues, have not cured these so-called royal and noble emigrants. They have hearts corrupted from their very birth: they believe themselves born to be the sovereigns of the people, and they still seek to reduce the people to the old yoke. Look at the proclamations and protests they have published abroad, and at the addresses they send into this country, where they tell the aristocrats that they will forfeit their titles to nobility if they do not join them beyond the Rhine." After calling these emigrants worse robbers and assassins than Cartouche, who had died upon the wheel, after speaking of the menacing attitude assumed by the emperor, by Sweden, by Russia and Spain, of the mysterious interviews which had taken place at Pilnitz, where foreign plenipotentiaries, in league with the emigrants, had vowed the ruin of the French constitution, and after assuring the Assembly that the English people loved the revolution and the constitution, although their king and government hated both, Brissot proposed what he considered the best method of stopping emigration. He divided the emigrants into three classes:—1. The principal chiefs, at the head of whom he placed the king's two brothers and the Prince of Condé; 2. The public functionaries who had abandoned their places and appointments, and had endeavoured to seduce their colleagues; 3. Private individuals who, through fear for their lives, through hatred of the revolution, or for other motives, had fled from their country, but had not taken up arms against it. With regard to the first and second of these classes he demanded the severest punishments that could be devised; but with respect to the third class he thought it would be prudent and politic to be indulgent and to wait the effect of time, which would certainly drive the greater part of them home again—for where could civilised Frenchmen live with any comfort except in civilised France? The Assembly ordered that Brissot's speech, which was admirably calculated to transport the people into fresh fury against every man who had an ancient name or estate, should be printed and sent to the departments. Mathieu Dumas, one of the chiefs of the Feuillants, and one of the most moderate men in this Assembly, spoke boldly and at great length against the horrible code which Brissot proposed, quoting the remarkable speech which Mirabeau had delivered on the subject, denouncing the vile flatterers of the people and their mad passions, and declaring that

no emigrants ought to be punished except officers who had deserted, or public employés who had abandoned, their posts. On the 22nd of October some moderate deputies attempted to prove that there was no great danger to be apprehended from the emigrants; and that it would be punishment enough to decree that all such as did not return within three months should forfeit their civil rights and citizenship. On the 25th, when the debate was renewed, Condorcet read a very metaphysical speech, in which, coupled with a great deal of rhetoric about liberty, and the right of a free Frenchman to go whither he pleased, was a fresh denunciation against the detestable iniquities of the emigrants, and a call upon the Assembly to adopt, without loss of time, the system of rigour recommended by the humane and enlightened Brissot. Condorcet made use of the logic of fear —of that terrible logic which *he* felt, which they *all* felt, and which was the deep well from which flowed blood enough to deluge the country. "Are we," said he, "to wait to be assassinated before we think of disarming our enemies? Because the crimes of these emigrants are not yet consummated, are we to leave them the means of making war upon us, of raising and paying these armies of hypocrites in France, of introducing into your regiments men that care for no baseness, provided only they can serve the cause of pride and fanaticism? Are we, through a silly pity for these despicable men, to sacrifice the security of the people we represent?" A few more words from this written discourse will show what manner of philanthropist was this mild philosopher and perfectibilian, when under the excitement of fear and suspicion. "Time," said Condorcet, "has justified all our dark suspicions. The French name must be respected; we must at length do justice to the people, and, after justice has been done to the people, we may talk of pardoning in their name. It is upon your conduct towards those dregs of the nation, who dare still call themselves the chiefs and chosen men of the nation, that will depend the dispositions of foreign powers with regard to you; and it is upon your conduct and severity that must depend the confidence of the people in you. If you betray indulgence and weakness when you ought to show severe justice; if you grant an amnesty which the emigrants do not ask for, then you will make it be believed that you think more about the interests of some families than about the good of the people. . . . . I would have no distinctions drawn; let all the emigrants who have abandoned their country, whether military officers, public functionaries, or private individuals, be equal before the law—let them all lose their civil rights and be deprived of their property!" He recommended that all the French ambassadors at foreign courts that were suspected of incivism should be instantly recalled, and that men of indisputable patriotism and civism, who had given proofs of their attachment to the revolution, should be sent to supply their places. Condorcet was enthusiastically applauded, and his discourse was ordered to be printed. He was followed by that other great Girondist, Vergniaud, who exhausted his rhetoric in vilifying the emigrants of all classes; and he vehemently recommended Brissot's system of severity, although he affected to speak with contempt of all that the emigrants or their allies, the aristocrats and despots of Europe, could do against the French people, united together by such a happy constitution as had never before been made by mortal man, and full of an enthusiasm for liberty and equality, which had more than doubled their always high national courage. He, too, thought that they ought to begin with the king's brothers and the Prince of Condé. "Some persons," said he, "speak of the grief that this would occasion the king. But Brutus immolated his own sons for the good of his country. The heart of Louis XVI. will not be put to so trying a proof; but it will be worthy of the king of a free people to show himself capable of aspiring to the glory of Brutus." Vergniaud's speech received the same honours as had been voted unanimously to those of Brissot and Condorcet. Pastoret endeavoured to prove that a sweeping law against emigrants was altogether contrary to the constitution and to the first principles of liberty; and he begged the deputies of this Assembly to examine and reflect upon the conduct of their predecessors in this matter. But the majority of this House, who had long before this come to the conclusion that most of their predecessors were dolts or rogues, legislators unable or unwilling to carry out the revolution to the advanced point to which it ought to go, sneered at Pastoret's prayer or recommendation, and listened impatiently to the gentle measures he proposed. Three days after this debate, on the 28th of October, Brissot urged on the business, declaring that no time was to be lost, and that some law ought to be adopted instantly. Several members demanded an adjournment of the question till that day week; but the majority would neither agree with them, nor permit them to deliver their opinions from the tribune. A deputy, who is not named, declared that, if they went on making penal decrees in this manner, they would soon force the members of the Assembly themselves to become emigrants! On the 31st of October Isnard rose to condemn Condorcet's project, as being too mild. Putting himself in an imposing attitude in the tribune, and looking towards the côté gauche of the House, he exclaimed, "I demand of this Assembly . . . " M. Leopold, a côté droit man, here cried out, "Only demand of one-half of the Assembly, for it is only to them that you are speaking." Isnard resumed, "I demand of the Assembly and of all France, I demand of you, Sir, (pointing to Leopold,) whether there is any man that honestly believes and in conscience will maintain that the emigrant princes are not conspiring against their country? I ask, in the second place, whether anybody in this Assembly will dare to say that every man who con-

spires ought not to be accused, pursued, and punished as quickly as possible? .... If there is anybody, let him rise and answer. .... Every one is silent! It is then true; and you all agree with me." The president, now Duchastel, begged leave to remind Isnard that it was contrary to the rules of the House to put questions in this manner, or to proceed by interrogations and answers. Isnard begged pardon, and said it was merely a figure of rhetoric. A voice cried out, "*Charlatanisme!*" Isnard, in a passion, begged the president to call that man to order who dared to speak of charlatanisme in that House. This provoked immoderate peals of laughter. The president exclaimed, "I conjure, in the name of the country, all such as sincerely love and are jealous of the honour of this National Assembly to keep themselves within the limits of decency!" Then, continuing his oration, Isnard told that august Assembly that, if they did not provide the means of executing justice on emigrants and traitors, the enraged people would assuredly take the law into their own hands. "Yes," cried he, "the wrath of the people, like the wrath of God, is too often the terrible supplement to the silence of the laws. If we would be free, we must be severe and vigilant, incessantly on the alert; for I fear the eruption of a volcano of conspiracies: despotism and aristocracy are neither dead nor sleeping; and, if the nation falls asleep one instant, it will find itself in chains when it wakes!" Before adjourning this day the Assembly decreed that the king's eldest brother, Louis Stanislas Xavier, should be required to re-enter the kingdom within two months, under penalty of being considered as having abdicated his eventual right to the crown; and that a proclamation to this effect should be published in Paris, as the seat of the legislature. And, accordingly, a proclamation to this effect was cried, printed, and placarded in the streets of Paris. On the 2nd of November, when these debates were renewed, one of the secretaries of the Assembly read a letter from a patriotic spy who had visited Coblentz and some other places where the emigrants most did congregate. It was a terrible epistle. The writer said that he had seen the emigrant princes at Coblentz giving themselves up to the most astonishing projects; that the whole of that town was electrified by aristocrats, who made no secret of their intention to invade France; that there were in that town four squadrons of gardes-du-corps, mounted and in service; that he had also visited the city of Treves, where he found all the emigrant priests, many of whom had thrown off their gowns and put on uniforms, converting themselves from abbés, that they were, into soldiers of the pope; and that he had also been at Gravet-Maker, where he found eight hundred more emigrants formed into a regiment, and wearing as uniform a blue coat, red waistcoat, and nankeen breeches, &c. The writer of the letter asserted that, by passing as an emigrant and zealous royalist himself, he had obtained the appointment of secretary to M. Désauteux, major-general in this emigrant army; and that through this confidential employment he had obtained possession of many secrets, and a knowledge of the intrigues and correspondence of the aristocrats beyond the frontiers with the aristocrats and priests within the frontiers. He asserted that the greater part of the officers of regiments stationed by the Assembly near the frontiers had inscribed their names on the list of the royalists, with whom they were actively plotting and corresponding; that the commanding officers at Longwy had given their men bad cartridges and balls that would not fit their muskets; that the officers at Metz were constantly going across the frontier to concert measures with the emigrants, and that he himself had seen a great many of these gentlemen, and had even introduced them by name to Major-General Désauteux. He added that the Swiss regiment stationed at Sarrelouis had written a letter, which he had seen, to the princes, telling them that they would receive them with open arms, and always be true to the king; that the commandant of the volunteer guard at Longwy was a M. Delaunay, a relation of the late governor of the Bastille, and as great a traitor as he; that the most subtle means were adopted to forward their projects in France, and that the total number of emigrants preparing to invade their country amounted to 13,000. He also pretended to give the copy of a part of a letter written by the king's brother, Count d'Artois, to Désauteux, in which the prince spoke of Duportail, the king's war-minister and a friend of Lafayette, as being in the plot, and mentioned a cantonment of royalist troops that was to be made between Montmedy and Longwy. The last important revelation made by this patriot spy was that the emigrants were going to send into France secret emissaries to make distress by distributing forged assignats; and that one of these secret agents was a certain Lebrun, "calling himself a merchant of Lyons, aged about thirty, height five feet two inches, hair light brown and abundant, having his right eye bunged up, and travelling in a gig with a black horse." Without the smallest doubt as to these depositions, which might all have been very well made by a man that had never quitted Paris, the Assembly fell into great perturbation, but agreed that thanks were due to the ingenious spy. This fellow, who had brought his own letter, or who at least was present when it was read, was told by the president, in the customary form, that he had merited well of his country, and that the House admitted him to the honour of the séance. On the 9th of November the Assembly decreed, 1. That all Frenchmen gathered together beyond the frontiers were from that moment declared to be suspect of conspiracy against their country. 2. That if, by the 1st of January next, they should still be assembled there, they should all be declared guilty of conspiracy, be pursued as conspirators and traitors, and punished with death.

3. That, with respect to the French princes and public functionaries, civil and military, they should all be declared guilty of the same crimes, and subjected to the same punishments. 4. That in the month of January the high national court should be convoked to try these criminals. 5. That the revenues of these conspirators, condemned in their absence *par contumace*, should, during their lives, be appropriated by the nation, but without prejudice to the rights of their wives, children, or creditors. 6. That from the present moment all the revenues of the French princes absent from the kingdom should be sequestrated, and no payment, pension, rent, or money whatsoever be allowed to be paid to them or their agents. 7. That all necessary diligence should be used in sequestrating the whole of this property of the emigrant princes, &c., and for getting the revenue for the benefit of the nation. 8 and 9. That all public functionaries absent from the kingdom without leave should lose their appointments for ever, and be deprived of their rights as active citizens. 10. That henceforward no public functionary whatever, no general officer, officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, whether of the national guards or of the line, should be allowed to cross the frontiers unless furnished with a permission, &c. 11. That every officer that abandoned his post should be punished with death as a deserter. 12. That a permanent court-martial should be established in every military division in the kingdom to try these offences summarily. 13. That every Frenchman, either within the kingdom or without, that should enrol or debauch any of the troops or people, should be punished with death, &c. The Assembly further ordered that the decree should be carried to the king that very day for his constitutional sanction.

Three days after this, on the 12th of November, the minister of justice presented to the Assembly several decrees which the king had sanctioned, including the decree and proclamation against his brother Monsieur, or Louis Stanislas Xavier. But the minister informed them that, as to the decree against the emigrants in general, his majesty required time to consider it. These last words were very ill received by the House. The minister of justice proposed reading a paper which, he said, contained the king's reasons for objecting to the emigrant law; but there was a loud cry for the order of the day. The president, however, told the minister that he might speak. "His majesty," said the minister, "has expressly charged me to declare to you that, if his sanction were divisible, he would readily give it to some parts of your emigrant law; but ....." He was interrupted by a tumult of voices, all shouting together, and proposing a bewildering variety of motions. The president thought fit to select one motion, which was made by Lacroix. "M. Lacroix," said he, "proposes that the Assembly should ascertain whether the king's message, which the minister of justice holds in his hand, is properly signed and countersigned ....." "I demand besides," cried Lacroix, "that, if the message be proved to have the legal forms, the minister be heard without interruption." Apparently without seeing that the paper was signed and countersigned, the president told the minister that he might speak; but the minister had scarcely opened his lips when he was again stopped by a roar of angry voices: the president, who was no less a man than the great Girondist, Vergniaud, said with some warmth that he knew what was due to the National Assembly, and what to the executive power, and that if he failed in his duty he would readily bear the consequences. Encouraged by the president, the minister of justice again attempted to speak, and again his mouth was shut by a tempest. Vergniaud rang his hand-bell, and implored the House to put some confidence in their president. Then the minister said, "His majesty has expressly charged me to declare that, if his sanction were divisible ....." Here he was interrupted by the president himself, who said, "M. le Ministre, permit me to call you to order. It seems to me that you announce yourself as speaking in the name of the king: if it is in the name of the king that you wish to read a message not signed by the king, some difficulties may present themselves." The president was applauded; and then Revoul cried out that the minister of justice ought not to be permitted to read any explanations. "Without doubt," said Revoul, "the king has a right to refuse his sanction to your decrees, and you are bound to respect his decision. But it would be attacking the constitution to allow the king to explain his motives. The constitution is very clear in this respect: it imports that, when the king accepts a decree, he shall merely sign 'The king consents,' and when he refuses, 'The king will examine—*Le roi examinera.*' I say that, if the minister wishes to explain, in his own private name, the motives of the king, it is not an object that concerns his administration, and, in consequence, he ought not to be heard: if the minister speaks in the name of the king, he does that which he has no right to do, for the messages of the king must be signed by the king himself; and therefore it is impossible for the Assembly to hear the minister of justice..... We must have one of the two clear answers. The constitution lays down that the king is bound to express his consent or refusal to every decree presented to him within two months of the time of its presentation; and he must give his answer in the plain terms of the constitution, 'The king consents,' or 'The king will examine.'" Girardin said that the law of the constitution admitted nothing intermediate between the legislative body and the king; that, if the message was properly signed by the king, the president ought to read it; and that, if it was not signed, the minister had no right to be heard in any way. Cambon said that the king's refusing to sanction the decree would prove to the world that he was *free* in the midst

of his people, and that he had even the power of opposing the general will; that the refusal was, no doubt, a proof of the king's attachment to the constitution; and that, therefore, it would be well to believe that the emigrant law required revision. Cambon agreed, however, that the minister of justice ought not to enter into any explanations of the king's motives. The minister, when allowed to speak for a minute, said he had never had any intention of entering into any such explanations—that all that he wanted to say was that the king had adopted measures which he thought might produce as good an effect as the emigrant law, without its severities. "I will not," said the minister, "enter into the discussion, for I have not the honour to be a member of the Assembly." [The constitution excluded all ministers from the legislature, thus making it impossible for them to explain their own motives or defend their own conduct—making it impossible for any ministry to exist for any length of time—reducing the heads of the administration to the mere condition of employés or clerks, and depriving them of the means of self-defence, at the same time that this blessed constitution made them as responsible as the ministers of the king of England!] The minister of justice added that, although the constitution had fixed the forms of the royal sanction, it did not interfere with the king's right of corresponding or issuing proclamations. The president now informed the minister that he had already entered into the subject-matter of the debate, and had said more than he ought to have said. This was followed by passing to the order of the day; and the minister bowed and withdrew, without being allowed to read a proclamation to emigrants in general, and two letters to the French princes, his brothers, which Louis had thought proper to write or sign. In the proclamation, after an invitation or injunction (the sincerity of which will be understood) to return to their happy homes, &c., it was said—"The king, placing his hopes in this appeal, has just refused to sanction a decree of the National Assembly, several rigorous articles of which have appeared to him contrary to the object which the law ought to propose, contrary to the interests of the people, and incompatible with the habits of the nation and the principles of a free constitution." In the letters to his brothers, which were evidently written, like the proclamation, to mitigate the popular fury sure to be excited by his refusing to sanction the emigrant law, Louis said that public tranquillity and his own repose demanded their immediate return to France; that he hoped they would not, by persevering in their present conduct, force him to consent to severe measures against them, &c.

These ingenious devices did not deceive the people, who were told by their legions of journalists that this proclamation and these royal letters were mere tricks; and that the king was writing letters of a very different tenor to the princes and other chiefs of the emigrants. The thick smoke and rumble of the popular volcano announced a speedy eruption. Yet the king, who was most conscientious about religion, and most tender about priests, had the courage to refuse a few days after to sanction the decree against the clergy of La Vendée, and against unsworn priests generally. On the 19th of December the keeper of the seals announced this second veto to the Assembly. On the following day, Delcher, a republican lawyer and Jacobin from the department of the Upper Loire, proposed that the Assembly, authorised by the people, should carry into execution whatever decree they chose in spite of the royal veto. "You," said he to the deputies, "are the representatives of the French people: it is to you that the sovereign people have intrusted the exercise of their entire sovereignty. You ought, therefore, to execute the important task with which you have been honoured. Perhaps some acts may require the royal sanction; but there are others which do not. We ought to decide what are the acts which require sanction, and whether the king can refuse to sanction decrees provoked by imminent dangers. According to the constitution, the king has the right to suspend acts of the legislative body; but surely the urgent decrees, the decrees called for by the circumstances of the time, such as you have drawn up against rebellious emigrants and factious priests, have no need of the king's sanction. . . . . I say that we ought instantly to consult the whole nation—that we ought to make an address to the sovereign people, stating what the Assembly has done to put down rebellious emigrants and factious priests, and what the executive power has done to stop the effect of our law. . . . . ." Several voices cried out that Delcher was getting out of the paths of the constitution, and that the president ought to call him to order; but other voices cried out just as loudly that Delcher was right, and ought to be heard to the end of his speech. The president, M. Lemontey, a lawyer from Lyons, but a moderate man, mildly said that he would take the opinion of the House; but a multitude of voices roared, "No! no!" and Delcher continued—"I conclude, therefore, that we ought to draw up an address to the French people, who will decide as sole sovereign, and afterwards the National Assembly will do what ought to be done!" At these words the applauses of the galleries were tremendous. A deputy started to his legs and exclaimed, "This is preaching sedition to the people!" Another long tumult ensued, which was at last terminated by the order of the day.*

The newspapers took up the subject in their energetic manner. One of them said that the court had at length thrown off the mask; and that the Assembly had nothing to do but to convoke the high national court, and make it proceed vigorously against the priests, the king's brothers, and all the emigrants. Brissot's own paper said that the king, by refusing to sanction the decrees, sanctioned all the criminal projects of the emi-

* Hist. Parlementaire.

grants. Prudhomme said, with some naïveté, that nothing but these cursed vetos could prevent the French from being the happiest people in the universe. The printer added, "We distinctly see that, before many months are over, the French people will necessarily find themselves placed between the necessity of letting their throats be cut and the necessity of flying to arms; that is to say, between servitude and insurrection. Here are the advantages of your vetos, and of what is styled a limited monarchy." Petitions to the Assembly were signed by various Paris sections; and Camille Desmoulins (who seemed madder than ever) and Legendre (a patriot butcher of Paris) were admitted to the bar of the House to present these addresses, and to make speeches. The butcher began first, pouring forth a torrent of words about the superb audacity of twenty-four millions of free men, who would roll tyrants in the dirt, and trample on the kingly thrones, which had crushed the world; about the necessity of instantly forging millions of pikes, and arming all the people; about the necessity of hanging all the king's ministers; and about other urgent necessities of a similar kind. Camille Desmoulins, modestly saying that he had no confidence in the strength of his voice, requested Secretary Fauchet, who had a sonorous organ, to read the address he brought up. Fauchet took the paper and read it. The document furiously denounced other things besides the emigrants and the vetos. It was very retrospective: it held up to execration the late Constituent Assembly, and the horrible massacres perpetrated by Lafayette and Bailly in the Champ de Mars, on the very altar of the country, upon peaceful patriots, who had only met to sign a petition. In the name of the sovereign people it called upon the present Assembly to correct the ill doings of their predecessors, and to try, as traitors to their country, the chiefs of the Paris municipality and department. It hinted, very broadly, that the whole constitution required revision and alteration, the greater part of it being contrary to the principles laid down by Rousseau in his 'Contrat Social.' It recommended the instant adoption of the most vigorous measures, ending with these words:—"Strike at the head! Make use of thunderbolts against conspiring princes, employ the scourge upon an insolent directory, and exorcise the demon of fanaticism by fasting and hunger." The address was enthusiastically applauded by the galleries and by a large part of the House; and the Assembly decreed that the report of that day's debate should be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments.* The volcanic smoke grew blacker, and the interior rumbling more loud; but other inflammable agencies were to be set at work before the dark mound opened and poured forth its lava torrents.

In the mean time various strange things had been done to help on the revolution. Some of the constitutional priests, though still pretending to be Catholics, petitioned the Assembly, in order to know whether they might not marry like protestant priests, or whether they might not retain their appointments and salaries, although they should have taken to themselves wives. Quesnay was of opinion that, as the constitution and law had declared that they did not recognise any vows contrary to nature, the question was already decided in favour of the married or marrying priests; Girardin thought that the matter had better be submitted to a committee. Another member said it was not necessary to make a new law to allow priests to marry: they had nothing to do but declare there existed no law to the contrary. Bishop Lacoz declared that the marriage of constitutional priests would not reconcile the believing part of the people to the new hierarchy; that this was not the way to put an end to the religious troubles which distracted the kingdom; and that the Assembly, by going into this question, were pouring oil upon fire. A logical deputy said, "There exists no law which hinders ecclesiastics who marry from touching the pensions, therefore the administrators have no right to deprive them of their pensions; therefore it is useless that the National Assembly should occupy itself with making any special provision, and therefore I demand that the Assembly pass to the order of the day." He was seconded by another unnamed deputy, and the order of the day was carried. A good many priests and ex-monks had begun to marry long before this; and now a host of them hastened to realise the moral of Louvet's romance, 'Emilie de Varmont,' to the terrible scandal of all good Catholics. The late Assembly had voted thanks to de Bouillé for his conduct in the bloody affair of Nancy, and had permitted the Swiss officers of the regiment of Château-Vieux to hang some of their mutineers, and to send forty-one of them to the galleys, where they still remained. All this seemed monstrous to the gentle philanthropists who sat in the present Assembly. The Jacobin Club sent Collot-d'Herbois to prove to the minister Montmorin the justice and propriety of liberating these interesting captives. On the 31st of October Collot-d'Herbois gave a flaming account of his negotiation to the club, accusing the minister of lying and prevarication, and calling upon such good Jacobins as were members of the Assembly to take the business into their own hands, and induce the legislative body to bring the minister to reason. His discourse was followed by the reading of a letter from the Jacobin Club at Brest, who stated that they had opened a subscription for de Bouillé's victims, and solicited the concurrence and donations of the mother-society. The Paris Jacobins forthwith began to subscribe their tenpenny-pieces, Collot d'Herbois leading the way by subscribing 300 livres, which formed half of a prize he had received for writing the best patriotic almanac.* The day after this debate in the Jaco-

* His Parlement.

* Collot d'Herbois's almanac was entitled 'Almanach du Père Gérard.' It was rather a republican pamphlet than an almanac. It

bins, Goupilleau rose in the Assembly to claim its humanity and justice in favour of some unfortunate men. As some one quoted the capitulations by which the officers of Swiss regiments were empowered to try their men by their own military code, the Assembly ordered that the matter should be submitted to the diplomatic committee. The committee soon presented their report; and the Assembly decreed that the forty-one Swiss soldiers in the galleys should be instantly liberated, Guadet insisting that they had been unjustly condemned, and that neither the capitulations nor sound policy prevented their liberation. As the House was constantly inundated with petitions, conceived rather in the terms of dictation and menace than in those of supplication, and as nearly every such paper was presented by a mob, who all came into the House and up to the bar, an attempt was made to restrain or moderate these indecent practices. Couthon stood up in defence of the sacred rights of the people to be insolent and tumultuous, and to present their petitions in such form and manner as they judged proper: he grossly insulted the president, being aided therein by constitutional Bishop Fauchet; and another scene, too disgraceful to have occurred in an English club of drunken mechanics, took place. The galleries, as usual, took their full share in the riot. The poor president told the galleries that they must not take part in the deliberations; that they must neither express their approbation nor disapprobation; and that, if they continued to make so much noise, he must really carry into effect the laws of the Assembly, and turn them all out. But it was much more likely that the mob should turn the president out, than that he should be able either to turn them out or make them hold their tongues. The potent gods in the galleries were the friends and allies of the most violent and powerful party in the Assembly, who encouraged them, and benefited by their excesses. Robespierre, who more than made up in the Jacobin club for any inconvenience that might arise from his not being a member of the present Assembly, thought that the mobs attending the debates day after day were not sufficiently numerous, and that it was a great political misfortune that the Salle de Manége was not spacious enough to offer accommodation to a much greater number. In an oration in the Jacobin hall he said, "A most interesting object is the publicity of the proceedings of the National Assembly; I mean such a publicity as the interests of the nation require; and I am far from thinking that the limited space reserved for the people in the small and inconvenient place of your present sittings (*the Manége*) is sufficient for this essential object, at least in the opinion of those who have *calculated the causes of our revolution*. The animated and imposing spectacle of the six thousand spectators who surrounded us at Versailles *contributed not a little* to the courage and energy which were necessary to our success. If to the Constituent Assembly has been ascribed the glory of having prostrated despotism, it must be admitted that the representatives *only shared that glory with the galleries*." Rivarol speaks of the vast multitude that congregated in the Salle de Menus Plaisirs, and of the immense and immediate influence exercised by them: he even tells us that the grand scene of the 20th of June, 1789, when the deputies, as if wandering in search of a home, gathered in the Tennis-Court, was in part owing to a project of the court to take down some of the galleries, and shut up the lateral arcades of the great Salle, where the lowest of the people were accustomed to gather in crowds. "The Assembly," says he, "heaped decrees upon decrees, ruins upon ruins, to satisfy the people that swarmed like ants in those lateral arcades."* Thus it happened to the first Assembly, as it must ever happen to those who depend on such auxiliaries, that, in receiving from them the aid they required, they were compelled to make enormous sacrifices to the mob—sacrifices which otherwise might have been avoided; and thus it may be more than suspected that the sublime scene of the Jeu de Paume, or Tennis-Court, was merely acted to preserve these enormous galleries and lateral arcades!

Incessant denunciations were made *to* the Assembly, or *by* the Assembly, against the king's helpless, hapless ministers. Duportail, the minister-at-war, was so hotly assailed that he sent in his resignation. Delessart, the minister of the interior, was the particular object of the attacks of Brissot, who accused him of every possible and of many impossible offences. Some attempts were made to stop this canine fury; and Brissot and his friends were told in the Assembly that it was not by barking and biting at ministers that they could tranquillize La Vendée and dissipate the emigrant armies. Constitutional bishop Fauchet was one of the most rabid of all that bit at Delessart, for the minister of the interior had encouraged the people and municipality of Bayeux, and of other places in the Calvados (Fauchet's diocese), in denouncing their bishop and his vicar-general. Although, in the month of November, Delessart was removed to the office of foreign affairs, and succeeded as minister of the interior by Cahier de Gerville, the prophet and founder of the Socialists, the preacher of universal peace and love, continued to harangue against Delessart. "It is time," he cried, "to give a great example. I accuse M. Delessart of high treason. Observe well what manner of man he is. He is the man who caught from Necker the vile spirit of stock-jobbing; he is the man who at the beginning of our revolution conceived the project of starving Paris; he is the man, in fine, who has latterly calculated everything in order to reduce France by famine. One great object occupies his attention—to pay the refractory priests their pensions, and starve out the constitutional curés. The enemies of the people are, in

served as the foundation of his revolutionary reputation; and it is said, that, from the moment he had published it, and obtained the prize, he considered himself properly qualified to be a minister of state.

* Mémoires.

the eyes of M. Delessart, the first and best of men; and the friends of the constitution are, in his eyes, nothing but factious men and disturbers of the country. I demand that this Delessart, this conspiring minister, be instantly called to the bar." Delessart was at that time confined to his house by illness; but soon after, on the 22nd of December, he completely disproved the charges presented against him by Fauchet. Brissot then took him in hand, in his new office of minister of foreign affairs, and scarcely allowed him any peace until he was ruined, and until he was massacred by the people. To be a minister in France in these days of liberty was to have a rope round one's neck or a dagger constantly at one's breast. However revolutionary or popular a man might be, as soon as he became a minister he became *suspect*. The minister of justice, Duport-Dutertre, and the minister of the marine, now Bertrand de Molleville, were attacked with equal fury; and a committee of marine was established by the Assembly, which constantly interfered in the business of that department, disgusting nearly all the officers of the navy that yet remained, and encouraging all the sailors and petty officers to send in accusations against them. And in this manner, in a very short time longer, not a gentleman was left in that service.

To act up to the spirit of the self-denying ordinances, and the article of a decree of the Assembly passed in September, 1791, Lafayette, on the 8th of October, surrendered, in the Hôtel de Ville, and to the general council of the commune, his charge and dignity as commandant-general of the Parisian army; addressing on the same day a very long letter to the national guards whom he had commanded. In the Hôtel de Ville there was quite a moving scene; but the great mass of the sovereign people, who detested his name ever since the black Sunday in the Champs de Mars, sang pæans at his resignation—hoping that brewer Santerre, as one of themselves, and a true patriot, would soon have his post. To the national guards Lafayette said in his letter that, at the moment in which the Constituent National Assembly laid down its powers and ceased its functions, he also was freed from the engagements he had contracted when, at the wish of the people who had first devoted themselves to the cause of liberty, he had promised the capital to take the command of its citizen-soldiers, and keep aloft the sacred standard of the revolution. "Now," said he, "that the constitution has been finished by those who had the right to make it; now that it has been sworn to by all the citizens, by all the sections of the empire, and, with as much reflection as sincerity, by the king, the hereditary representative charged with the execution of the laws, the days of the revolution must give place to those of regular organization, tranquillity, and liberty!" He told them, however, that unless the fury of parties was checked there would be neither tranquillity nor liberty; but that the virtues and wisdom of his countrymen did not permit him to doubt that they would soon do all that was right and proper to be done in their circumstances, &c. A portion of the Paris national guard, composed of his respectabilities, who neither wished that brewer Santerre should be their commander, nor that the state of revolution should be prolonged, voted him a sword with a gold hilt and a flattering inscription on the blade. Carra immediately announced in his journal that it was the aristocratic staff that managed this vote of the sword, and that all the rest of the national guardsmen were very glad to be quit of Lafayette. On the 12th of October the council-general of the commune decreed that a golden medal should be struck in his honour; that the Academy of Inscriptions should be begged to furnish the emblems and the mottos; that one of these golden medals should be sent to M. Lafayette, in the name of the communes of Paris, together with the marble statue of Washington executed by Houdon, which statue was to be placed in that one of his houses which the late commandant-general most inhabited, in order that he might always have before his eyes his great friend, and the man who had taught him how to serve so gloriously the liberty of his country; and, finally, that the decree awarding all these honours should be inscribed at full length under the bust of M. Lafayette which had been presented to the Hôtel de Ville twelve years ago by the United States of America.* Marat was mad with rage at these proceedings. "Madmen that they are!" cried he, in his 'Ami du Peuple;' "and will they speak about gratitude when they see him with his friend and relative de Bouillé at the head of our enemies, and fighting to put us all in chains! According to all appearance the Sieur Mottié will go and put himself at the head of our national guards on the German frontier, in order to hinder them from acting, and to send over intelligence to our enemies, and to concert with de Bouillé the most disastrous operations: in whatever situation this man may find himself, he can only play the part of a valet of the court and a traitor to his country. Only fancy what mischief may be done by this cowardly conspirator, born for the misery of France, in embarrassing our brave defenders by his artifices, and by machinating with the emigrants, with de Bouillé, Maillebois, and Condé, who are perfectly well acquainted with the bad state of our frontiers and fortresses. The enthusiasm of liberty will triumph at last over all their efforts; *but what torrents of blood will our victory cost us!*" Prudhomme took particular care to remind the common people that Lafayette was not *of* them, and therefore could never be identified *with* them, or trusted *by* them: he thought it very monstrous that he should have retained all along the name of his estate, instead of taking his plain family name of Mottié; and he found no merit, but personal vanity, and a very great demerit, in his having constantly refused to take any salary or pay for his services. "This manner of acting of

* Lafayette, Memoirs, Correspondence, &c.—Hist. Parlement.

General Mottié," said Prudhomme, "is neither natural in him nor a good example for others: so far from being obliged to him for this disinterestedness, we give him to understand that we are not the dupes of it. This pretended greatness of soul is, to say the least of it, misplaced: it is an insult to the nation, and an injury done to other public functionaries. If the Marquis of Lafayette was born a richer man than the advocate Duport-Dutertre or the academician Bailly, so much the better for him; but he ought not, by taking advantage of his superior opulence, to have pursued a course which his less fortunate colleagues could not follow. There is little generosity in these acts of disinterestedness. The late Constituent Assembly, feeling the danger of such conduct, forced one of its ushers to receive his wages, which he had refused out of patriotism." Prudhomme examined categorically whether Lafayette had done more good or harm to the revolution, and concluded that the harm preponderated. He dismissed the subject of the gold-hilted sword with these words—"But enough about a sword worthy of figuring in the adventures of Don Quixote, rather than in the annals of the French people." The hero of two worlds retired to his estates in Auvergne, and gave out that he was only anxious to enjoy the pleasures of retirement and the happiness of private life; but the truth is he was very desirous of becoming Mayor of Paris, for Bailly, hunted to death by the journalists and the mob, who accused him of being the cause of the badness and the dearness of bread, and who had never for a moment forgiven him for his conduct on the black Sunday, had made up his mind to resign the shining glory of the gilded coach, and all the honours and powers attached to the revolutionized Parisian mayoralty. Bailly, who pleaded the delicate state of his health, and his literary and scientific occupations, resigned in November. His retreat was followed by the same kind of music as that that had accompanied Lafayette: he was accused of the grossest peculation, of poisoning the people to make money by it, of intriguing and conspiring with the court and the emigrants—of being, in short, one of the greatest scoundrels and plunderers that ever put on the mask of patriotism. Lafayette's party and friends immediately put him forward as candidate for the vacant mayoralty; and they bitterly accuse the queen and the court for having opposed his election, and promoted that of Pétion, the Girondist candidate, who was backed by all the ultra-revolutionary and republican party. It appears to be quite true that the court really opposed the hero of two worlds in these civic honours; and that the queen said to Bertrand de Molleville, "Monsieur de Lafayette only wishes to be mayor of Paris, in order to become mayor of the palace.* Pétion is a Jacobin, a republican; but he is a silly fellow, incapable of ever becoming the chief of a party."* Poor Marie Antoinette was guilty of an error in judgment in believing that Pétion's stupidity or mediocrity would prevent him from becoming dangerous: his mediocrity was a recommendation and a potent means of action. But we cannot believe that either the queen or her friends had any great influence over this very popular election, or that they could, if they had been ever so much disposed, have either secured the election of Lafayette, or the rejection of Pétion, who had in his favour 6708 votes out of 10,632, the whole number given. In quitting his office—an office which, ever since the beginning of the revolution, had monopolized more power than any other, or perhaps than all others put together—Bailly delivered a long oration in the Hôtel de Ville. He said that he had no financial account to render, as he had never touched any money; and that, as for his responsibility in other matters, it was lost or confounded in the general responsibility of the municipal body to which he belonged, and without whose concurrence he had never done a single thing. He asserted that with corn, flour, charcoal, and wood, he left the capital abundantly provided. He ventured to condemn the very vicious constitution of the municipal body. "The vices of its organization," said he, "consist in the great number of its members, in the division of their powers, in the want of concentration and harmonious agreement. The law must be rectified. It is the proper choice, and not the number of men, that secures wise measures: in multiplying the members of a body there is greater confusion, and more facility for that rapid enthusiasm which makes men take precipitate resolutions. Moreover, our powers are not properly defined; for the functions of mayor and the functions of procureur de commune are not yet well separated and ascertained. . . . . But the capital vice of the municipality is the want of unity. There are in the Hôtel de Ville as many municipalities as there are departments in the kingdom; and there results from this a contradiction of opinions, an opposition, and a conflict, which at times enervate the whole municipal administration."* He spoke of the unlimited authority of the Paris sections, of their continual interference, their numerous meetings, and the popular fermentation they incessantly kept up; and he seemed to prognosticate—which one might have done without any gift of prophecy—that the popular turbulence would be attended with terrible consequences, if not stopped in time. He did not attempt to deny that he had employed a good number of mouchards, or spies; but he justified the having recourse to such instruments, particularly in troublesome and seditious times. Brissot sang hallelujahs for the election of Pétion. "Honour to the patriot citizens of Paris!" cried Brissot, in his own newspaper, "Pétion is mayor! He has had more than six thousand votes! M. Lafayette, who was next to him on the poll, had only three

* The tyranny of the old *maires du palais*, or mayors of the palace, is familiar to all who have read anything of French history. They were not only greater than the king, but the king was their state prisoner and tool.

* Bertrand de Molleville, Mémoires.
† Hist. Parlement.

thousand! . . . . . If it could have sufficed in order to be mayor of Paris to have an amenity of manners, to know how to speak to the people, and to flatter them in a moment of need, we believe that M. Lafayette might have had that place; but what we want is a man versed in the business of administration, a man accustomed to hard work, and we think that M. Lafayette is very far from possessing these qualities. Besides, he has against him his noble birth and his matrimonial alliance with the high aristocratic house of Noailles! The principles which it was thought M. Lafayette had learned in the school of Washington led the friends of equality to hope that he would be one of its ardent defenders; in short, they hoped that he would make use of the influence his position gave him in hastening the success and completion of the revolution. But they were deceived in their expectations. They saw him constantly floating between all parties: wishing to manage them all, he has really served none; and thus he has only had a momentary triumph; nor would he have had so much as that, but for the light and inconstant character of the French people. M. Lafayette, being very little capable of an assiduous labour, has found himself under the necessity of employing a great many subalterns, and he is led by the nose by them. To this blind confidence are attributable many of the errors committed during his dictatorship. We are far from believing that he has the talents necessary to be mayor of Paris. We even believe that it would be very dangerous to elect him: his connection with an infamous coalition, his ambiguous conduct in the National Assembly, and his Sunday expedition to the Champ de Mars, ought ever to make him suspected by the friends of liberty. . . . . M. Lafayette has already quitted his humble retreat in Auvergne; he is in Paris; but he may go back again as he came. . . . . If we had in our sections no aristocrats, no ministerialists, no worshippers of the civil list, no sleepers, there never could have been a moment's doubt about the election of Pétion, that constant patriot, that resolute defender of the rights of the people; who is, besides, a man of probity and the purest morals, a good son, good husband, good father, good friend, and good citizen."* At the same time there were two other important municipal elections: Manuel, who was recommended by Brissot as abounding in patriotism, probity, talent, information, and philosophy, was chosen by an immense majority to be procureur of the commune; and Danton, the loud and terrible Danton, was elected to be substitut-adjoint of the procureur—an election which, according to Brissot, did the greatest honour to the public spirit of the people of Paris.* Danton has already been made known by his speeches and actions. Manuel, who very soon after his election wrote a letter to Louis XVI., beginning, "Sire, I do not love kings," was the son of a door-porter at Montargis, a place celebrated for the exploit of another dog of a more generous kind. Like other youths of equally humble fortunes, Manuel had received a good education gratuitously in a public establishment; like Robespierre, and so many others of the heroes of this revolution, he owed almost everything to the priests. He became an usher, or under-teacher, in a Paris college; and afterwards tutor to the son of the rich banker Tourton, who rewarded his services by granting him a small pension for life. A pamphlet which he published procured for him a three months' lodging in the Bastille. This sharpened his patriotism; and when the revolution began few men were more ardent in it. On his becoming a candidate for his present high office, some of his opponents ventured to hint that he was neither a man of law nor a man of business, and at the same time very deficient in the money qualification; but these objections were entirely overlooked by the dominant party, who called those who raised them, or hinted at them, traitors and scoundrels. Pétion, Manuel, and Danton were installed at the Hôtel de Ville with great pomp and a deal of speech-making. The new mayor, with proper *connaissance des causes*, said he had looked about him to see what was the post in which he could best serve the revolution, and had become convinced that it was the post of mayor of Paris. A few days after his installation he published a very particular account of the state in which he found the office of mayor. This paper strongly exhibits the immense power which had been monopolised by the Paris municipality. It complained of many things in the late civic administration, sparing neither Bailly nor Lafayette. It pointed out efforts which had been made to diminish the control of the municipality over the national guards, and blamed Lafayette as the chief author of them. "Reports," said Pétion, "are no longer made by the commanding officer to the mayor. In the beautiful time when liberty was having its birth, M. Lafayette went himself every day to make these reports at the Hôtel de Ville; afterwards he sent an aide-de-camp daily; but soon less and less frequently, and at last not at all." He complained that the want of money caused the municipality every kind of impediment and of trouble; and he concluded with stating that he would give public audiences to all persons whatsoever, whenever called upon so to do.†

The Jacobins—we, of course, confine the term to the members of the Société Mère, who continued in possession of the great hall of the Jacobin Friars

* Patriote Français. Besides Lafayette and Pétion, there were five other candidates for the mayoralty, and in this number was *Robespierre*. This is a curious fact, which we do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the histories of the time, or in any of the biographical sketches of Robespierre. We derive it from Brissot's newspaper, as quoted in Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution. The other competitors were Camus, Freteau, Tronchet, and d'Andre. D'Andre, who represented the constitutional-royalist interest, had only *seventy-seven* votes. This, too, is significant.

* Those who competed with Danton for the honour and profit of being adjoined to Manuel were Collot-d'Herbois, Gérard de Buzy, Hardy, Thouret, and several others not named. Danton had 1162 votes; and Collot-d'Herbois, the hissed actor, and author of the Almanac du Père Gérard, who was next on the poll, had 654.

† Hist. Parlement.

in the Rue St. Honoré—soon filled up their benches left vacant by the seceders. Brissot became president, and a power in the club—*une puissance*. As the presidentship, like that of the National Assembly, was of very short duration, Brissot was succeeded in the month of November by Abbé Fauchet: Fauchet was succeeded by Condorcet, and Condorcet by Couthon, who had obtained the name of the French Cato. Louvet, Lanthenas, and a good many more of the Girondists, supported Brissot in the club, and were in turn lauded as the best of patriots by Brissot in his newspaper. This party, including their great philosopher Condorcet, continued, however, for some short time, to fraternise in the club with Danton and with Robespierre. They set on foot a monthly review, which was imitated from the English reviews of that time, was printed on unusually fine paper, and ornamented every month with a portrait of one of its principal contributors. The lively effigies of Abbé Fauchet followed a portrait of the perfectibilian Condorcet; and Thomas Paine contributed articles to the pages of the review, as did also Mercier, Garan-Coulon, Clavières, Lanthenas, Biderman the banker, and Collot-d'Herbois. Amongst its occasional contributors were John Oswald, Helen Maria Williams, and Horne Tooke. The thing was published and sold at the bureau of the *Social Circle*. The great object of this review was certainly to recommend a republic; and at every meeting the Jacobin Club recommended the same nostrum with increased boldness and confidence. "It is a pity," said some of the leading Girondists, "that the nation ever accepted this constitution, with a king at the head of it: it is mournful to reflect how much better public affairs—*la chose publique*—must have proceeded, if royalty had been done away at the flight to Varennes." What is very observable and very striking is, that Robespierre was left behind in this race for a republic by the Gironde party. In the club he was for some time constantly heard recommending calmness and prudential delay. The club continued the practice of discussing the same questions as the Assembly, and of prescribing the line of conduct which that legislative body ought to pursue. By Jacobin advice, the new Assembly established a permanent committee of research in its own bosom, and gave a fresh impulse to patriotic espionage and denunciation. At the close of the year the Jacobins received a deputation of foreigners, not unlike that cosmopolite deputation, headed by Anacharsis Clootz, that had waited on the late Assembly. A certain number of Englishmen, and of Americans from the United States, came to offer their congratulations in the name of the nations to which they belonged, and to beg the honour of being admitted as members of the club, as dutiful and devoted children of the great Mother. The flag of England and the flag of the United States were brought into the hall lovingly joined with the French flag—*tria juncta in uno*—and at sight thereof the edifice was shaken from foundation-stone to roof-tree by shouts of "Long live liberty! Long live the nation! Long live the three free nations of the universe!" In imitation of the Society of the Friends of the Revolution in London—*i. e.* the society for which Dr. Price had preached, and for which Lord Stanhope had undertaken a journey into France in order to fraternise with these revolutionists—it was ordered that the three flags should remain in the Jacobin Hall. Next there was introduced a deputation of women who frequented the galleries of the club—*des dames habituées aux tribunes*—and who begged to be permitted to present a pledge of their enthusiasm for liberty to the constitutional English Whig who had undertaken to express the sentiments of all that class of free Englishmen. And anon a young citizeness issued from the midst of the deputation of patriotesses, and laid something on the table; and an older citizeness, appointed to be orator for the occasion, ascended the Jacobin tribune, or speaking place, and, looking at the unblushing English Whig, pronounced these words: "We are not Roman dames; we bring no jewels, but only a slight tribute of gratitude. A constitutional Whig, an Englishman, a brother, has lately been the object of your sweetest embraces. What a charming picture! All sensible souls were struck at the sight of it, and our hearts are still moved in thinking on it. To-day you give to this brother a new enjoyment: you suspend under the dome of your temple the three flags of America, England, and France. The union of these three free peoples is going to be cemented: permit us, gentlemen, to contribute something; accept this civic crown. And you, brother Englishman, accept another crown from the hands of innocence: it is the work of fraternity; friendship gives it you. Receive, good patriot, in the name of the French citizenesses who are here, the ark of alliance which we bring for our brothers the constitutional Whigs! Within this ark are enclosed the map of France divided into eighty-three departments, a cap of liberty, the constitutional charter of the French, a civic crown, ears of wheat, three tricolor flags, a national cockade, and these words in English and in French, *Vivre Libre ou Mourir*. Let this immortal homage paid to liberty be the sacred pledge of the union between Englishmen and Frenchmen. Do not forget, O patriot Whig, to tell your countrymen and brethren how you have been received here. Deposit this ark in your own land with the most fraternal ceremonies! I invite all the English to participate in this family act! Let it be precious to them as nature. Tell your wives, repeat to your children, that virtuous maidens, faithful wives, and tender mothers, after having fulfilled their domestic duties, after having contributed to the happiness of their husbands and families, came down here to make this offering for their country. Let a cry of joy rush through all Europe, and fly to America. But hark! In the midst of all the echoes, Philadelphia and all its countries repeat like us, *Vive la Liberté!* Tyrants! your enemies are known: these three peoples will never again make war

upon one another; intimately united, they will no longer be but as one people; and, strong in their liberty, they will be for henceforward and for ever inseparable!" Here the patriotess orator, who had not proceeded so far without the agreeable interruption of applause, finished her speech amidst roars of 'Vive la Liberté! Vive la Nation! Vivent les trois Nations! Vivent les femmes patriotes!' When this enthusiasm grew calm enough to allow it, the Jacobins' president, addressing the ladies, said, "Since nature has willed that society should owe to your sex its most beautiful moments, the enthusiasm with which you now fill all hearts will not be lost for centuries to come—it is engraven in indelible characters!" Then turning to the English Whig—was ever Englishman before an object and an actor in such a farce?—the Jacobins' president said, "As for you, O brother, tell your countrymen what we are; tell them that in the French empire women also know how to love their country, and prove themselves worthy of liberty! Tell them that our union, of which you will carry the emblems with you, will be as imperishable as the existence of freedom; tell them that we have no longer any chains except such as serve to bind us with free peoples, with Englishmen and Americans—and these are chains that will be as eternal as virtue!" To this the English Whig, who must have been besotted or mad, responded through the nose, that really he was not prepared to make a speech—that he had not expected such a reception—that really they must excuse him—that he had written home to his friends and to his club to tell them with what honours he had been received—that there was not yet time for him to have received an answer from his club—that these sentiments were not the work of a day, as, in the preceding month of August, his club had addressed a letter to M. Pétion, at that time president of the Jacobins—and, finally, that he would be sure to make a circumstantial report to his club when he got home again. This seemed to indicate the real object of Pétion's late journey to London. But Bourdon, another great Jacobin from Orleans, and one of the fiercest of all the Jacobins, made this matter still more clear. This Bourdon said that the deputation from England was a glorious proof of the prevalence and ascendancy of Jacobin principles; that this affiliation of clubs beyond the seas must work miracles, and tend to embrace in one system all the peoples of the universe. Much of this glorious result he thought was owing to the exertions of the present mayor of Paris, who had personally visited England and the pure patriots there. "Pétion," said he, "whom all France have surnamed the Incorruptible,—Pétion, the worthy pupil of this society,—carried over to a people who have the ancient habit of liberty by his desire of interchanging sentiments and ideas, and of opening new sources of public prosperity for France, concluded in London the solemn treaty of alliance which is to unite and identify for ever the interests of all the sons of liberty. This is the treaty which we are this day ratifying. O peoples of the earth, contemplate these three national flags, lately the signals of murder and carnage, but now the emblems of friendship and of peace. Formerly these flags preceded countless armies of slaves and vile automatons, who coolly went to massacre and to be massacred at the voice and for the vanity of despots; but now, placed in our hall, in this sanctuary of liberty and equality, they will only be removed from it to guide the steel of free men to the hearts of tyrants. The bandage which covered the eyes of nations is about to fall! England, America, France, have forgotten their old quarrels. These three sisters, divided by the common enemies of humanity, re-unite to-day, embrace one another, and swear a sincere friendship. The ties which they are now forming the scythe of time or the daggers of tyrants never shall cut! O Doctors Price and Franklin, O you evangelists of peace and apostles of liberty, why are you no longer among us? Why cannot your eyes, closed in the darkness of death, enjoy the imposing and delicious spectacle which this day presents, and which you laboured to accelerate by your generous efforts and sublime studies? . . . . I make the motion, gentlemen, that the busts of Doctors Price and Franklin be forthwith placed by the side of the bust of Mirabeau, and that a subscription be opened for the purpose." An unnamed Jacobin thought that, if they were going to vote busts, they ought not to forget Jean Jacques Rousseau; and another said that they ought not to forget Algernon Sydney, but procure a bust of him from England and place it in their hall. Dufourny, a very bad sculptor and architect, but a very good Jacobin, as was nearly every artist in France, demanded permission to present to the society gratuitously a bust of Franklin, which he had done himself from the life. This gave occasion to fresh enthusiasms. Before they separated this day the Jacobins voted, as proper decorations for their hall, busts of Rousseau, the Abbé Mably, Algernon Sydney, and Dr. Price. The higher honours to Dr. Priestley, who was regarded as a sufferer and a martyr in their glorious cause, were reserved for a future occasion.*

In the Assembly, as in the great club, continual denunciations were made, and real or pretended discoveries reported, of plots and approaching invasions; and these things, together with very evident facts, naturally kept up the irritation against the court for refusing to sanction the decrees against the emigrants. Nothing is better proved than that the court itself kept up its secret correspondence with these emigrants, and continued to look to them and to foreign powers for help and rescue and a counter-revolution. The Jacobins were not the only party that sent emissaries into England, where, besides, emigrant nobles and priests abounded. Marie Antoinette, who had seen Pitt in his early manhood, though only a short time before he became prime minister, had conceived a very alarm-

* Journal of the Jacobin Club, in Hist. Parlement.

ing notion of the severity and inflexibility of his character.* She also conceived that the English court could never forgive the House of Bourbon for their conduct during the war of the American revolution. She was heard to say repeatedly, "I can never think of this Pitt without shuddering. That man is the mortal enemy of France; he is now taking a cruel revenge for the impolitic support which the cabinet of Versailles gave to the American insurgents. By our destruction he wishes to guarantee for ever the maritime power of his country against the efforts which the king has made to raise and improve the French navy. He knows that it is not only the policy but the particular inclination of the king to occupy himself about the navy, and that the most remarkable step he has taken during his reign has been to visit the port of Cherbourg. Pitt has served the French revolution from the first moment of our troubles; and perhaps he will continue to serve it until it is annihilated."† The suspicion of a vindictive feeling on the part of Great Britain, who, setting aside the treatment she had received from France during the American war, had but few grounds of obligation or good-will to the Bourbons, was not unnatural or unreasonable; but, if the court of St. James's had been vindictive beyond the measure of all courts, there were potent reasons for preventing any long indulgence of that feeling and passion. At the first dawn of this French liberty, or, as the queen called it, *the first beginning of their troubles*, Pitt, in common with nearly every Englishman, indulged some half-hope that the revolution might be productive of good, not merely to France, but to the rest of Europe; and neither Pitt nor any one else in this country was averse to seeing *some* humiliation put upon the pride, and some restrictions upon the power, of the old Bourbon despotism; but, except in preserving a strict neutrality, which there was no ground nor even pretext for breaking, it is difficult to conceive how Pitt favoured the revolution; and assuredly, before that wild phenomenon was a year old, Pitt, and the sovereign he served, and the vast majority of the people of England, were both disgusted and alarmed at it. As the declaration of the Rights of Man became scattered over all the earth, as Jacobin agents went about everywhere preaching liberty and equality, to be obtained by the seizure of property and the destruction of all old titles and distinctions—preaching, according to the text of the gentle Condorcet himself, "war to gentlemen's houses, and peace and plenty to cottages,"—all Englishmen who had names or properties, or a feeling of religion, or a respect to established principle, or a dislike to beginning the world anew, as if before their time there had been no reason and enlightenment among mankind, and as if everything that was old must be bad, and everything new good and perfect of its kind, began to apprehend that these Jacobin principles might work the ruin of them all and the ruin of their country, and assuredly became anxious that the wide-spreading stream might be stopped at the fountain-head. Excepting only a few incurable enthusiasts, and a few men who acted from most palpable party motives, all classes of Englishmen above the lowest, who scarcely thought about the matter, and who were, as a body, passionately loyal at this time, conceived a worse notion of the French revolution and constitution the more they saw of them or heard of them; and the new National Assembly, and the Jacobins, and their clubs and journals, that domineered over that Assembly and all France, and laboured to make a social war in all the countries of Europe, in nearly every corner of which they had their emissaries and propagandists, persevered in a course of conduct which was admirably calculated to keep up alarm and to produce the most anxious vigilance, if not direct hostility. The alarm was perhaps greater in England than elsewhere, because there was comparatively a greater number of gentleman's houses to be attacked, an infinitely greater number of persons of property who had much to lose, and therefore the more to fear. The national disposition for liberal institutions which reigned in England far more than in any European country, and which might have led men into a warm sympathy for any course of political experiment which proposed liberty as its end and object, was cooled and kept down by a national religious feeling, which had scarcely any existence among the upper or directing classes of society in any of the neighbouring kingdoms, principalities, or powers at the commencement of the French revolution, or even for a quarter of a century before that explosion. Differences in modes of faith, in churches and hierarchies, were forgotten in the presence of a rampant and intolerant atheism; the old jealousy and dislike of Romanism gave place to friendly feelings; the emigrant priests were regarded as a persecuted branch of the Christian family; and, as incredulity and blasphemy obtained more and more dominion in France, the disgust at the revolution which had let them loose grew stronger and stronger. At the time when the Queen of France fancied the British government was favouring the revolution, not only the government but also the great body of the nation was filled with alarm at its progress and at its propagandists; and as for the king, who was rather more than a name in

* The queen had seen him at Fontainebleau in the autumn of 1783, when Pitt was travelling in France with his friend Wilberforce. It was during this journey, and at Paris, that Pitt first became acquainted with Mr. George Rose, who was travelling with Lord Thurlow, and who afterwards became one of Pitt's most valuable subalterns.

Marie Antoinette and most of the court treated Pitt with uncommon distinction, as the son of the great Earl of Chatham. It is said by Horace Walpole and others that M. Necker was anxious to secure him for a son-in-law, and offered to endow his daughter (who afterwards became Madame de Staël) with a fortune equal to 14,000*l.* sterling per annum. It is added that Pitt excused himself by saying that he was already married to his country! We much doubt whether it ever was in him to say anything so rhapsodical or nonsensical. It would have been a strange union this, between the starch-dry William Pitt and the flighty, enthusiastic, romantic, all-for-love Corinne! But Pitt, who rejected other matrimonial overtures at home, and proved himself capable of resisting even the match-making assaults of the Duchess of Gordon, had evidently no turn whatever for matrimony at any time of his life.

† Madame Campan, Mémoires.

our government and constitution, his days were made uneasy and his nights restless by the dread that attempts would be made a little sooner or later to try the French experiment in his own country. George III. was certainly as extravagant in his alarms as certain men were in their admiration and hopes. Marie Antoinette sent a secret agent to London expressly to sound Pitt as to his sentiments and intentions. The agent she employed informed her that Pitt was very reserved (as every minister ought to be with foreign envoys or agents, whether accredited or not), but that he said *he would not leave the French monarchy to perish; that it would be a great fault in politics, and fatal to the tranquillity of all Europe, to let the revolutionary spirit bring about an organized republic in France.* The poor queen, who made her own comments upon these communications, who was perpetually haunted by the suspicion that the Duke of Orleans was aspiring to the throne, and helping to make an anarchy in order to reach it, and who mistakenly fancied that Orleans, in his repeated visits to England, had made himself powerful friends and a political party there—a party both able and willing to assist his ambition—said that, although Pitt admitted the necessity of maintaining monarchy in France, he had not said a word about the monarch, and that this had a sinister and alarming appearance.* Nothing could have satisfied her unreasonable desires but a promise on the part of Pitt to enter immediately into all the views of the confederated or confederating kings, with the assurance that England would join them in attacking the Jacobins and republicans of France. Pitt had promised those courts the strict neutrality of England, and he would not engage for more. The continental sovereigns, though now most seriously alarmed, continued to occupy themselves about other matters and their own more immediate interests; and, though they kept increasing their armies, there was as yet no hostile declaration; nor was it very easy to discover how to declare war against the French revolutionists without putting in jeopardy the lives of Louis XVI. and his queen, for whose sake the war was chiefly to be undertaken. There was now scarcely a possibility of a hope that the royal family might escape out of France. The troops of the emperor in Belgium and Luxembourg had their feet on the French frontiers, and their eyes apparently fixed upon Paris; but they moved not, and did nothing beyond arresting and beating some republican propagandists who were found within their lines encouraging the Belgians to rise in arms against the emperor. The electors of Treves and Mayence, and the Bishop of Spires, whose territories also touched on France, harboured the emigrants, and favoured to the utmost of their ability the formation of a counter-revolutionary army of Frenchmen; but this was all these petty potentates could do. It was, however, quite enough to exasperate the French people and the powers who governed them; nor would any people of spirit have tolerated such measures in their near neighbours.

On the 22nd of November the Assembly took up the business with its usual vivacity. Koch, half Frenchman, half German,* a native of Alsace, which ought never to have belonged to France, presented a report from the diplomatic committee, touching the proper measures to be pursued with the foreign princes who suffered the emigrants to gather and arm in their territories. Koch, in his speech, said that there was no time to be lost, and that no confidence was to be placed in the minister of foreign affairs, who managed the diplomatic correspondence; that the little princes of the Germanic empire were daily violating the law of nations, and that the frontiers of France were perpetually exposed to insult. He concluded by recommending that a most vigorous remonstrance should be sent, in the name of the French nation, to the electors of Treves and Mayence, to the Bishop of Spires, and to other members of the Germanic League, calling upon them to disperse the armed emigrants and give instant satisfaction for the injuries and insults they had inflicted on French citizens. Koch, who had himself a turn for the art, thought that the whole business might be settled by diplomacy; but Isnard, one of the Demostheneses of the Gironde, loudly proclaimed the necessity of immediately declaring war against these contemptible neighbouring tyrants, who were only capable of feeling the arguments of bullets and bayonets. No other way, he said, would disperse the emigrants and tranquillise France. On the 29th of November Isnard read a long and highly applauded speech. As the National Assembly could not decently declare war itself, he insisted that a decree, having very nearly the same effect, should be passed instantly, and that the king should be called upon to sanction it without any suspensive veto, and then to speak in the imperious manner which became him as the king of the greatest nation in the world to those petty princes beyond the Rhine. While these letters were writing, the brave patriots of France might be arming and marching. "*Do not fancy,*" said he, "*that our actual position is unfavourable to the striking of great blows. A people in a state of revolution are more likely to make conquests than to be conquered.* A people in this state of enthusiasm are invincible. The standard of liberty is the standard of victory. Fear nothing except that the people should be disgusted at your slowness or timidity. The way of arms is the only one now open to you. To bargain or negotiate, to make capitulations with your enemies, would be high treason against the nation. Our adversaries are the enemies of liberty and the constitution. What they want is to bring back, by sword, fire, and famine, the old parlemens and noblesse, and augment the prerogatives of the king, that man whose will paralyses that of a whole nation, that man who devours thirty millions

* Madame Campan.

* Afterwards the author of the 'Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe,' and other well-known historical works.

a-year, while millions of citizens better than he languish in poverty and distress! [Here there were thunders of applause from the galleries.] Let us rise to the real height of our mission; let us speak to our ministers, to the king, to all Europe, with the firmness which becomes us; let us tell our ministers that the people are not very well satisfied with the conduct of any of them; that from this time forward they must choose between public gratitude and the vengeance of the laws; and let them understand that by the word responsibility we mean *death!* [Here the applauses were still louder.] Let us tell the king that it is his interest to defend the constitution; that his crown hangs by that holy palladium; that he only reigns by the people and for the people; that the nation is his sovereign, and that he is subject to the law. Let us tell Europe that, if the French people draw the sword, they will throw away the scabbard; and that, if, notwithstanding their power and their courage, they should succumb in fighting for liberty, their enemies would only reign over dead bodies. Let us say to Europe that, if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will engage the people in a war against kings. Let us tell Europe that all the battles which the people may fight at the order of the despots..... [Here the galleries made still louder thunder.] But do not applaud—do not interrupt me; respect my enthusiasm—it is the enthusiasm of liberty! Let us then, I say, tell all Europe that all the battles the people fight at the order of the despots resemble a fight in the dark between two friends excited and set on by some perfidious instigator: as soon as the light of day appears, these two friends throw down their arms, embrace one another, and join in chastising the scoundrel that deceived them; and thus will it be with the different peoples of Europe, if their tyrants lead them into a war: while their armies are contending with ours, the broad daylight of philosophy will strike their eyes, and they will embrace us in the face of dethroned tyrants, of the consoled earth, and of satisfied heaven! Let us, in the end, tell all Europe that the French people, inflamed by the fire of liberty, armed with the sword, the pen, philosophy, and eloquence, will be able, if irritated, by themselves alone, to change the face of the world, and make all tyrants tremble on their thrones of clay!" Isnard, applauded to the skies, demanded that his decree should be voted unanimously, in order to show that the Assembly contained only good Frenchmen, friends of liberty, and enemies of tyrants; and, as after such a speech it would have been dangerous for any man to vote to the contrary, the decree was passed with the commanded unanimity; and Isnard's discourse was ordered to be printed and sent to the departments.*

That same day a deputation was sent to the king. The members composing it were instantly admitted, for the courtiers had felt the danger of insisting upon punctilios, or causing any delay to the sovereign will. Vaublanc, as head of the deputation, told Louis that the source of every evil was in the criminal preparations of the French emigrants; that their audacity was sustained by German princes, who forgot the obligations of treaties and of the law of nations; and that these hostile preparations on the frontiers obliged the French patriots, for the raising and recruiting of armies, to expend enormous sums of money, which they would gladly have paid to the creditors of the state. Throwing the whole obligation on the king, who had scarcely more power over these rash, hair-brained emigrants, and their horrified allies, than he possessed over the Assembly or the people at home, Vaublanc said that it must depend upon him to put an end to this uncomfortable state of things. "Tell them," said he, "that France can only consider as an enemy every prince that allows of these preparations against her; tell them that we will religiously keep our oath to make no conquests; that we offer them a good neighbourhood and the inviolable friendship of a free and powerful people; that we will respect their laws, usages, and constitutions, only exacting the same respect for our own. Tell them, in short, that, if the princes of Germany continue to favour these hostile preparations, we will carry into the midst of them, not fire and sword, but liberty and the Rights of Man. It is for them to calculate what may be the consequences of the awaking of nations!" Vaublanc further told the king that not one of his ambassadors had spoken to foreign courts as they ought to be spoken to; that if, at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the German princes had permitted the expelled Huguenots to assemble in arms in their territories, Louis XIV. would have resented such conduct as it ought to be resented, &c. Without travelling from the letter of the constitution so far as to say that Louis XVI. must suspend all exercise of his suspensive veto, and sign the emigrant decrees of the Assembly, Vaublanc finished his address with these words:—"Sire, your interests, your dignity, the grandeur of the insulted nation, prescribe for you a language different from that of diplomacy. The nation expects from you energetic declarations to the circles of the Rhine, both Upper and Lower, to the electors of Treves and Mayence, and to the Bishop of Spires. And, whatever some of them may be, these hordes of emigrants must be scattered on the instant. Prescribe a near term, beyond which no dilatory answer shall be received from them. And let your declaration be supported by the marching of our troops, and let the people know who are their friends and who their enemies. It is by steps like these we shall see that you are indeed the defender of the constitution." Louis simply replied to all this, that he would pay the greatest attention to this message, and that the Assembly knew that he had neglected nothing to secure public tranquillity at home, to maintain the constitution, and to make it respected abroad. In relating to the Assembly what he had said and

* Hist. Parlement.

what Louis had said, Vaublanc took care to mention that, when the deputation entered the royal apartment, the king *bowed first;* and this information gave rise to some applauses. At the same time the Jacobins, in their club, discussed the question of war or peace in their own way, those members who were also members of the Assembly going over the same ground, but with far more heat and speed. Robespierre, who had been for some time absent visiting his native town of Arras, now re-appeared in the Jacobin tribune to whisper fresh doubts and suspicions of the executive power. He rejected every idea of sending messages to the king, or of trusting him and his ministers with the conduct either of negotiation or of war; and in sober seriousness it is not possible, to say that Louis or his ministers really could be trusted for one moment. According to Robespierre, the Assembly ought to act by itself, ought to call, not upon the petty princes, but upon the Emperor Leopold, to disperse the emigrants within a given time; and, if he refused or delayed, then the Assembly ought to declare war against him in the name of the French people, and of all the nations that were enemies to tyrants. "We ought," said he, "to draw round Leopold the circle which Popilius drew round Mithridates:* here is the only decree suitable to the dignity of the French people, and of their representatives! But if war is to be made, the Assembly, who alone ought to have the faculty of declaring it, ought alone to be intrusted with the management of it; for otherwise it will be a war, not against despotism, but against liberty, not against the petty tyrants of Germany, but against the free French people."

On the 14th of December the poor timid king went over to the National Assembly to make some hollow assurances that he was as eager as any man for the dispersion of the emigrant forces near the frontiers, and fully determined to make war with vigour, if the German princes should not soon be corrected by his diplomacy and declarations. He assured the Assembly that he had already made formal requisitions to the princes his neighbours; and that, although some of them had disregarded these requisitions, the Emperor Leopold had promptly attended to them, and had already dispersed all gatherings of emigrants in his states. "Gentlemen," said this miserable king, who was loading his conscience without a chance of bettering his fortune or escaping his doom, "you have not anticipated me: as representative of the people, I have felt the injury done to them, and I will now let you know the resolution I have taken to obtain reparation. I am now declaring to the Elector of Treves, that if, before the 15th of January, he does not put an end, in his states, to every gathering and hostile disposition on the part of the Frenchmen who have taken refuge in his territories, I shall no longer consider him as anything but an enemy to France. I shall send a similar declaration to all those who have favoured gatherings contrary to the tranquillity of the kingdom; and, guaranteeing to foreigners all the protection which they ought to expect from our laws, I shall have a right to demand that the insults and injuries any Frenchmen may have received be promptly and completely redressed. I write to the emperor to engage him to continue his good offices, and, if necessary, to display his authority, as chief of the empire, to keep at a distance those misfortunes which cannot fail of being produced by any longer obstinacy on the part of some members of the Germanic body. Without doubt we may expect a great deal from his intervention, supported by the imposing weight of his example: but I am taking, at the same time, military measures the most proper to make these declarations be respected; and, if they are not listened to, then, gentlemen, there will remain nothing for me to do but to propose war—war, which a people, who have solemnly renounced conquests, never makes without necessity, but which a generous and free nation knows how to undertake when its own safety and when honour command!" After saying a few more words about the necessity of a good understanding and union between him and the Assembly, and about his entire devotion to the constitution, and about the beautiful thing it was to be king of a free people, the poor man finished, not without approbation and applause and shouts of "Long live the King of the French!" The House even ordered that his discourse should be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments. The minister-at-war—now the young, confident, aspiring, witty, but somewhat frivolous Count Louis Narbonne—was admitted to the bar when Louis had withdrawn. He said that, although the king wished for peace, he was ready to make war with vigour; that he had charged him to give the necessary orders for collecting one hundred and fifty thousand men on the frontiers within a month; and that France, who had been victorious when she fought for one man (Louis XIV.) against a much more formidable coalition, could have nothing to fear when fighting for liberty against a few minor despots. He next alluded to the suspicions entertained and industriously propagated, that the king and his ministers could not be trusted with the management of the war, and hoped the Assembly would resist the dangerous system which some men might attempt to build out of these doubts and suspicions. He was going to set out in a few days to visit the frontiers and examine the real state of the army. He could not believe in the disagreements and suspicions which were said to exist between the troops and their commanding officers. Surely by this time officers and men were alike devoted to the constitution and the established laws; but he would tell the officers that old prejudices, and a too inconsiderate love for their king, had been allowed

* Robespierre must not be taken as an infallible authority in ancient history: it was not Mithridates, but Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, who was deterred from attacking Alexandria by the Roman ambassador Popilius drawing a circle around him with his stick on the sand, and insisting that he should not overstep it till he had declared whether he persevered in his intention of assaulting a town belonging to an ally of the Roman people.

for some time to excuse part of their conduct, but that treachery was not to be thought of; and he would tell the men that they might rely on their officers, who were bound to the revolution by their oaths and by their honour, and that the safety of their country depended upon the discipline of the army. Without a doubt the National Guards, to whom France owed its liberty, would know how to defend it in the field, and nothing was wanting to their courage and zeal except a little military experience. "Three armies," said he, "have appeared necessary, and Messieurs Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette are designated by the country as the proper men to command them; and the king and the country are now but one. . . . . A great augmentation of our expenditure becomes indispensable, but France will spend freely to preserve her freedom." Brissot immediately rose to censure the minister at war for having given expression to prejudices against certain public men. "I demand," said he, "that this question be adjourned till Saturday next, and then it will be seen whether the patriots have merited the reproaches which have been cast upon them." The adjournment was agreed to. On the next day, the 15th of December, there was an angry debate on the answer which ought to be returned to the king. Couthon accused the president, Lémontey, of basely sacrificing the dignity of the Assembly in using language complimentary to the king. "M. Lémontey," said Couthon, "promises the king, in the name of the National Assembly, *more glory than any of his ancestors ever obtained.* We ought to promise nothing of the sort; everything depends on the king's own conduct. I demand that that phrase be struck out; and, as these changes might derange the order of M. Lémontey's ideas, I demand that the whole answer be sent back to a committee to be re-considered." Some voices cried out—"Yes; to a committee of the Jacobin Club!" Others cried out, "Let Couthon draw up the answer." "I might write it," said Couthon, complacently, "with less ability, but I would certainly do it with more dignity." Then Grangeneuve said he thought the president had been guilty of a gross impropriety in telling the king that the French people would fight their enemies and the enemies of their king; since it was not possible that the French people should arm to fight the private enemies of the king. Lémontey admitted that the phrase was equivocal, and ought to be changed. Grangeneuve then found fault with the expression, "Sire, we are your family." "It is very dangerous," said this nice logician, who had been a little lawyer at Bordeaux before the revolution, "it is very dangerous, indeed, to call back those ancient ideas of the people being the family of kings, and kings the fathers of the people. Our king is only a representative of the French nation: it is contradictory to say that the French nation is his family. He belongs to the nation, but the nation does not belong to him." Grangeneuve was loudly applauded by the gods in the galleries, and the president consented to alter the sentence into "the family to which you are attached." The answer, as agreed to and delivered, was emphatic enough. It finished with these words:—"Powerful interests, sweet enjoyments are prepared for you: from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the ocean, all will be covered with the regards of a good king, and protected by a rampart of free and faithful men. Here, Sire, is the family to which you are attached; here your true friends! These have not abandoned you! All the representatives of the people, all true Frenchmen, devote their lives to sustain the national dignity, to defend the constitution, and the cherished king whose throne has been strengthened by it." To this the king briefly replied, that he recognised in this address the language and the heart of Frenchmen, that *his nation was indeed his family*, and that he hoped it would unite entirely under the protection and the empire of the laws.

Robespierre and Danton, with whom acted on this occasion Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Camille Desmoulins, and nearly all the most enraged revolutionists and Jacobins, were not the more reconciled to the king's being allowed the initiative and the management of the war by seeing Narbonne appointed minister-at-war, and the command of the armies given to Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette: for Rochambeau, in spite of his declarations and his campaigning in America, was suspected of an uncured aristocracy; Luckner was known to be a bold, rough soldier of fortune, much attached to the king, whose pay he had so long received; and as for Lafayette, we have seen in what esteem he was held by every party, except his own rapidly declining one. They renewed the subject in the Jacobin Club, and laboured hard to keep alive the suspicions of the people. And most assuredly there were circumstances and appearances, and even facts (if these had been known at the time), that might have justified suspicion in a people less disposed to take umbrage. 1. Narbonne, the new minister-at-war, had been recommended to office by Madame de Staël. This daughter of the immaculate Necker was not more rigid in certain particulars than the majority of French ladies: she had a lover and a husband—the lover was the gay, witty, and gallant Narbonne; the husband was the Baron de Staël, who had been for a long time Swedish ambassador at the court of France. As his Swedish majesty was the declared knight-errant and champion of Marie Antoinette, as Gustavus had in a manner put himself at the head of the war-party of all Europe, it was impossible for the ultra-revolutionists not to suspect a war-minister who had been appointed through the intrigues of the wife of Gustavus's representative. 2. At the very time that the king was talking of the pacific, friendly intentions of the emperor, an imperial letter was circulated in Paris, in which Leopold expressed his determined resolution of assisting the

German princes who had possessions in Alsace and Lorraine, and whose rights, guaranteed by the most solemn treaties, had been invaded and set at nought by the National Assembly. As head of the Germanic body, Leopold was bound to see reparation given to these German "possessioned princes" (*princes possessionés*), and the refusal of redress and reparation, of that compensation and equivalent which the revolutionists had blotted out of their vocabulary, would at any moment justify the emperor in declaring war against France.* Several of the Jacobins preluded for Robespierre in the club, by hinting that it would be very well to declare war if the National Assembly would only declare itself supreme dictator and sole governing power, place a thorough man of the people in the war-ministry, cancel the nominations of Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette, and put in their places patriots and pure Jacobins, upon whom the people could rely. Isnard, president of the Club during these debates, said that the dictatorship of the Assembly was too delicate a question to be agitated as yet; that it ought to be touched with all the caution with which men approach fire. Robespierre begged to observe that it were better to continue to suffer their present uneasiness, caused by the emigrants on the frontiers, than go to war. "We cannot," said he, "place any confidence in the agents of the executive power, therefore let us wait awhile. I am not thinking at this moment about the dictatorship of the Assembly. I only look at the government such as it is, and I leave it for time and circumstances to bring about those extraordinary measures which the salvation of the people may call for. Until then I impose silence on myself: I will not anticipate events. And with what manner of war are we menaced? Is it a war of nation against nation? Is it a war of a king against another king or kings? No! it is a war of all the enemies of the French constitution against the French revolution! And who are these enemies? They are of two kinds—enemies within the kingdom, and enemies abroad. Can one reasonably suspect that in the number of enemies within the kingdom are included the court and all the agents of the executive power? . . . . . I cannot resolve this question; but I will observe to you that the enemies abroad, and the princes who back them, pretend to be nothing else than defenders of the court of France, and of the French noblesse!" These reflections were inevitable, as was also the deep feeling they gave rise to. Still farther to excite that fierce democracy, Robespierre bade the Jacobins consider how the war-minister had been appointed, how all the ministers had acted, and what had been the conduct of the king with regard to the emigrants. "Put all these reflections and ideas together," said he, "and compare them with the present plan and conduct of our government. There are rebels to be punished; the representatives of the people struck them with their decree; the king stepped in with his veto; and, instead of the punishment which was launched against those rebels, what are ministers now proposing? Why, a declaration of war: instead of a wise decree, they wish to engage us in a simulated war, which may lead to a shameful capitulation with them. But war gives room for terrors, dangers, treacheries, enormous losses. The people will grow weary of it, and ask one another whether it is worth while to spend so much money about titles, whether they would really be more unhappy if dukes, marquises, and counts were allowed in the land? Then the National Assembly would lose its popularity, would be calumniated, attacked; and, in the end, there would be some treaty made with these aristocrat emigrants and their abettors. This is the ministerial intrigue—this is the knot of the intrigue which will ruin us all if we do not take heed. I know these things as well as if I were a member of all the aristocratic clubs, and all the conspiring cabinets."

Three or four days after this effective speech of Robespierre, Brissot rose in the Jacobin Hall to inculcate the same doctrines and deepen the same suspicions. He said the simple question was, whether France ought to attack the German princes who supported the emigrants, or wait quietly within her own frontier to be invaded by them and the emigrants. He was sorry to see that there was some diversity of opinion even among good Jacobins. He recommended all patriots to place no confidence in those men whose vacillating zeal had sometimes supported and sometimes opposed the cause of the revolution and of patriotism. But he thought it unjust and infamous that the minister-at-war should have dared to express in the Assembly doubts and suspicions against the patriots. He was, however, of opinion that the war must be undertaken, that the state of war was precisely what the revolution most wanted. "A people," said he, "who have made a conquest of liberty, after ten centuries of slavery, have need of war. War is necessary to consolidate their liberty, to purge the land of the vices of despotism, to drive out of it all those men that might corrupt liberty. You have to chastise rebels, you have the strength to do it, then take the resolution. All the deputies of the Assembly that are here present ought to have one and the same sentiment. Unhappy will it be if we are divided in opinion. If we do not go to war at once it will be believed that we are powerless, that we are in the impotence of anarchy, that we are afraid of the emigrants. We must act and take our revenge, or make up our minds to be the opprobrium of nations; we must take our revenge by destroying that horde of brigands, or consent to see factions, conspiracies, and burnings perpetuated, and the insolence of our aristocrats become more audacious than ever. They place their belief and hope in the army of Coblentz; *there* is the source of the obstinacy of our fanatics. If you would destroy with a single blow

* 'Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat,' attributed (and we believe correctly) to Count Hardenberg, the late Prussian diplomatist and minister of state.

the aristocracy, the refractory priests, the malcontents of all kinds, only destroy the army of Coblentz!" He repeated his old axiom, that France had nothing to fear from any of the great powers of Europe. There was a loud call for printing this discourse. Robespierre wished to defer this vote till the end of the present discussion, but he was overruled by a majority. After the printing had been voted, Danton endeavoured to show that, though the war was necessary, it ought not to be declared at this moment. After paying some extravagant compliments to Brissot, Danton said—"If the question was, whether definitively we should go to war, I would say, Yes, the trumpets of war shall sound; yes, the exterminating angel of liberty shall destroy the satellites of despotism! I am not against war, but against the men that are to manage it. Ought we not first to examine our real situation, and scrutinise the intentions of the executive power in proposing war to us? The people have elected me to defend the constitution, and, whatever may be my opinions against those who prevented the extension of the revolution, I declare now that I will defend the people, and strike their enemies to the earth only with the club of reason and the sword of the law. M. Brissot seems to think that all the powers of Europe will act according to a wise combination which he has fancied for them; he believes that kings, and their agents, can be philosophers. The pride of kings, wounded by our revolution, will be stronger than their policy or any wise combination, and will drive them into war. Yes, this war we must have; but, before we get into it, let us be sure of our executive power, of our ministers and commanders." This meant, as clearly as words could express it, that the Assembly should assume that dictatorship which had been recommended. Danton said that there were two factions in France that were equally to be feared—the ultra-royalists and aristocrats, who wanted to restore the ancient despotism and every abuse which existed before the revolution; and the constitutional-monarchy party, who aimed at introducing the English constitution as a means of bringing about a government like that of Constantinople. Robespierre followed Danton, intimating that "*suspicion was as natural to liberty as jealousy to love;*" and that the revolution would be ruined if the executive power was ever trusted. A day or two after—for these debates on war or peace lasted many days, and were continued longer in the club than in the Assembly.—Billaud-Varennes made a very Jacobin-Roman discourse, proclaiming the virtues of that copious blood-letting which he was so soon to practise. "When," said he, "people, in 1789, rejoiced and boasted that never had revolution caused so little blood as ours, I always replied that a nation who broke the yoke of tyranny could never irrevocably seal their liberty except in tracing their charter with the point of the bayonet in letters of blood! Now we must plunge our bayonets in the bosoms of our enemies, and it is in order to free ourselves from them for ever that we must seek them and fight them. And yet, gentlemen, it is impossible for a heart inflamed with the sacred fire of liberty to avoid a violent feeling of suspicion at seeing the executive power suddenly proposing to the Assembly a declaration of war against the princes of Germany for the 15th of January next, a period when the country which ought to be the theatre of the war is impracticable; at a time when our armies are without officers, our regiments incomplete, our national guards for the most part unequipped, our frontier towns without munitions of war, our fortresses open to the enemy, either through the weakness of our garrisons or their bad faith. Was there ever a plan of counter-revolution made so evident as this? And will not the execution be easy and the success certain?" Billaud-Varennes, echoing the sentiments of Robespierre, said there could not possibly be too much suspicion and too much terror; that it was by filling the minds of the whole people with terror and suspicion that extraordinary efforts might be hoped for, and the counter-revolution avoided. Brissot read a long discourse upon the necessity of an immediate declaration of war, notwithstanding the suspicions entertained of those who were to conduct it—of a war of attack; and upon the duty of all true patriots to submit to the law as established, and respect every part of the constitution. Robespierre and Danton were greatly incensed at this speech or written discourse. They said that Brissot was casting suspicions upon them, and the whole Jacobin Club was terribly excited. Brissot was under the necessity of making apologies; and he engaged to alter the latter part of his discourse, which the Club had ordered to be printed, in such a manner as to satisfy Robespierre.

The ambassadors and diplomatic agents at foreign courts were nearly all recalled, and men more acceptable to the Jacobins named in their stead; but Narbonne was continued in his office as war-minister, and Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette received their commissions in spite of the loud outcry against them. Lafayette, who had tried to be mayor of Paris, and who had enjoyed his retirement in Auvergne for so very short a time, hurried back to Paris to take the command of one of the three armies. He says himself that the king, though he had very unwillingly given him the command at the request of Narbonne, received him kindly and politely, and that at the bar of the Assembly, where he appeared on the 24th of December, he was greeted with the most flattering marks of confidence; that, when he quitted Paris for his head-quarters at Metz, so long the head-quarters of his relative and opponent de Bouillé, the national guards lined the streets through which he passed, and an innumerable crowd of citizens followed him for some distance, expressing in an enthusiastic manner their gratitude, esteem, and confidence. But it is quite certain that a great portion of the Assembly and the more popular majority of the capital regarded him with the utmost

aversion, only equalled by that felt by the court. He acknowledges himself that he was in a very awkward position, the Jacobins reproaching him with acting like a courtier, and the court declaring he had the intention of braving the king and queen.

For a few weeks nothing was heard or thought of but war. The military character of the people, and that confidence in themselves in which they are seldom found wanting, disposed them to regard its approach with pleasure; a war of attack is always more inspiriting than a defensive war, and the French nation has ever been more distinguished in the first than in the second; yet the dark misgivings and suspicions which had been so laboriously instilled into the popular mind rendered the people averse to beginning the war, and enabled Robespierre to carry the majority of the Jacobin Club with him. He and Brissot had embraced one another after their late difference, but it was only to hate one another more cordially. From this difference of opinion on the war question there was a split between the Robespierrites, or ultra-Jacobins, and the Girondists; but the two parties had all along been inimical to each other, having different views and different ambitions to gratify. So long as they had a common enemy to pursue or dread, they acted together in the Assembly and in the club; but as soon as that common enemy was destroyed they fell upon one another like tiger-cats. In the Assembly there was a côté droit, a centre, and a côté gauche. The droit, the weakest by far of the three divisions, was composed of the Feuillant party, of which Lafayette might be considered the real head, as, though not in the house, he was supreme in the club, and managed all matters there as Robespierre did in the Jacobins. In the Assembly the principal organs of the party were Dumas, Ramond, Vaublanc, Beugnot, &c. They counted for support on the bourgeoise of Paris, and the middle classes all over France, who had some property to lose, and who wished it not to be risked in a prolonged revolution; they could rely on a great portion of the national guards as at present constituted; and they seemed sure of a large portion of the public functionaries and employés of all kinds, who were naturally anxious to keep the good places they had obtained, and to check the march of revolution, which would be sure to bring fresh actors upon the scene, new men into their places. But in losing the election for the mayoralty of Paris the party lost the greatest power of all: its right arm was paralysed by that blow. These Feuillants, after seeing the monarchic part of it reduced to an impracticability, to a ridiculous nullity, pretended to be satisfied with and entirely devoted to constitutional monarchy—to the system of government and constitution as it had been left by the first Assembly; but in secret they entertained the notion of introducing some great changes, being convinced at last that a constitution with only one chamber could no more stand or go than a bird with one wing could fly. They continued to be closely connected with Barnave, and with Dupont and Alexandre Lameth, who, like Barnave, had entered into friendly communications with the court, in the credulous belief that, by advising the king on one side, and moderating the legislature on the other, they would be able to steer the court and country safely through the intricate stormy sea.* The centre, as it was called, was a thing without any centre of action or sentiment: it was not a party, but a loose collection of men, some of whom were only desirous of peace and quiet and of a termination to the revolutionary state, and more of whom were merely waiting to see which party should prove the stronger, in order not to commit the dangerous mistake of joining the weaker. These waiters upon providence, or upon events and accidents, gradually dropped off from the middle to the left side of the house, and joined the *extrême gauche*. That left, or gauche, was composed of the Girondist republicans, and of the ultra-Jacobin republicans, who hung together for a while, though they agreed in hardly anything except that monarchy was an opprobrium, and that there ought to be a republic. The Gironde relied upon all the enthusiastic young men of the better-educated portion of the middling classes; and, being mainly composed of literary men, they had the sympathy and support of nearly all the regular littérateurs, the irregular and more plebeian corps going with Marat and the Robespierrists. In the Assembly the orators of the ultra-democratic party, or extrême gauche, the unfrocked monk Chabot, Merlin de Thionville, and Claude Bazire, could not stand against Vergniaud, Gensonné, Guadet, and Isnard, the great Girondist orators; but in the clubs, where they were aided by Robespierre and Danton, they were far stronger than the Gironde: they counted upon the popular masses, the vast populace, who might gain a good deal, but who had nothing to lose except life or limb, who prided themselves in having their nether man indifferently clad, and who took to themselves and gave to their party—to a party that was for many moons the sovereign of France, and the soul and body of the French republic—the name of *sans culottes*, or men without breeches. As France and everything in it had been so thoroughly democratised, as all the old barriers of society had been

* Barnave saw the king and queen very frequently. Every possible precaution was adopted to conceal these visits, and the king himself at times stood doorkeeper to admit him into the Tuileries. Louis, who was very capable of generous feeling, shuddered at the fate which Barnave would meet if his connection with the court were discovered. But no caution could long conceal the fact from the sharp-eyed Jacobins; and the palace, as we have said, had a patriot and a spy in nearly every domestic. There was one particular garçon patriote of whom the king was much afraid. One day Barnave said, "We have still the string which sets in motion the popular mass!" And he showed a big book, in which were enregistered the names of a multitude of persons who engaged for money to make acclamations in the streets and theatres, and to do whatever else the court might require. Most of these mercenaries were hired to get up the applauses in the galleries when the king went to accept the constitution. Large sums were spent in this manner, without doing much good; and yet this appears to be about the best measure Barnave recommended to their majesties. An almost infinite variety of persons were taken into secret council: advice was asked in every direction where there was any hope of finding sincerity and attachment. The best advice given was by a naval officer, who wrote it in a single line—"*Empêchez le désordre de s'organiser;* but this, too, came too late, for disorder had organised itself, and was the only organised thing in France.

already laid prostrate, as the middling class was then numerically small, and as it is always less capable of desperate risks and actual combat than the class beneath it, there could be little doubt, when the struggle, the combat *à outrance*, should once begin, on which side victory would declare itself. The Gironde was indeed nothing but a transition party, *un parti de passage*, from the middling class to the dominion of the multitude. Some slight re-modification of the national guards, opening the ranks to the real unbreeched, the fabrication of a few thousand more pikes, the seizure of some thousand stands of arms, an émeute or two in Paris, and the Girondists, with all their eloquence and philosophy and literature, must be ground under the heels of the sans culottes. Brissot, who was by far the most busy, though not the most able, nor, perhaps, the most honest, of the Gironde party, was terribly maltreated by the sans culotte journalists for daring to differ with Robespierre. Prudhomme, Camille Desmoulins, and Marat treated him as being as great a traitor to the revolution and liberty and equality as Barnave and the Lameths, who had sold themselves to the court, or as Lafayette, who had taken the command of an army in order to betray his country. Marat, who was about to become a much more important personage in the revolution than a mere journalist, told Brissot, in one of the last numbers he published of his 'Ami du Peuple,' that he was a vile apostate, that his patriotism had never been anything but a grimace, that he knew him thoroughly, and had long since predicted his defection, that he was aiming at the post of minister, and that if he had only a little more energy he might become in a few months one of the vilest creatures of the cabinet of the Tuileries. "O people!" cried Marat, "see here what kind of heroes are to take up your defence and make you triumph; as if a set of ridiculous phrasemongers could crush the numberless enemies of liberty! O insensate nation! why have you not given over your idle talk to follow the advice of your true friend, to arm yourselves with coils of hanging ropes and poignards to finish all your enemies that were down on the ground, and that are now trying to get up again. Yes, liberty is lost for us! O my country, what a frightful future is reserved for thee!" And he drew a picture of the state of France as it would soon be, if vigorous measures were not adopted, and all the enemies of the revolution massacred, that would have left the damned in the worst circle of old Dante's Hell little to envy. Printer Prudhomme declared that in his eyes Brissot was more criminal than any of the emigrant assassins beyond the Rhine. Some of the attacks in Prudhomme's paper appear to have been written by Robespierre himself; and the printer published all Robespierre's most stirring speeches in the Jacobin Club at full length in his journal. Brissot, backed by Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Condorcet, and all the Gironde party, laboured to undo these evil impressions in the Assembly. He succeeded there; but the clubs and the sans culotte press were more than ever stronger than the Assembly; and a transient victory in the one place could not make up for a defeat in the other. The Girondists, seeing no answer to the letters which the king had addressed to the emperor and the German princes, continued to urge the propriety or necessity of an immediate declaration of war. On the 25th of December, Louvet, the author of 'Faublas,' who, to his own great loss and peril, remained attached to the Gironde to the last, demanded, in the name of one of the Paris sections, that the emigrant princes should be tried and condemned *en contumace*; and that war should be declared against all the enemies of the revolution.* He was seconded by Isnard; but Guadet thought it better to wait a week longer, and the question was adjourned till the 1st of January. On the 29th Brissot presented another of his long-winded reports on the condition and views of the great powers of Europe, re-asserting, in his dogmatic manner, that those powers had no serious thoughts of going to war, and had not the means of carrying on a war if they declared one; that the French might annihilate the army at Coblentz, and chastise the petty princes who had favoured the emigrants, without any fear of the emperor, &c. Condorcet presented a solemn declaration which he had drawn up, in order to make the kings of Europe understand what really were the principles and politics of regenerated France. The paper was unanimously adopted by the Assembly; and, presto, begone! Condorcet was dispatched with a deputation to the Tuileries, to present his own composition to the king. Poor Louis simply replied that the National Assembly might rest assured that he would always maintain the dignity of the French nation. On the 31st of December the king sent his present minister for foreign affairs, Dúport, to present to the Assembly an *officium* of the emperor, dated Vienna, the 21st of December, and to deliver a long message in writing, and properly signed and countersigned. This officium, the substance of which had been conveyed to Louis many weeks before, and divulged by some means to the Jacobins, imported that the Elector of Treves had declared to his imperial majesty that with respect to the emigrants he had followed the same rule of conduct which had been observed in the Austrian Netherlands; that the said elector, fearing the realization of the threats contained in the King of France's letter to him, had claimed the protection and assistance of his emperor; that the emperor, convinced of the pacific and moderate intentions of his most Christian majesty, but not being so well convinced, by what was daily passing in France, of the moderation of others, and fearing that in spite of their king the French might fall upon the

* "Indignant," says Louvet, "at the manœuvres of these nobles, who, in order to re-establish the most intolerable abuses, were arming all Europe against their country, I presented at the bar of the Legislative Assembly, on the 25th of December, 1792, *my petition against the princes*. It had in the senate and in the whole empire a prodigious success, which, I believe, it was not altogether unworthy of. It is at least one of the best pieces I ever wrote."—*Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire, &c.*

Elector of Treves, had thought it proper to order Marshal Bender to march with his army to succour the elector, in case he should be attacked. The king's message to the Assembly signified that his majesty was greatly astonished at the emperor's *officium*, having expected a very different answer from Vienna and prompt reparation from Treves; that he was writing again to the emperor to tell him that, unless the elector immediately, effectively, and really dispersed the emigrants collected within his states, nothing would prevent him from proposing to the National Assembly an instant attack upon the electorate. Louis, who well knew his own dangerous position—who knew that he was like one seated, with his wife and children and all that were most dear to him, in the midst of mounds of open gunpowder, with sparks flying all about, put some protestation and patriotism into this message, which ended with these words:—"If my last declaration do not produce the effect which I ought to expect from it, if it be the destiny of France to have to fight against her own sons and her old allies, I will make known to Europe the justice of our cause; the French people will defend that cause with their courage; and the nation will see that I have no interests but theirs, and that I shall always consider the maintenance of the dignity and security of the nation as the most essential of my duties." There was some loud applause as Dupont read these last words; but it proceeded only from some of the weak and inefficient Feuillants, and from men and women in the galleries who let out their throats for hire, and were retained for the court at so many sous per day. On the very same day the Assembly solemnly debated whether they ought not to deprive the king of the little respect and dignity which he still retained. To-morrow was New Year's Day, the greatest fête, or the greatest day for making compliments and paying visits, of all the year. From time immemorial it had been the custom in France—a custom coupled with many others—for all persons holding office or employment of any sort to wait upon their superiors with felicitations and compliments, which no people could make so well or so abundantly as the French; and through all grades of society the New Year's Day had been devoted to an interchange of visits, congratulations, and presents. These ancient practices under the monarchy seemed slavish and detestable in the eyes of the new republicans; and they voted and decreed that there should be no more New Year's Day felicitations, either by word of mouth or in writing. Having come to this great republican conclusion, which was recommended by Pastoret, Abbé Fauchet and Goupilleau thought it very essential to provide against similar visits and felicitations to the king, declaring it to have been base and shameful in the late legislature to have paid New Year's Day visits to the sovereign, or, to use their language, to the chief public functionary and representative of the people. And the Assembly magnanimously resolved that they would not go to the Tuileries on the morrow. Rochambeau and Luckner repaired to their several head-quarters; and Narbonne set out on a tour of military inspection, to review all the armies and national guards on foot, and to visit all the fortified places and military magazines of France; and, in order that business might not interfere with love, he carried in his train the exalted and exulting Madame de Staël.

Even thus ended the year—the third year of liberty—in France; and we must return to England, which, during all these twelve months, and many more, was more occupied and agitated by French affairs than by her own. But the flaming volcano fixed the attention of all Europe, no country knowing what direction its lava torrents might take, and all of them, in their uncertainty and fears, committing blunders and miscalculations which were to lead to the most deplorable consequences. The history of France in these days was in a manner the history of England, of Europe, of the world: the annals for the time of any other country sink into utter insignificance, and become comparatively duller than an old almanac. It was upon what was passing in France, upon what was doing in French journals, in the Assembly, and, most of all, in the Jacobin club, that the most memorable war of modern times, the greatest contest of principles that the world had known in any time, and the fortunes of all the European family were to depend; and, therefore, we have advisedly given these matters with considerable detail. In truth, nothing but detail can convey an adequate or correct notion of these phenomena. Generalisation is vague, captious, and varying, and will not do; and the philosophy of history is not worth the plain statement of the facts. One man generalises and philosophises on the whole vast matter in one way, another man philosophises and generalises in another way—every one according to his political predilections or his preconceived theory, to fit which even the general facts that are mentioned are cut and shaped, omitted or blended together, in a most arbitrary manner. Most of these writers of the philosophy of the history of the French revolution give us some dry arbitrary moral of their own instead of the impressive fable. And surely the whole philosophy, or what may really be called the philosophy, of it, apart from theories and systems and idealogisms, lies in a very small compass, and may be embraced by every rational man that has the facts put honestly, and plainly, and fully before him. But, having thus copiously related all the particulars connected with the birth, parentage, education, and natural character of this Gallic Liberty—having, as we hope, done something to convey a clearer idea of it than has hitherto been given in any popular shape,—we shall in the remainder of this work confine ourselves to a more abridged form of narration in all that regards the French revolution.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

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